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Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

THE SECOND EDITION very
much Augmented and Improved.

By JOHN POTTER, D. D.
Chaplain to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

VOLUME THE SECOND.
CONTAINING
I. The Military Affairs of the GRECIANS.
II. Some of their Miscellany Customs.

— *Simili frondesceat virga metallo.* Virgil.

*Quis reprehendet nostrum otium, qui in eo non modo nos-
metipfos hebescere & languere volumus, sed etiam, ut
plurimis profimus, enitimur?* Cicero.

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VOLUME THE SECOND
CONTAINING

1. The Ministry Affairs of the Government.
2. Some of their Military Customs.

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Archæologia Græca:
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BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of the Ancient Grecians.

THE ancient Grecians were a rude and unpolish'd sort of Mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refin'd Arts of War and Peace: Persons of the highest Birth and Quality, and whom they phancy'd to be descended from the Race of the Immortal Gods, had little other business to employ their Hours, beside tilling the Earth, or feeding their Flocks and Herds; and the rapine of these, or some other petty Concerns, which was look'd on as a generous and heroical Exploit, occasion'd most of the Wars so famous in their Story. Achilles in Homer tells Agamemnon, that 'twas purely to oblige him, he had engag'd himself in so long and dangerous a War against the Trojans, from whom he had never receiv'd any just cause of Quarrel, having never been despoil'd of his Oxen, or Horses, or had the Fruits of his Ground destroy'd by them (a):

(a) *Iliad.* a. v. l. 52.

Οὐδ' ἐγὼ Τρώων ἔνεκ' ἤλυθον αἰχμητῶν
 Δεῦρε μαχησάμεν, ἔπει' ἔτι μοι αἰτίοι εἰσιν
 Οὐδ' ἔτι ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ εἰς ὠλάκι βωτιανείῃ
 Καρπὸν ἐδηλῆσαντ', ἐπειὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὐρεὰ τε σμιόοντα, θάλασσα τε ἠχέεσα,
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς, αἶμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὅρα σὺ χაίρης.

For tho' I here 'gainst warlike Trojans fight,
 'Tis not to vindicate my injur'd Right;
 Since they by impious Theft have ne'er detain'd
 My Oxen, Horses, or on Phthia's Land
 Destroy'd my Fruits; for me the craggy Way
 O'er pathless Mountains, and the boist'rous Sea
 Secure from what Invasion they wou'd make:
 But 'tis, ungrateful Man, 'tis for thy sake,
 T' advance thy Triumphs that I hither come,
 That thou with greater State may'st lord it home.

Mr. Hutchin.

'And the simplicity of their Conduct may be sufficiently evinc'd' as from several other Instances, so by those especially, where *Achilles*, *Hector*, or *Ajax* are introduc'd opposing themselves to vast Numbers, and by the force of their own Valour putting to flight whole Squadrons of their Enemies. Nor is the Poet to be thought blameworthy, or to have transgress'd the rules of probability in such Relations; which, tho' perhaps strange and incredible in our Days, were no doubt accommodated to the manners of the Times, of which he wrote. For even in the Sacred Story we find it recorded, that a single *Goliath* defy'd all the Armies of *Israel* (a), and with a big look, and a few arrogant Words, put so great terrour into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the revolution of a few Ages, Greece became the celebrated Mother of the bravest, and most experienc'd Soldiers in the World: For being canton'd into a great number of little independent States, all which, tho' bordering upon one another, were govern'd by different Laws, and prosecuted contrary Interests, it became the Seat of continual Wars; every Hamlet being ambitious of enlarging it's Territory, by encroaching upon it's neighbour-village, and contending for the addition of a few Lands with no less heat and fury, than if whole Kingdoms had been the Prize: The consequence whereof was, that the *Grecians*, being from their childhood inur'd to Martial Affairs, and having to their native Bravery added long and constant Experience, were render'd as well in good Order and Discipline, as true Courage and Valour, superiour to most other Nations. They became a terrour to all the Countries round about them, and with small Numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the *Barbarians*: The *Persians* frequently experienc'd

(a) I Sam. XVII. 11, 24.

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

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the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous Armies, and at length of the greatest Empire in the World. And (to enumerate no more Instances in a thing so well known) the *Carthaginians*, tho' Men of great Courage, and excellently skill'd in the Art of War, being worsted in *Sicily* by *Timoleon* the *Corinthian* in several Encounters, and by unequal numbers of Men, were driven into an admiration of the *Grecian* Valour; and forc'd to confess, that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of Mankind; and forthwith made it their business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their Service (a).

But tho' almost all the *Grecians* had their share in Military Glory, yet were the rest far inferiour to the *Lacedemonians*, who by the Laws of their Country were under an obligation to make War their Profession; they never apply'd themselves to any Art, or Employment, or the exercise of Trades, which they accounted unworthy of Generous and Free-born Souls; but, committing all such cares to the *Helots*, who were a gentiler sort of Slaves, spent their Time in manly Exercises, to render their Bodies strong and active. They were also accusom'd by hard Diet, by Stripes, and other severities, patiently to undergo hardships, to endure Wounds, to encounter Dangers, and, if the Honour of their Country so requir'd, to throw themselves into the Arms of Death without Fear, or Regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or fool-hardy, as to court Dangers, or Death; but were taught from their childhood to be always prepar'd either to live, or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those Verses, cited by *Plutarch* (b) to this purpose;

Οἱ δὲ θάνατον, ἔχ' ἢν θέλωσι καλόν, ἔδδ' τὸ θνήσκειν,
Ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελεῖσαι.

They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death it self was simply good;
Or Life: both these the strictest Vertue try'd,
And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd, or dy'd.

Nor was this Indifferency to Life or Death only discour'd of amongst them, as a point of meer Speculation; but carefully and seriously instill'd into their tender Years, and always embrac'd as one of the first Principles of their Actions; which begot in them such an undaunted Courage, and so firm and unmoveable a Resolution, that scarce any other Nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparallel'd Bravery, being adorn'd and strengthen'd with the wisest Conduct, and the most perfect Skill in all the Stratagems of War those Times were capable of, has render'd them famous in Story, and examples of Military Vertue to all succeeding Ages: "For (these are *Plutarch's* (c) words) the *Lacedemonians* were most expert and cunning in the Art of War, being train'd up and accusom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonis*. (b) *Pelopida*. (c) *Pelopida*.

“ Confusion, when their Order should be broken ; to follow any Leader or Right-handman, so rallying themselves into Order ; and
 “ to fight on what part soever Dangers press.

It is therefore by no means to be wonder'd, that foreign and vastly remote Nations should be desirous to entertain the *Lacedemonians* in their Service ; that *Cyrus* the Younger should think That the readiest and most effectual Method to advance himself to the Empire of *Persia* : That *Cresus*, the wealthy King of *Lydia*, and several of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, tho' surrounded with numerous Forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without assistance from *Sparta* ; or that the *Sicilians*, *Ibracians*, *Carthaginians*, with the *Cyrenaeans*, and many others, were beholding to it for Protection, and Deliverance from powerful Enemies. And for the *Grecians* themselves, whenever any of their little States were in danger of being swallow'd up by their more powerful Neighbours, we find them having Recourse for Aid to the *Spartans*, who were a common Refuge to the oppress'd, and restrain'd the Ambitious Invaders of other Men's Rights.

Hence likewise it came to pass, that in all Confederacies they were look'd on as the principal Associates ; and in all Wars carry'd on by publick Contributions, they challeng'd the chief Command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any Exigency prevail with them to depart from that Claim, or resign it to the greatest of Princes : *Gelon*, King of *Sicily*, tho' promising to furnish them with large Supplies against the *Barbarians*, on condition he might be declar'd Captain-general of the *Grecian* Forces, was rejected (a). Yet we find, that after the Victory over *Mardonius* at *Plataea*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* General, having by his excessive Severity, and Tyrannical Behaviour to the rest of the Soldiers render'd the *Spartans* very odious, in the end they revolted to the *Athenians*, the gentle and courteous Carriage of whose Commanders, *Aristides* and *Cimon*, had endear'd them to all the rest of the *Grecians* : And here the Magnanimity of the *Lacedemonians* was wonderful ; For when they perceiv'd that their Generals were corrupted, and their Minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their Authority, they left off sending any more of them to the Wars, choosing rather to have Citizens of Moderation, and that persever'd in their ancient Manners and Customs, than to be honour'd with the Superiority of all *Greece* (b). But this Misfortune did not put an end to the *Lacedemonian* Greatness ; for we find them in a little time reassuming their ancient Spirits, and disdaining even *Alexander* himself (tho' submitted to by the rest of the *Grecians*, and declar'd their General against *Persia*) for their Superiour : Which is the reason, that in the Monuments erected after the *Persian* Victories, and bearing the Names of *Alexander* and the *Grecians*, the *Lacedemonians* were excepted by Name, as having no share in that Honour (c).

(a) Herodotus lib. VII. (b) Plutarchus *Aristide*. (c) Plutarchus *Alexandro*, *Currius De genis Alexandri* lib. I.

The *Athenians* alone were able to dispute with the *Lacedemonians* this Prerogative; some few Times excepted, when some unusual Success rais'd any of the other States beyond their ordinary Grandeur; as it happen'd to the *Thebans*, who, from a mean and despicable People, were by the Conduct of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* advanc'd to an Equality, if not a Superiority over the most flourishing Cities of Greece.

Notwithstanding these, and some other Obstacles, the *Lacedemonians* for the most part made good their Pretensions, and, in most Wars carry'd on by a Confederacy, were Generals of all the Land-Forces; but were at length constrain'd to leave the Dominion of the Seas to the *Athenians*; who having laid out their whole Strength in fitting out a Navy against *Xerxes*, for a long Time reign'd sole Lords of the liquid Element: During which Season we find a Decree put forth by their Senate, wherein it was order'd, That the Command of all the Naval Forces of Greece should belong to Athens; but the Land-Armies should obey a General from Sparta (a). But the Rival Cities could not be long content with this equal Distribution of Power, each being jealous of the other's Greatness, and thinking her self best able to govern the whole Jurisdiction; till at length the *Athenians*, having their whole Fleet, except Twelve Trireme-Gallies, destroy'd at once by *Lyfander* the Spartan Admiral, in the famous Battle at *Ægospotamus*, were constrain'd to own the *Lacedemonians* for Sovereigns both by Sea and Land (b).

But the *Lacedemonians* were not long able to maintain this Command; for the *Athenians*, having recruited their Naval Forces, and engag'd *Evagoras* the King of Cyprus, and *Pharnabazus* the Persian Emperor's Lieutenant to their Interest; by their Assistance, and the singular Conduct of their own Admiral *Conon*, gave them so great an Overthrow at *Cnidus* (c), that they never after pretended to contest the Sovereignty of the Seas, but contented themselves with the chief Command at Land, which the *Athenians* suffer'd them to enjoy without farther Molestation; both Cities being weary of the Contention, and convinc'd at length of the Truth of what had been commonly observ'd, That Fortune was most favourable to the *Lacedemonians* by Land, but in Sea-engagements sided with the *Athenians* (d). This seems not to have been without Reason, the *Athenians* through the Commodiousness of their Situation being dispos'd, and, as it were, invited by Nature to apply themselves to Naval Affairs; whereas the *Lacedemonians* were plac'd at a greater Distance from the Sea, and more inclin'd to Land-service, (to which they were inur'd from their tender Years) than to venture themselves on the Ocean, to which they had never been accusom'd; for *Lycurgus* their Law-giver expressly forbade them (e) to visit foreign Countries, out of a well-grounded Fear, lest his Citizens should be corrupted by

(a) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* lib. VII. (b) *Xenophon* *Ἐλ. Κύρου ἀνακτορ.* lib. VI. *Plutarchus* *Lyfand. o.* (c) *Isocrates* *pro Evagora*, in *Philippum*, *Panathenaisca*, *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* lib. VI. *Plutarchus* *Artaxerxe*. (d) *Xenophon* *Ελληνικῶν* lib. VII. (e) *Plutarchus* *Institut. Laconicis*.

the Conversation of Strangers, and forsake that excellent Platform of Government he contriv'd for them: And it happen'd to them as he had wisely foreseen; for no sooner had *Lyfander* render'd them Sovereigns of the Seas, but they began by Degrees to leave off their ancient Customs, and to degenerate from the Virtue and Glory of their Ancestors (4).

CHAP. II.

Of their Levies, Pay, &c. of Soldiers.

THE Grecian Armies consisted for the most part of free Denizens, whom the Laws of their Country oblig'd, when arriv'd at a prefix'd Age, to appear in Arms, upon the Summons of the Magistrate, or Commission'd Officer. In some Places they were more early admitted to the Wars, in others later.

The *Athenians* when arriv'd at Eighteen Years of Age, were appointed to guard the City with the Forts belonging to it; from their going about to visit which, they were call'd *περιπολοι* (b): But were not sent to foreign Wars till Twenty; the *Spartans* seldom till Thirty. The younger Men in both Cities, with those, who by Reason of their Age were discharg'd from Military Service, were left at Home to defend their Habitations.

Some Persons were excus'd by Reason of their Age; for having spent their Youth and Strength in serving their Country, it was but reasonable to discharge them from farther Service, that they might end their Days in Peace. After Threescore Years it seems to have been usual in most Places to allow them Liberty of retiring. At *Athens* no Man above Forty was press'd to serve in the Wars, except in Times of extream Danger (c). Others were exempt on Account of their Function; such were at *Athens* οἱ τέλῃ καὶ κτεράριοι, the Farmers of the publick Customs (d), whose Presence was requir'd in the City, during the whole Time of their Employment, and several of the Holy Orders, as also the Persons appointed to dance at *Bacchus's* Festival (e).

Others were excluded from serving in the Wars; such were the Slaves, and such others as liv'd amongst them, but were not honour'd with the Freedom of their Cities. These were never admitted, except in Cases of extream Danger, when there remain'd no other Means of preserving the Common-wealth. Of this Custom I have already given a large Account in one of the foregoing Books (f).

All that serv'd, were enter'd into a publick Roll: Whence the Levy was call'd *καταγραφή*, *κατάλογος*, *εὐκατολογία*; and to make a Levy, *κατάλογον*, or *καταγραφὴν ποιεῖν*. Amongst the Primi-

(a) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Phillip.* III. (b) *Vulpianus* in *Olynthiac.* III. (c) *Vulpianus* in *Olynthiac.* III. (d) *Demosthenes* in *Nearam.* (e) *Idem* *Midiana.* (f) *Lib.* I. Cap. X.

five Grecians it seems to have been frequently made by Lots, every Family being oblig'd to furnish out a certain Number, and filling up their Proportion by the Chance of Lots: Whence Mercury in *Homer* (a), pretending to be one of the Seven Sons of *Polydorus* the *Myrmidon*, adds, that he was appointed by Lots to follow *Achilles* to the *Trojan War*,

Τῶν μέγα παλλόμενῳ, κλήρω λάχον ἐνθάδ' ἱπιάδ.

'Twas I, who when the Lots were drawn,
Was doom'd to follow *Peleus's* mighty Son.

For the Appointment of all Persons of a certain Age to be ready to serve in the Wars, seems only to be an Institution of later Ages; whereas all such like Things were formerly manag'd at the Pleasure of the Supream Magistrate.

The Soldiers were all maintain'd at their own Expences; no Name was more opprobrious than that of a *Mercenary*, it being lookt upon as a Disgrace for any Person of Ingenuous Birth and Education to serve for Wages. For all this, It was not permitted any Person to absent himself, except upon Reasons allow'd by the Law; and whoever was found thus to have transgress'd, was at *Athens* depriv'd of his Voice in all publick Business, and in a manner of all other Rights of Citizens, and was forbidden to enter into any of the publick Temples (b). And lest any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their Escape, we find they were branded with certain Marks, call'd *στίγματα*. These are mention'd by *Vegetius* (c), who speaking of the Military Oath, and the Muster-roll, wherein the Soldiers Names were register'd, mentions also, that they were *vulturis in cute punctis scripti*, branded with lasting Marks in their Flesh. These Marks commonly contain'd the Name or proper Ensign of their General. To distinguish Soldiers from Slaves, who were commonly mark'd in the Forehead, as has been elsewhere observ'd, they had *στίγματα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ*, their Characters impress'd upon their Hands, as we are inform'd by *Ælian*. By the same Ceremony it was customary for Men to dedicate themselves to certain Deities: Whence is that Question mention'd in *Zechariah* (d), where he speaks of the Prophets and Votaries of the Pagan Gods: And one shall say unto him, What are these Wounds in thy Hands? And the Beast, who requires all Men to worship him, in the Book of *Revelation* (e), is there said to cause all both Small and Great, Rich and Poor, Free and Bond, to receive a Mark in their right Hands, or in their Foreheads (f). And to the same Custom *St. Paul* is thought to allude in his Epistle to the *Galatians* (g), where speaking of the Wounds he had receiv'd in his Christian Warfare, he tells us, that he bore in his Body the *στίγματα*, or Marks, of the Lord *JESUS*.

(a) *Iliad*, α'. (b) *Æschines Ctesiphontea*, *Dem. Athenes Timocratea*. (c) *De re militari* lib. II. cap. V. (d) *XIII. VI.* (e) *Lib. XIII. cap. XVI.* (f) *Conf. Archaeologia hujus lib. I. cap. de servis.* (g) *Caps VI. 17.*

The *Carians* were the first that serv'd in Greece for Pay (a), and have thereby render'd their Name infamous to Posterity; being represented by all the Writers of those Times, as a base and servile Nation; insomuch that *καεινοί*, and *καειμωσις*, are Proverbial Epithets for Persons of abject and pusillanimous Tempers, or servile Condition (b); and *Κᾶρες*, is a synonymous Term for Slaves; as in that Proclamation at the end of the *Arbenian Festival Anthesteria*, whereby the Slaves were commanded to be gone out of Doors;

Θύεζε, Κᾶρες, ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθεστερίας.

Be gone, ye Slaves, the *Anthesteria* are ended.

Thus the *Carians* were reproach'd for introducing a Custom, which in a few Ages after was so far from being lookt upon as unworthy their Birth, or Education, that we find it practis'd by the whole Nation of the *Greeks*, who not only receiv'd Pay for serving their own Common-wealths, but lifted themselves under foreign Kings, and fought their Battles for Hire; their chief Magistrates not disdaining to accompany them in such Expeditions. Several Instances of this sort might be produc'd, were not that famous one of the Great *Agessilaus's* condescending to serve *Ptolomee*, King of *Egypt*, instead of many others.

The first that introduc'd the Custom of paying Soldiers at *Athens*, was *Pericles*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, represented how unreasonable it was, that Men of small Estates, and scarce able to provide for their Families, should be oblig'd to neglect their Business, and spend what their Industry had laid up, in the publick Service; and thereupon preferr'd a Decree that all of them should have Subsistence-money out of the Exchequer (c); which seems to have been receiv'd with general Applause. What Sum they daily receiv'd, cannot easily be determined, it being encreas'd, or diminish'd as Occasion requir'd. At first we find the Foot-Soldiers had Two *Oboli* a Day, which in a Month amounted to Ten *Drachms* (d). What we read in *Thucydides* (e) of the Soldiers that garrison'd *Posidea*, to every one of which was allotted a *Drachm* a Day, with another to a Servant for attending upon him, must not be understood, as if their ordinary Pay was of that Value, that being only to the Common Sea-men of *Athens* Three *Oboli*, to those that mann'd the Sacred Vessel call'd *Πάγελος*, and the Foot-Soldiers, Four; whence *τετραβολὸν βίον* is a Proverbial Expression for a Soldier's Life (f); and *τετραβολίζω* for serving in the War. The Horsemen's Pay was for the most part Thirty *Drachms* a Month, that is a *Drachm* a Day; this we find to have been term'd *κατάστασις* (g).

The ordinary Method of raising this Money was by imposing a Tax on the whole Common-wealth, whereby all Persons were ob-

(a) *Strabo Hefychius, Etymologicæ Auctor.* (b) *Hefychius.* (c) *Vlpianus in Orat. de Syntaxi.* (d) *Demosthenes Philipp. I.* (e) *Lib. III.* (f) *Eustath. Odysf. 2.* (g) *Suidas V.*

lig'd to contribute according to the Value of their Estates. But this was done only when the publick Treasury was exhausted, and the constant Revenues from Tributary Cities, Publick Lands, Woods, Mines, or from Fines and Amercements, were not sufficient to defray the Charges of the War. In Cases of greater Nécessity, the Richer Citizens at *Athenis* were oblig'd to extraordinary Contributions; and there appears to have been a generous and laudable Emulation amongst the Men of Quality in that City, who voluntarily offer'd more than was requir'd of them, and contended which of them should most largely contribute towards the Honour and Preservation of their Native Country.

Confederate Wars were maintain'd at the common Charge of all the Allies, every one being oblig'd to send a Proportion of Men; as we find practis'd in the *Trojan* War, which was the first, wherein the whole Country of *Greece* united against a foreign Enemy. Sometimes they were carry'd on by publick Contributions of Money, levy'd by Persons delegated by the common Consent of the Confederates, which was only the Practice of later Ages; the primitive Wars, wherein the Soldiers serv'd at their own Expence, and supply'd their Nécessities out of the Spoils of their Enemies, being manag'd with less Charge to the Publick. The first Tax, or Tribute of this Nature that we find paid by the *Grecians*, was after the Expulsion of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*, when they agreed to make an Invasion upon their common Enemy, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*: For then *Aristides* the *Athenian*, at the general desire of the *Greeks*, survey'd the whole Country and Revenue, and assess'd all particular Persons Town by Town, according to every Man's Ability: Thus he tax'd them Four Hundred Talents, to which *Pericles* added about a Third Part more; for we find in *Thucydides*, that in the Beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War the *Athenians* had coming in from their Confederates Six Hundred Talents. After *Pericles*'s Death, being encreas'd by little and little, it was at length rais'd to the Sum of Thirteen Hundred Talents (a); all which was manag'd at the Discretion of the *Athenians*.

CHAP. III.

Of the different Sorts of Soldiers.

THE Armies were compos'd of various sorts of Soldiers; their Gross or Main Body usually consist'd of Foot-men, the rest rode some in Chariots, some on Horseback, others upon Elephants.

(a) *Plutarchus Aristide.*

The Foot-Soldiers we find distinguish'd into Three Sorts; the First and Principal of which were term'd *Οπλίται* (a), being such as bore heavy Armour, engaging with broad Shields and long Spears.

2. *Ψιλοί*, were *Light-arm'd Men*, who fought with Arrows and Darts, or Stones and Slings, annoying their Enemies at a Distance, but were unfit for close Fight. They were in Honour and Dignity inferior to the Heavy-arm'd Soldiers; and therefore when *Tenzer* in *Sophocles* quarrels with *Menelaus*, he is scoffingly reprov'd by him in this manner,

Ο τοξότης τοικον ε' σμικρὰ φρονεῖν (b).

This Archer seems to think himself to be some-body.

It seems to have been frequent for them, having shot their Arrows, to retire behind the Shields of the Heavy-arm'd for Protection; for so we find the same *Tenzer* doing in *Homer* (c),

Τεῦχε· θ' εἶνα· ἦλθε, καλίντονα τέξα τ' ἔλαυνον,
Στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπ' Αἴαντος σάκεϊ Τελαμωνιάδαο,
Ενθ' Αἴας μὲν ὑπεξέφερεν σάκε'· αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἦεν
Πατρίην· ἔπει δ' ἄρ' τιν' οἰσάσας ἐν ὁμίλῳ
Βελήκη, ὃ δ' αὖτε πρὸς ὧν Σπυμὸν ὄλεσεν·
Αὐτὰρ ὁ αὐτίς ἰών, παῖς ὡς ὑπὸ μητέρα, δόσκει
Εἰς Αἴανθ', ὃ δ' ἔμιν σάκεϊ κρύπτασκε φρονέων.

Tenzer the Ninth from these at length appear'd,
And all his Bows for certain Deaths prepar'd;
Lurk'd behind *Ajax's* Shield the Hero stood,
Which whensoever the Warlike Chief remov'd,
Around on all he casts his angry Eyes,
Threatning Destruction to his Enemies;
But when he saw or wounded one, or slain,
Back he betook him to his Shield again.
So tim'rous Boys, approaching Ills to shun,
With eager haste to careful Mothers run.

H. H.

3. *Πελάσται* (d), though frequently comprehended under the *Ψιλοί*, as oppos'd to the *ὀπλίται*, were a middle sort between both, being arm'd with Shields and Spears, but far inferior in Bigness to those of the Heavy-arm'd Men. The Name is taken from their narrow Shields call'd *πέλται*.

The Horsemen amongst the Ancient *Greeks* were not very numerous, being only such as were possess'd of Estates, and able to furnish out Horses at their own Charge. Hence both at *Athens* and *Sparta* we find *ἵππεις*, or Horsemen, to have compos'd the second Order in the Common-wealth, being plac'd above the Commonalty,

(a) *Suidas* v. *ὀπλίται*.

(b) *Sophocli. Ajax*, v. 1141.

(c) *Iliad*, ὅ. v. 266.

(d) *Suidas* loc. cit. *Ἰλιδνuz*.

and next to those of the highest Quality and Fortune: The same is recorded of the *Roman Equites*, and (to mention no more) we are told by *Herodotus* (a), that among the *Chalcidians* none but Rich Men were admitted into that Order. Afterwards, when Men of Estates began to court Ease and Pleasure, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a Horseman, and maintain him at their proper Expences, than to venture their own Persons; they retain'd indeed their former Name, but the Honour of serving on Horseback was lost (b).

Who it was that first instructed Mankind in the Art of Horsemanship, is not agreed by the Ancient Writers of Fables; some attribute it to the *Amazons* (c), others to the *Centaurs* (d), others to *Bellerophon* (e), others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the Honour of it to *Neptune* (f), the first Creator of this Animal; for which Reason we find the various Epithets *Ἰππιό* (g), *Ἰππαρχό* (h), *Ἰπποκλῆς* (i), *Ἰπποκλῆς*, &c. conferr'd upon him by the Poets and Mythologists.

Whoever oblig'd Mankind with the first Invention of this Art, seems to have left it very imperfect; for in those early Ages 'tis probable they understood not the Method of governing Horses with Reins and Bits, but manag'd them only with a Rope, or Switch, and the Accent of their Voice; this we find to have been the Practice of several other Nations, as the *Numidians* (k), *Gentulians* (l), *Lybians* (m), and *Massylians*, of whom *Lucan* speaks thus (n),

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massylia dorso
Ora levi flectit franorum nescia virga.*

Without a Saddle the *Massylians* ride,
And with a tender Switch their Horses guide.

Afterwards Bridles came into Fashion, of which the most remarkable were those call'd *Lupata*, having Bits of Iron, not unlike *Wolves Teeth*, and therefore call'd in *Greek* *Λύκοι*, in *Latin* *Lupi*; whence *Horace* (o),

— Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora frenis.

Nor with the sharper Bits
Manage th' unruly Horse.

The first Invention of them is by *Statius* attributed to *Neptune*;

— Neptunus equo, si certa priorum

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Xenophon* *Ἐκόντα*, lib. VI. (c) *Lyfias* Orator. (d) *Palaphatus* lib. I. (e) *Plinius* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (f) *Homerus* in *Hymno*. *Sophocles* *Oedipus*. (g) *Pausanias* *Achalcis*. (h) *Pindarus* *Pyth.* (i) *Lycophron* *Cassandra*. (k) *Silius* lib. I. (l) *Id.* lib. II. (m) *Strabo* lib. XVII. (n) *Lucan*, l. IV. (o) *Lib. I. Od. VIII.*

Of the Military Affairs of Greece.

*Fama patet, primus teneris lesisse lupatis
Ora, & listoreo domuisse in pulvere fertur.*

*Neptune, if we may Credit give to Fame,
First taught with Bits the gen'rous Horse to tame.*

By others to the *Lapithæ*, or *Centaurs*, who inhabited a Town in
Thessaly, call'd *Pelethronium*: Thus *Virgil* (a),

*Fræna Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyroque dederæ
Impositi dorso*

The *Lapithæ* of *Pelethronium* rode
With Bridles first, and what their Use was shew'd.

Though some are of Opinion that the Poet speaks of Bridles, as in-
vented not by the *Lapithæ*, but a Man of that Nation, whose Name
was *Pelethronius*, to whom we find *Pliny* also attributing the Inven-
tion of bridles, and Harness (b): The last of these the *Greeks*
term *ἐσθλα*, and *ἐσθλα*, which were made of divers sorts of
Stuffs, as Leather, Cloth, or the Skins of wild Beasts. *Paribeno-*
peus's Horse is cover'd with the Skin of a *Lynx* in *Statius*; *Aeneas's* in
Virgil with a *Lyon's* (c),

*quem fulva leonis
Pellis obit*

Cover'd with a *Lyon's* Skin.

Sometimes we find them adorn'd with rich and costly Cloathing; as
in the same Poet (d),

*Omnibus extemplo Teucris jubet ordine duci
Instratos astro alipedes piliisque taperis,
Aurea pectoribus demissa monilia pendent.*

For ev'ry *Trojan* straight it is decreed,
That sprightly Coursers be in Order led,
Adorn'd with costly Trappings, to whose Breasts
The Golden Poitrels hang.

Of the Saddles in Use amongst us we find no mention in any An-
cient Writers; as neither of the *Stapis*, or more properly *Subex pe-*
daneus, or Stirrop, which does not appear to have been us'd till these
latter Ages; there being no Notice taken of any such Thing in any
Author, that I know of, before *Eustathius*, who flourish'd Five Hun-
dred Years ago, and in his Commentaries upon *Homer* hath men-
tioned an Instrument of this sort. In former Ages they supplied the

(a) *Georgie* III. 115. (b) *Lib. VII. cap. LVI.* (c) *Æn. VIII.* (d) *Æn. VII.*

Want of such Helps by their Art, or Agility of Body; being able to leap on Horseback, as the Heroes in *Virgil* (a),

*Corpora saltu
Subjiciunt in equos.*

And by a Leap bestride their Horses.

Or for their greater Convenience, the Horses were taught submissively to bow their Bodies to the Ground; and receive their Riders upon their Backs (b), as we find practis'd as well in Greece, as by the Ancient Spaniards (c), and other Nations. Hence *Silius* speaks of the Horse of *Clælius*, a Roman Knight, in this manner (d),

*Inde inclinatus collum, submissusq. armos
De more, inflexis præbebat scandere terga
Cruribus*

Downwards the Horse his Head, and Shoulders bent,
To give his Rider a more fair Ascent.

Sometimetes we find them leaping up by the Help of their Spears, or other Things: Several other Methods were us'd by Men of weak and unactive Bodies: Some getting up on the Backs of their Slaves (e); others by the Help of short Ladders; both which Supports were term'd *ἀναβολαῖς*. Lastly, we find the High-ways fill'd with Stones erected for this Purpose; which is said to have been done in Italy by *Gracchus* (f), and in Greece was always one part of the Business of the Overseers of the Roads (g).

Let us now return to their Military Affairs, where we shall find it disputed, whether the Warriours of Primitive Ages were carry'd to the Field in Chariots, or on Horseback. *Lucretius* indeed tells us, that the first Heroes were mounted upon Horses, whereas Chariots were only a later Invention (h),

*Ex prius est repperitum in equi conscendere costas,
Et moderarier hunc franis dextraque vigere,
Quam bijuga curru belli spectare pericla.*

Mounted on well-rein'd Steeds in Ancient Time,
Before the Use of Chariots was brought in,
The first Brave Heroes fought.

But we are inform'd by *Palapbatus*, that Chariots were first in Use; the *Lapithæ*, who flourish'd about *Hercules's* Time, being the First that attempted to ride upon Horses, a Thing strange and unheard of by the Grecians in those Days, who view'd them not without Amaze-

(a) *Æn.* XII. (b) *Pollux* l. b. I. cap. XI. (c) *Strabo* lib. III. (d) *Lib. X.*
(e) *Volaterranus* Epit. *Xenophon.* (f) *Plutarchus* *Gracchis.* (g) *Xenophon* *Hipparcho.* (h) *Lib. V.*

ment, imagining them to be Monsters compounded of the different Shapes of Men and Horses, or Bulls, which they frequently back'd instead of Horses; whence we have the Fables of the *Centaurs* and *Hippocentaurs*, And 'tis more than probable, that at the Time of the *Trojan War* the Custom of Riding and Fighting upon Horses was not commonly receiv'd by the *Grecians*; since the Heroes of *Homer*, whose Authority must in such Cases ever be held Sacred, are always introduc'd into the Battle in Chariots, never on Horse-Back.

The Chariots of Princes and Heroes were not only contriv'd for Service, but Ornament; being richly emboss'd with Gold and other Metals; as we read of *Orsines* the *Persian's* in *Curtius* (a), and several of *Homer's*, as that of *Rhesus* (b),

ἄρμα δ' οἱ χρυσῷ τε, καὶ ἀργύρῳ εὖ ἠοοῖται,

Silver and Gold his Chariot did adorn.

And another of *Diomedes* (c),

ἄρμα δ' αὖτε χρυσῷ περικασμμένα, καλοτέρεω τε

Chariots richly adorn'd with Gold and Tin.

They were likewise adorn'd with Curious Hangings; whence we read of *Lycæon's Chariot* (d),

ἀνὰ πτερὰ πέντα
Πτέρυσται.

Like Wings its Hangings are expanded wide.

And the Poet calls that of *Achilles* ἄρματα δ' περικασμμένα (e).

The Chariots in *Homer* are drawn for the most part by Two Horses coupled together; that of *Achilles* had no more, the Names of his Horses being only *Xanthus* and *Balius*. So *Lycæon's* (f),

ἑξάει δ' ὄρνι ἑνὶ δάμῳ Μελύρην ἰστίῃ
Ἑξάει

Two well-pair'd Steeds to ev'ry Chariot stand.

And *Aeneas's* in *Virgil* (g),

Absenti Eneæ currum, geminosque jugales,

A Chariot and Two sprightly Steeds are sent
To absent *Aeneas*.

(a) Lib. X. (b) *Iliad*. x. (c) *Iliad*. v. (d) *Iliad*. v. (e) *Iliad*. x. (f) *Iliad*. i. (g) *Aeneid*. VII. v. 280.

To these Two they sometimes added a Third, which was not coupled with the other Two, but govern'd with Reins, and therefore call'd *σενταῖς*, *σενταῖς*, *σενταῖς*, &c. but in *Homer* usually *παρῆς*, and the Rein wherewith he was held in *παρῆς*. The same Custom was practis'd by the *Romans*, till the Time of *Dionysius the Halicarnassian* (a), though left off in *Greece* long before. In the Eighth *Iliad*, *Hector's* Chariot seems to be drawn by four Horses; for there the Hero thus bespeaks 'em,

Ξάνθε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδας, καὶ Αἴδων, Λάμπε τε Δῖε.

And however some Ancient Criticks will have the Two former to be no more than Epithets of the later, because *Hector* afterwards speaks to them in the Dual Number,

Νῦν μοι τὼ κομισθὲν σπρίνεται — —

Yet it is evident from other Places, that even in *Homer's* Time it was customary to have Chariots drawn by Four Horses; as when he tells us, the *Phœacian* Ship shap'd her Course,

— — — αἶε ἐν πᾶσι τέσσασιν ἵπποις (b).

Every Chariot carry'd Two Men, whence it was term'd *δίψος*, q. *δίψος* (c); though that Word does not in its strict and proper Acceptation denote the whole Chariot, but only that part wherein the Men were placed. One of these was call'd *ἡνίοχος*, because he govern'd the Reins, which in those Days was not a Servile or ignoble Office, but frequently undertaken by Men of Quality; for we find *Nestor* (d), *Hector* (e), and several others of Note employ'd in it; and that not on extraordinary Occasions, but frequently, some of them making it their Profession. Yet the Charioteer was inferior; it not always in Dignity, at least in Strength and Valour to the Warrior, who was call'd *παρὰβάνης*, and had Command of the other, and directed him which Way to drive, as *Eustathius* observes (f). When he came to encounter in close Fight, he alighted out of the Chariot, as we find every where in *Homer*, and the rest of the Poets. So *Hercules* and *Cynus* about to engage,

— — — ἐν πλεχέων δίψων δόον ἀψ' ἐμ γαῖαν (g).

Leapt from their Chariots on the Ground.

And *Turnus* in *Virgil* (h),

— — — Desiluit bijugis, pedes apparat ire.

Dismounts his Horse, and fits himself to walk.

(a) Antiquit. Rom. lib. VII. (b) *Odys.* v. (c) *Eustathius.* (d) *Iliad.* 6.
(e) *Iliad.* 9. (f) *Iliad.* 6. (g) *Hesiodus Scuto.* (h) *Æneid.* X.

When

When they were weary, which often happen'd by Reason of their Armour, being heavier than any other, they retir'd into their Chariots, and thence annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and missive Weapons.

Beside these, we find frequent mention in Historians of Chariots, call'd *Currus falcati*, and *σπιντοφόροι*, because arm'd with Hooks, or Scyths, with which whole Ranks of Soldiers were cut off together. But afterwards it being consider'd they were never of any Use but in plain and open Ground, and were frequently turn'd back by affrighted and ungovernable Horses upon their own Party, to its Confusion and Ruin, several Methods also being contriv'd to defeat or elude their Force, these and all other Chariots were wholly laid aside. Accordingly, when Military Discipline was carry'd to its Height, though sometimes they were brought into Battles by Barbarians, as may be observ'd of the *Persians* in *Curtius*, yet we never find the *Grecians* making any Use of them, or much damag'd by them; but contemning that old and unskilful Method of Fighting, they chose rather to ride on Horseback, which Custom seems to have been received in a short Time after the Heroick Wars.

Of all the *Grecians* the *Thessalians* have the greatest Name for Horsemanship, and in all Wars we find their Cavalry most esteem'd. The *Colophonians* had once by many remarkable Actions arriv'd to such a Pitch of Glory, as to be lookt on invincible: In all long and tedious Wars their Assistance was courted, and the Party that obtained Supplies from them, was certain of Success and Victory; insomuch that *κολοφωνα τιθέναι*, and in *Latin*, *Colophonem imponere* was us'd Proverbially for putting a Conclusion to any Affair (a). The *Lacedemonians* were but meanly furnished with Cavalry, and till the *Messenian* Wars it does not appear that either they, or the rest of the *Peloponnesians* employ'd themselves in Horsemanship, but repos'd their chief Confidence in Foot (b); *Peloponnesus* being a Mountainous and Craggy Country, and therefore unfit for Horsemen (c), who in such Places become almost useless in Fight. But the *Messeniens* being subdu'd, the *Spartans* carrying their Arms into other Countries, soon found the great Occasion they had of Horses to support and cover their Foot; and in a short Time supply'd that Defect, by instructing their Youth in Horsemanship; to which end we find they had Masters in that Art, call'd *ἵπποχαεῖται* (d). But the greatest Part of their Cavalry was furnish'd from *Sciros* (e), a Town not far distant from *Sparta*, the Inhabitants of which claim'd as their proper Post the left Wing in the *Lacedemonian* Armies (f). *Attica* was likewise a Hilly Country, and therefore not design'd by Nature for breeding Horses: We find accordingly the *Athenian* Cavalry to have been exceeding few in Number, consisting only of Ninety-six Horsemen: For the whole *Athenian* Nation being anciently divided into Forty-eight *Naucraria*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number

(a) *Strabo* lib. XIV. (b) *Pausanias* lib. IV. (c) *Plato*. (d) *Hesychius*. (e) *Xenophon* *Kypariss.* lib. IV. (f) *Thucydides* lib. V.

of Horses, each of these were oblig'd to furnish to the War, was no more than Two. And therefore 'tis no Wonder if the Medes thought them depriv'd of Reason, when at the Battel of *Marathon* they had Courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small and appearingly contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the Medes and Persians out of Greece, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they encreas'd the Number of their Cavalry to Three Hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establisht it in greater Power and Splendor than before, they augmented them to Twelve Hundred, and arm'd at the same Time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater Plenty than of Horses; for both then and afterwards the Strength of most of the Grecian Armies consisted in their heavy-arm'd Foot.

The Athenians admitted none to serve on Horseback, till they had undergone a strict Probation; and if any Person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the Roll, upon Conviction he was declar'd ἀτιμῶ, and disfranchis'd (c). This consisted, with respect to the Men, in a Search after their Estates, and Observation of their Strength and Vigour of Body: For no Persons were enter'd into the Roll but such as had plentiful Possessions, and were in good Plight of Body. This Probation was perform'd by the Ἱππαρχῶ, General of the Horse; who, if Occasion requir'd, was assisted by the Phylarchi, and Senate of Five Hundred (d). In Horses they observ'd their Obedience to their Riders, and such as they found ungovernable or fearful, were rejected: This was examin'd τῷ κώδωνι, by the Sound of a Bell, or some other Instrument of that Nature: Whence κωδωνίζεν is expounded πειράζειν, to try, or prove; and ἀκωδωνιστὴν is the same with ἀπειραστὸν, unprov'd (e). Such Horses likewise as were beaten out with long Service, they branded upon the Jaw with a Mark, frequently term'd τροχὸς (f), being the Figure of a Wheel, or Circle, and sometimes τρυσιππίον, whereby the Beast was releas'd from farther Service. Hence ἐπιτίτταλον τρυσιππίον is to excuse. Thus in the following Verse of *Eupolis*,

Εἶθ' ὥσπερ Ἱππῶ μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσιππίον.

Which was thus express'd by *Crates* in his Comedy entitled *The Samians*,

Ἱππῶ ζητάσκοντι τὰ μείονα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε (g).

We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most of which were deriv'd from the Variety of their Armour, or different manner of fighting, as that of ἀκροβολισταί, who annoy'd their Enemies with missile Weapons at some Distance, δοξατοφόροι, ξυστο-

(a) Herodotus. (b) Æschines Orat. de falsa legatione, Andocides Orat. de pace. (c) Lysias Orat. de ordine deterioro. (d) Aristophan's Scholastes in *Ranæ*. Xenophon *Hippiarchico*, Hesychius v. Τρυσιππίον. (e) Hesychius. (f) Conf. Zenobius Cent. IV. Prov. XLI.

φορεῖ, ὑπακοντισαί, ἵπποτοξόται, κοντοφόροι, θυρεοφόροι, with others, the Distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their Names.

Ἀμφοῖπποι, sometimes by Mistake, or Corruption, call'd ἀνιπποῖ (a), were such as for Conveniency had Two Horses, on which they rode by Turns. They were sometimes term'd ἵππαγωγοί, δια τὸ ἄγειν ἵππον, because they led one of their Horses; which was not a late Contrivance, but practis'd soon after the Heroical Times, as appears from *Homer's* (b) mentioning it,

ὁ δ' ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμείβετο, οἷ ὃ πέτοντο.

Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full speed
He leap from one upon the other Steed.

Διμάχαι, first instituted by *Alexander the Great*, were a sort of Dragons, and accommodated with Armour something heavier than that of ordinary Horse-men, but not quite so weighty as that of the Foot-soldiers; to the end they might be ready to serve either on Horse-back. or on Foot; for which Reason they had Servants attending to take their Horses whenever the General commanded them to alight (c).

They were also distinguish'd into κατόψευκτοι and μὴ κατόψευκτοι, i. e. heavy and light-arm'd, after the same manner with the Foot-men. The κατόψευκτοι, or Curassiers, were not only fortify'd with Armour themselves, but had their Horses guarded with solid Plates of Brass, or other Metals, which from the Members defended by them receiv'd different Names, being call'd προμαστωπίδια, παρώτια, παρήια, περσενίδια, δρακονοείδια, δρακονοείδια, δρακονομήδια, &c. (d), sometimes they were compos'd of Skins fortify'd with Plates of Metal curiously wrought into Plumes, or other Forms. Thus we find one of *Virgil's* Heroes arm'd his Steed (e);

Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis abenis
In plumam squamis auro conferta regebat.

He spurr'd his gen'rous Horse, whose Cloathing was
A Skin beset with Plates of Gold and Brass,
Made in the Falh'on of a costly Plume.

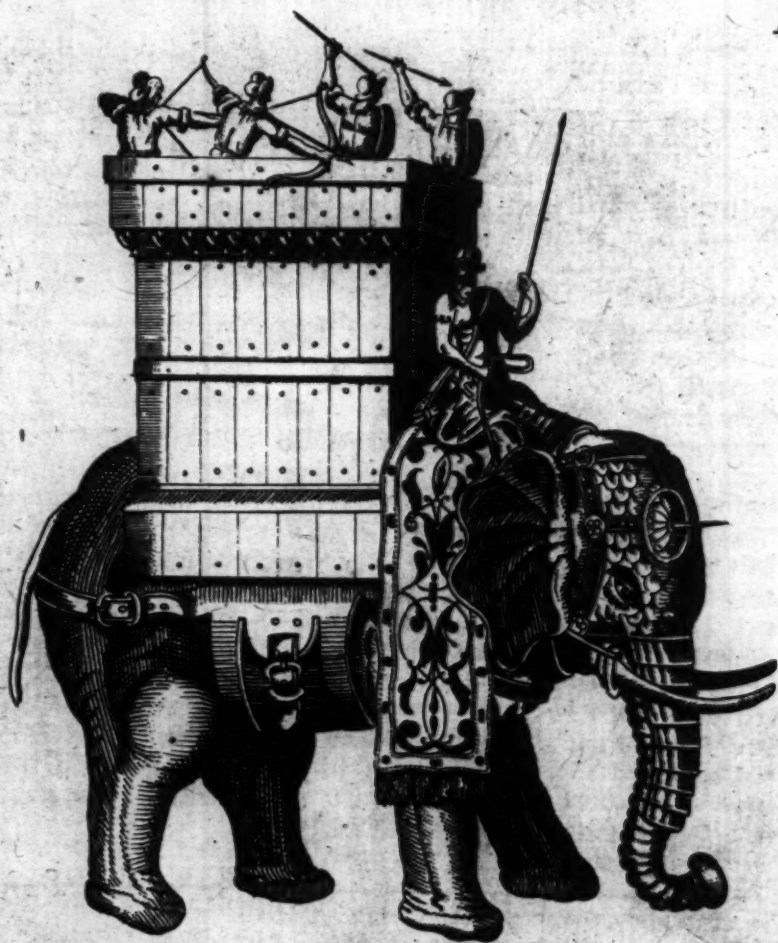
They were likewise bedeckt with various Ornaments, viz. with Bells, as we find *Rhesus's* Horses in *Euripides*; with Cloathing of Tapestry, Embroidery, and other Curious Work, with rich Collars and Trappings, or what the *Latins* call *Phalerae*, the *Greeks* φάλαρα, which some will have to be an Ornament for the Forehead, others for the Jaws; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the Ornaments belonging to Horses.

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux*, lib I. cap. X. n. V. (b) *Iliad*. 6. 684. (c) *Pollux* loc. cit. (d) *Idem* eodem cap. (e) *Æn*, XI. v. 770.

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Of Camels and Elephants, which are so much talk'd of in the Wars of some Countries, we have no mention in the *Grecian* Story before the Times of *Alexander*, when we find a great Number of Elephants transported from the Eastern Parts of the World. These were wont to carry into the Battel large Towers, in which Ten, Fifteen, and, as some affirm, Thirty Soldiers were contained, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons, themselves being secure, and out of Danger (a). Nor were the Beasts idle, or useless in Engagements; for beside that, with their Smell, their vast and amazing Bulk, and their strange and terrible Noise, both Horses and Soldiers were struck with Terror and Astonishment, they acted their Parts Couragiously, trampling under Feet all Opposers, or catching them in their Trunks, and tossing into the Air, or delivering them to their Riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great Fury, which they always doubled after they had receiv'd Wounds, tearing their Adversaries in pieces with their Teeth (c). But in a short Time they were wholly laid aside, their Service not being able to compensate the great Mischiefs frequently done by them: For though they were endued with great Sagacity, and approacht nearer to Human Reason than any other Animal, whereby they became more tractable to their Governors, and capable to pay Obedience to their Instructions; yet being sore wounded, and prest upon by their Enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turn'd all their Rage upon their own Party, put them into Confusion, committed terrible Slaughters, and deliver'd the Victory to their Enemies; of which several remarkable Instances are recorded in the Historians of both Languages.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE Authors of Fables tell us, the First Person that put on Armour was *Mars*, who perhaps for no other Reason was honour'd with the Title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient Heathens gratefully to acknowledge their Obligations to the First Contrivers of any Profitable Invention, by ascribing them into the Number of their Deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual Care and Sovereignty of those Useful and Ingenious Arts or Contrivances, whereof they were the First Authors. The Workman employ'd by *Mars* was *Vulcan*, at that Time a Master-Smith in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so eminent in his Profession, that Posterity

(a) *Philostatus Vita Apollonii* lib. I. cap. VI. (b) *Curtius* lib. VIII. (c) *Polybius* lib. V.

advanc'd him among the Gods, and honoured him with the Superintendency and Protection of his own Trade: But his Countrymen the *Lemnians* were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all Ages as common Enemies of Mankind, and branded with Characters of Infamy for that execrable and pernicious Device. Whence the Poets have fixt upon them the Name of Σίντιες, to continue the Memory of the Harm they did to Mankind. Thus *Homer* (a),

Ενθα με Σίντιες ἄνδρες ἄρας κομίσαντο πεισύντα.

Turn'd out of Heav'n the *Lemnians* me receiv'd.

Their Country likewise was called Σίντις, as we find in *Apolonius* (b),

Εἰσεῖν καγαλὴ Σίντις Λήμνον ἴκοντο.

To *Lemnos*, otherwise *Sinteis* call'd,
They sail'd.

From the same Original are deriv'd those common Proverbs, Λήμνια κακὰ, great and intolerable Evils: Λήμνια χεῖρ, a fatal, or mischievous Hand: And Λήμνιον βλέπεν, to have a cruel and bloody Look (c). Though some will by no Means allow this Character to have been given to the *Lemnians* for their Invention of Arms, but rather for the frequent Piracies and Outrages committed by them upon Foreigners, or for other Reasons: Whereas they tell us that *Liber*, or *Bacchus* was the First that introduc'd into the World the Use of Weapons (d).

The Arms of all the Primitive Heroes were compos'd of Brass, as appears from *Homer*, who is herein followed, as well by the ancient Poets, both *Greek* and *Latin*, as all other Writers that give Account of those Times. *Pausanias* hath endeavour'd to prove this by a great Number of Instances (e); 'tis reported in *Plutarch* (f), that when *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, convey'd the Bones of *Theseus* from the Isle of *Scyros* to *Athens*, he found interr'd with him a Sword of Brass, and a Spear with an Head of the same Metal. More Examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by *Hesiod*, that there was no such Thing as Iron in those Ages, but their Arms, all sorts of Instruments, and their very Houses were made of Brass (g);

Τοῖς δ' αὖτε χαλκῆα μὲν τὰ χεῖρ, χαλκοὶ δὲ τὰ οἶκοι,
χαλκῆ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐκ τοῦ σίδνους.

Not yet to Men Iron discover'd was,
But Arms, Tools, Houses were compos'd of Brass.

(a) *Iliad* α. νεοπε σ. em. (b) *Argon* II. (c) *Eustathius* *Iliad* α. p. 119. Edit. *Basil.* (d) *Isidorus* Orig. lib. IX. cap. III. (e) *Laconicis*. (f) *Theseus*. (g) *Opera* & *Dict.*

And in later Ages, when the World was acquainted with the Use of Iron, the Artificers, and their Occupation still retain'd their old Names. Thus we are told by *Aristotle* (a), that χαλκός denotes an Iron-Smith: And (to trouble you with no more Instances in a Thing so commonly known) *Plutarch* (b) applies the Word ἐχάλυδον to the making of Iron Helmets.

Some of their Arms were compos'd of Tin, especially their Boots, as we read of *Achilles's* in the Eighteenth *Iliad*. This Metal was likewise frequently us'd in other Parts of their Armour, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Breast-plate (c), and *Æneas's* Shield (d).

Several other Metals were made Use of; Gold and Silver were in great Esteem among them, yet the most Illustrious Heroes us'd them only as Graceful Ornaments: They, whose whole Armour was compos'd of them, are usually represented as more addicted to effeminate and delicate Arts, than Manly Courage and Bravery. *Glauco's* Arms were indeed made of Gold, but the Great *Diomedes* was content with Brass. *Amphimachus*, who enter'd into the War with Golden Weapons, is compar'd by *Homer* to a Trim Virgin (e),

Νῆστος, Ἀμφίμαχος τε, Νομίονος ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ὅς κ' χρυσὸν ἔχων πόλεμόνδ' ἔην, ἥντε κέρη,
Νῆπιός, ἔδ' ἐτί οἱ τὸ γ' ἐπ' ἤκεσε λυγρὸν ὄλεθρον,
ἀλλ' ἐδάμνητο χερσὶ ποδάρεσσιν Αἰακίδαο.
Ἐν ποταμῷ, χρυσὸν δ' Ἀχιλῆος ἐκέρμισε δαΐφρων.

Trickt up in Arms of Gold for horrid War,
Like some Trim Girl, does *Nomion's* Son prepare,
The vain *Amphimachus*; but not that Show,
Nor Pomp could ward off the unerring Blow,
But the *Æacides* depriv'd of Life,
His Arms were seiz'd by the more skilful Chief,

H. H.

In like manner the *Persians*, having given themselves over to Softness and Pleasure, engag'd with the rough *Grecians*, richly adorn'd with Gold and Jewels, and became an easie Prey unto them. The *Grecian* Heroes, though not so unpolisht, as to debar themselves the Use of these Ornaments, yet were not so excessively profuse of them, nor applied them to the same Ends and Purposes: *Achilles's* Shield, so curiously engrav'd by *Vulcan*, is a Lecture of Philosophy, and contains a Description of almost all the Works of Nature. The Arms of other Valliant Princes are frequently adorn'd with Representations of their Noble Exploits, the History of the Actions of their Ancestors, or Blessings receiv'd from the Gods; or fill'd with terrible Images of Lions, or Dragons, and render'd bright and shining to

(a) Poetica. (b) Camillo. Ἐχάλυδο καὶ τοὺς πλείους ἀλυσσάμενα (c) *Iliad*. ad. A. (d) *Iliad*. v. (e) *Iliad*. C. prope finem.

strike Terror and Amazement into their Enemies, according to that of Homer (a);

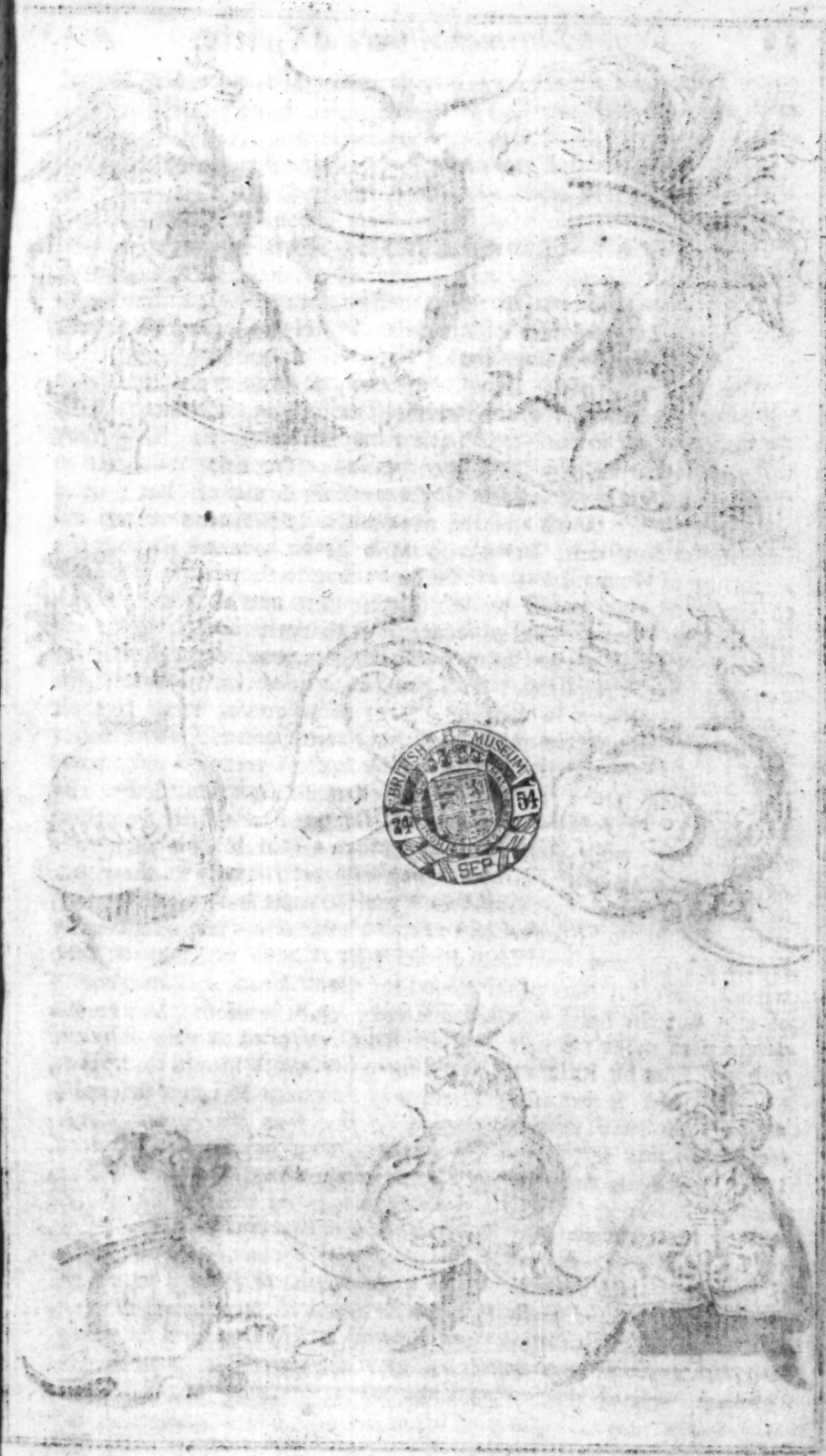
ὄρε δ' ἄμερδεν
 Αὐγὴ χαλκείη.

Th' amazing Lustre terrify'd the Sight.

So 'tis reported of our *British* Ancestors, that they painted themselves with divers Forms of Animals, thinking thereby to appear more terrible to their Enemies.

The Ancient *Grecians* were always armed, thinking it unsafe to adventure themselves abroad without a sufficient Defence against Aggressors. Hence *Aristotle* hath rationally inferred, That they were a barbarous and uncivilized Nation: For being educated in the deepest Ignorance, and having very little Sense of that Justice and Honesty, to which all Men are oblig'd by Nature's eternal and immutable Sanctions, being also in a great Measure without the Restraint of Human Laws, all Persons thought they had a just Title to whatever they could by any Means take into Possession, which they had no other Method to secure, but that whereby they obtain'd it; and resigned their Claim whenever a more Potent Adversary exhibited his Pretensions. The Seas were filled with Pirates, the Land with Robbers, who made a Prey of whatever came to their Hands, and frequently made Incurfions into Countries, which they spoil'd and depopulated, and, if their Force was great enough, drove out the Inhabitants, and compelled them to seek new Seats. By Men of this Profession, *Io*, *Europa*, *Ganymedes*, and many others were stolen; which put *Tyndarus* in such a Fear for his Daughter *Helen*, that he caused all the young Princes, that made their Addresses to her, to bind themselves by a solemn Oath to recover her, if ever she should be conveyed away. The Sea, we are informed by *Thucydides* (b), was freed from Piracies by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a powerful Navy maintained for many Years the Sovereignty of it. But the Land was still infested; and therefore when *Theseus* designed to make his first Journey from *Træzen* to *Athens*, *Plutarch* tells us, That his Relations would have persuaded him to go by Sea; For (says he) it was at that Time very dangerous to travel by Land to *Athens*, no Place of the Country being free from Thieves and Murderers: For that Age produced a sort of Men, for Strength of Arms, Swiftness of Feet, and Vigour of Body excelling the ordinary Rate of Men, and in Labours and Exercises indefatigable; yet making Use of these Gifts of Nature to nothing good or profitable to Mankind; but rejoicing, and taking Pride in Insolence, and pleasing themselves in the Commission of barbarous and inhuman Cruelties, in seizing by Force whatever fell into their Hands, and practising upon Strangers all manner of Outrages; who imagined that Civility, and Justice, and Equity, and Humanity, (which they thought were commended by many, either for want of Cou-

(a) *Iliad* I. (b) *Lib* I.





rage to commit Injuries, or Fear of receiving them) nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong (a). Of these indeed Hercules and Theseus, and other generous and publick-spirited Princes in a great Measure freed the Country: But before that 'twas not to be wondered, if the Grecians always wore Arms, standing upon their Guard, especially since in those Days few of them were united into large Towns, but lived retiredly in Country-seats, or at the best in small and defenceless Hamlets. This Custom was first laid aside at Athens, the Occasion and Necessity thereof being first removed in that City (b): For Historians generally agree, that the Athenians entertained the decent Rules of Civility and Humanity, were modelled into a regular Form of Government, and enjoyed the Happiness of wholesom and useful Laws before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by Solon upon those who wore Arms in the City without Necessity (c); that having in former Times been the Occasion of frequent Murders, Robberies, and Duels. On the same Account was made the following Law of Zaleucus, Μὴ δῖνα φορεῖν ὅπλα ἐν τῷ βουλῆτισι. That no Person should bear Arms in the Senate.

Let us now return to the Description of the Grecian Arms, which are distinguished into Two Sorts, some of them being contrived for their own Defence, others to annoy their Enemies. The Primitive Grecians, we are told (d), were better furnished with the former, whereas the Barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter: The Generals of these being most concerned how to destroy their Enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the Dictates of Humane Nature, to study how to preserve their Friends: For which Reason Homer always takes Care to introduce his Brave and Valiant Heroes well armed into the Battle, and the Grecian Law-givers decreed Punishments for those that threw away their Shields, but excused those that lost their Swords or Spears, intimating hereby, that their Soldiers ought to be more careful to defend themselves, than to offend their Enemies (e).

First let us take Account of their Defensive Arms, as fitted to the several Members of the Body, beginning at the Head, which was guarded with an Helmet, called in Greek *σικεραλία, κράν* &c. This was sometimes composed of Brass or other Metals, as Menelaus's in Homer,

αὐτὰρ ὅπῃ σεράνῳ κεφάλῳν αἰέεας
 ὀήκατο χαλκείῳ

He put his Head-piece on, compos'd of Brass.

And very frequently of the Skins of Beasts, which gave Occasion to those different Appellations, derived from the Names of Animals, whereby it is signified in Homer, as *ἰκτιδῆν, ταυρεῖν, ἀλωπεκῆν*,

(a) Plutarchus Theseo. (b) Thucydides lib. I. (c) Lucianus Anacharside.
 (d) Euripidis Scholiastes. (e) Plutarchus Pelopida.

λεοντήν, αἰγείν, and others, of which none is more common than κυνήν, which was composed of a Dog's Skin; *Eustatius* tells us 'twas ποτάμιον κύων, a Water-dog, and was so frequently used by the Ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the Name of an Helmet, though consisting of another sort of Matter: Thus *Homer* (a),

— ἀμφὶ δὲ δι' κυνέῳ κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Ταυρεῖον —

He put on's Helmet of a Bull's Hide made,

These Skins were always worn with their Hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightful, the Teeth were frequently placed grinning on their Enemies: Thus the Soldier in *Virgil* (b),

*Ipsipedes tegmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capivi, sic regia tellus subibas.*

He shakes his Lion's Skin, whose grisly Hair
And dreadful Teeth create in all a Fear,
Thus having fortify'd his Martial Head,
The Royal Roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms *Ulysses* in the same manner (c);

— ἀμφὶ δὲ δι' οἰ κυνέῳ κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Πινὲ πρηντῶ, πολέσιν δ' ἐντοδὲν ἱμάσιν
Εὐτέταλο σερεῶς, ἐκλοθε ἢ λαλοὶ δ' δόντες
Αργυρόδοντον ὕδρ' ἀμείβες ἔχον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
Εὐ καὶ ἐπ' ἀμύρας, μέγα δ' ἐνὶ πῖλῳ ἀρήρει.

His Leathern Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
Whose Inside with the strongest Thongs was lac'd;
But all the outward Parts were fortify'd
With the White Teeth of Boars. —

The Fore-part of the Helmet was open, for the Heroes all enter'd into the Battle with Faces uncover'd; to the Side was fix'd a String, whereby it was ty'd to the Warriour's Neck: This was term'd ὄχλος, whence *Homer* speaks of *Paris* thus (d),

Αγχε δὲ μιν πολύνεκτον ἱμάς ἀπαλλῶ ὑπὸ δαφνῶ,
Ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνδρεῶν ὄχλος τέταλο τρυφαλέης.

The well-wrought String, w' ich ty'd his Helmet on
Under his Chin, now choak'd the Champion.

(a) *Iliad*. x'. (b) *Aeneid*. VII. v. 666. (c) *Iliad*. x'. v. 251. (d) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 371.

Some of its parts receiv'd their names from the members guarded by them, as ὄφρυνες, that part which cover'd the *Eye-brows*, and the rest in like manner. The little Lappet erected over the Brow was by a Metaphorical term call'd γῆσσον, the pent-house. But the most remarkable of all the parts in the Helmet was it's Crest, term'd φάλαξ, and λόφος (c), which was first us'd by the *Carians* (d), and thence call'd by *Alcaus*, καεικὸς λόφος,

Λόφον τε σείων Καεικόν.

Shaking his *Carian* Crest.

For the *Carians* were once famous for Military exploits, and oblig'd the World with this, and several other Inventions; hence we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that it was customary for them to reposit a little Shield and an Helmet in the Graves of their Dead. Some will have φάλαξ to be distinguish'd from λόφος, that signifying the *Comus*, this the Plume fix'd to it (b), but others allow no difference between them. The former of these was compos'd of various materials, most of which were rich and chargeable, being design'd as an ornament to the Helmet. The other likewise was adorn'd with divers sorts of Paint, whence *Pollux* gives it the Epithets of εὐανδρῆς, εὐανδρινόεσσος (c). *Homer* has enrich'd it with Gold (d),

Τόξ' εἰ δὲ οἱ κέρνυθα βριαρῶν κρατάροισι ἀραρυῖαν,
Καλῶν, δαυδαλέων, ἐπὶ δ' χρυσεῖον λόφον ἦκε.

A strong and trusty Helmet next he made
Which when he'd rightly seated on his Head,
The curious particolour'd Golden Crest
In beauteous form he o'er the Helmet plac'd.

One of *Virgil's* *Hero's* has his whole Helmet of Gold, and his Crest painted with red (e),

maculis quem Thracius albis
Portat equus, cristæque regis galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large spots of white the *Thracian* Steed
Carry'd the *Heroe*, who had arm'd his Head
With Golden Helmet, and Crest painted red.

The Crest was for the most part of Feathers, or the Hair of horses Tails, or Mains; when we read of λόφος ἵππιόχαίτης, κόρυς ἱπποδάσεια, ἵππυς. Thus *Homer* (f);

(c) *Hesychius*, &c. (d) *Herodotus* cition, *Strabo* lib. XIV.

(a) *Lib* I. (b) *Suidas*, &c. (c) *Lib* I, cap. X. (d) *Iliad*, τ', 610. (e) *Æneid*. IX. 49. (f) *Iliad*, τ. v. 382.

ἥδ' αἰὲρ ὡς ἀπέλαμπεν

Ἰππυεὶς τρυφάλεια, πειρασσέοντο δ' ἰδεῖναι !

Χρύσειαι, ἃς Ἡφαίστος ἱεὶ λόφον ἀμφὶ δάμειας.

Like some bright Star the crested Helmet shone,
The gilded Hairs, which *Vulcan* round the Cone
Had plac'd, were all in sportful order mov'd.

The common Soldiers had only small Crests; the great Officers, and all persons of Quality were distinguish'd by Plumes of a larger size; and frequently took a pride in wearing two, three, or four together. *Suidas* will have *Geryon* to have been famous in Poetry for three Heads, on no other account, but because his Helmet was adorn'd with three Crests. *Virgil* describes *Turnus's* Head-piece after the same manner (a), adding also to it the figure of a *Chimera*,

Cui triplici crinita juba galea alia Chimera

Sustinet

Whose triple-crested Helmet did sustain

A terrible *Chimera*.

This Helmet was call'd τρυφάλεια; when it was surrounded with Plumes, ἀμφίφαλος; and when adorn'd with four τετράφαλος; Thus *Apollonius* (b),

Τετράφαλος φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο πῆληξ.

A four-fold Plume with dazzling lustre shone,
Whose nodding Top o'erlook'd the dreadful Cone.

The design of these was to strike terror into the Enemies; whence that of *Homer* (c),

δεδνρ δ' λόφῳ καθύπερθεν ἔνδον.

For the same reason *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, beside a lofty Crest, wore Goat's horns upon his Helmet (d). We are told indeed by *Suidas*, that the τεῖχος, or Crest it self was sometimes term'd κέρας. Nevertheless some of the ancient Helmets had no Crest, or Cone at all. This sort was call'd καταῖτις, as we learn from *Homer* (e),

ἀμφὶ δ' οἱ κνήμῳ κεφαλῇσιν ἔθηκε

Τανθεῖον, ἀρμον τε, καὶ ἀλοφον, ἢ τε καταῖτις

Κίχληται.

His Bulk-skin-Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
Καταῖτις call'd, 'cause without Cone or Crest.

Other sorts of Ornaments were us'd in Helmets, as in that call'd

(a) *Æneid* VII. v. 785. (b) *Libi* III. (c) *Iliad*, III. (d) *Pyrrhus* *Pyrrho*. (e) *Iliad*, x.

σεράνη, which name signifies the ridge of a Mountain, and on that account is apply'd to Helmets having several ἑξοχαί, eminencies, or parts jutting out (a). Homer has taken notice of this sort also (b),

— Ἰδὲ σεράνη δόρυ οἱ χέει χαλκοδάρεα.

Nor cou'd his Helmet made of solid Brass
Ward off the Blow. —

Of all the Grecian Helmets the Boeotian is said to have been the best (c). The Macedonians had a peculiar one term'd καυσίη, which was compos'd of Hides, and serv'd instead of a Cap to defend them from the cold; according to the Epigram in Suidas,

Καυσίη, ἢ τὰ πέλιδε Μακεδόσιν ἀποχολονόπλον,
Καὶ σκέπας ἐν νιφετῷ, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to chuse what Armour I wou'd have,
No Helmet forg'd in brawny Vulcan's Cave,
Nor Bear's, or Lyon's grisly Skin I'd crave;
But an old broad-brim'd Macedonian Cap,
Whose spacious sides shou'd round my Shoulders wrap.
Thus all Attacks with gréatest ease I'd bear,
As well the Storms of Weather, as of War.

H. H.

Pliny attributes the first Invention of Helmets to the Lacedemonians (d), as likewise of the Sword, and Spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar Sorts of those Weapons us'd at Sparta; other kinds of them being known before the first Foundation of the Spartan Government, or Nation.

The Heroes prided themselves in wearing for their defence the Skins of wild Beasts, which they esteem'd Badges of their Prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the Poets, Hence Theocritus (e);

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὸ νάτοιο καὶ ἀνχένῳ ἡρεῖται
Ἀγρῶν δῆγμα λέοντος ἀσσημένον ἐκ ποδῶν αἶαν.

Over his neck and back a Lyon's Skin was thrown
Held up by 't's Feet.

Hercules's Lyon's Skin is very famous in story, and Homer's great Princes are frequently introduc'd in the same Habit; in imitation of whom the other Greek, and Latin Poets have arm'd their Heroes. Thus Aeneas in Virgil (f),

(a) Hesych us. (b) Iliad. λ' v. 96. (c) Pollux lib. I. cap. X. (d) L. b. VII. cap. LYI. (e) Διογένης. (f) Æneid. V. v. 36.

— occurrit Acastes

Horridus in jaculis, & pelle Libyftidos urſæ.

Acastes dreadful for his horrid Darts,
And for the *Libyan* Bear-skin that he wears,
Met them. —

But we find they were not aſham'd of uſing better and ſtronger Armour for their defence; the ordinary ſorts of which were theſe that follow:

Μίτρη, made of Braſs, but lin'd with Wool, and worn next to the Skin, underneath the Coat of Mail. This we learn from *Homer* ſpeaking of a Dart that pierc'd thro' the reſt of the Hero's Armour, but was ſo blunted by the *μίτρη* (a), that it only raſ'd his Skin,

Αὐτὴ δ' αὖτ' ἴδωκεν ὅθι ζῶσῃος ὀχῆες
Χρῦσειοι σῶεχον, καὶ διπλὸς ἦν τετο δῶρηξ,
Ὡς δ' ἔπεσε ζῶσῃος ἀρεσέτι πικρὸς δῖος ὅς
Διὰ μ' ἀρ' ζῶσῃος ἐλήλατο δαυδαλίῳ,
Καὶ διὰ δῶρηκος πολυδαυδαλὴ ἠρήρετο,
Μίτρης θ', ὡς ἐφύρει ἔρυμα χροῖε, ἐρεος ἀκόντων,
Ὡ οἱ πλεῖστον ἔρυτο. —

She to that part the deadly Shaft convey'd,
Where meeting Claps a double Breast-plate made;
Straight on his Belt it fell, nor there cou'd ſtay,
But thro' both Belt and Breast-plate forc'd it's way,
And now his laſt beſt hopes, the well-lin'd Braſs,
Which againſt Darts his ſureſt refuge was,
It raſ'd, but cou'd not thro' it make a perfect Paſs.

H. H.

Ζῶμα, or *ζῶσῃ*, reach'd from the Knees to the Belly, where it was join'd to the Brigandine (b). But the latter of theſe names is more frequently taken for the Belt ſurrounding the reſt of the Armour. Thus *Homer* (c);

Αὔσε δ' εἰς οἱ ζῶσῃος πανάτολον, ἥ δ' ἐπ' ἐνέρεθε
Ζῶμα τε, καὶ μίτρη, ὡς χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες.

His rich embroider'd Belt he then unbrac'd,
And all his Armour underneath it plac'd,
Which by the hands of ſkilful Smiths was made,

This was ſo eſſential to a Warriour, that *ζώννυθαι* came to be a general name for putting on Armour (d): Whence *Homer* introduces *Agamemnon* commanding the *Grecians* to arm themſelves thus (e),

(a) *Iad. δ'*. & *Eustathius* *ibid.* p. 345. Edit. *Baſil.* (b) *Eustathius* *ibid.*
(c) *Iad. δ'*. (d) *Pausanias* *Boeotica*. (e) *Iad. λ'*.

Ατρεΐδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώνουσαι ἀνύγεν.

Atrides straight commands them all to arm.

The same Poet, when he makes that Hero resemble the God of War in his ζώνη, is suppos'd (as Pausanias (a) tells us) to mean his whole Armour. The Romans had the same custom, as appears from Plutarch (b); And it prevail'd also amongst the Persians; whence Herodotus relates, how Xerxes having reach'd Abdera, when he fled from Athens, and thinking himself out of danger, did λυεῖν τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself (c). But ζώνη is a more general name than ζώνη, and signifies the μίτην.

Θώραξ consisted of two parts, one of which was a defence to the Back, the other to the Belly; the extreme parts of it were term'd πτέρυγες, the middle γυάλα (d). The sides were coupled together with a sort of Buttons (e). The same may be observ'd in Silius (f) of the Roman lorica, which differ'd not much from the Grecian Thorax, whence Θώραξ is by Hesychius expounded λωέλαιον.

— qua fibula morsus.

Lorica crebro laxata resolverat istu.

Ἡμισθώραξ was an half-thorax, or Breast-plate; which Pollux tells us was first invented by Jason: and we find it very much esteem'd by Alexander, who, as Polyanius (g) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a temptation to his Souldiers to turn their backs upon their Enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their Breasts, commanded them to lay aside their Back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμισθώραξια, Breast-plates; that so whenever they were put to flight, their Backs might be expos'd naked to their Enemies. The Thoraces were not all compos'd of the same stuff; some were made of Line, or Hemp twisted into small Cords, and close set together, whence we read of Thoraces bilices, and trilices, from the number of Cords fix'd one upon another. These were, frequently us'd in Hunting, because the Teeth of Lyons, and other wild Beasts were unable to pierce thro' them, sticking in the Cords; but not so often carry into Battels, as Pausanias observes (b); Yet there are not wanting Instances of this sort, for Ajax the son of Oileus has the Epithet of ἡμισθώραξ in Homer (i), and the same is said of the other Heroes.

— ὀλίγος δὲ κλυὺ ἡμισθώραξ.

Ajax the less a Linnen Breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by Plutarch to have worn θώρακα.

(a) Loco citato. (b) Coriolano. (c) Uranio, cap. CXX. (d) Pollux. Pausanias Atticus. (e) Pausanias ibid. (f) Lib VII. (g) Strateg. lib. IV. (h) Atticus. (i) Iliad. c.

διπλὴν διπλῶν, or a double-twisted linen thorax: And *Iphicrates* caus'd his Souldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy Brigandines of Iron, and go to the Field in Hempen Armour, as *Cornelius Nepos* hath inform'd us in his Life of that Captain. The ordinary matter the *Thoraces* were made of, was Brass, Iron, or other Metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely harden'd, as to be proof against the greatest force: *Plutarch* (a) reports that *Zoilus* an Artificer having made a Present of two Iron Brigandines to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for an experiment of their Hardness, caus'd an Arrow to be shot out of an Engine call'd *Catapulta*, plac'd about twenty-six paces off, which was so far from piercing the Iron, that it scarcely ras'd, or made the least impression on it. This Armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one, or two continu'd pieces of Metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was term'd *δάραξ ἐάδ' ἰσος*, or *εἰσάδ' ἰσος* (b). The other was compos'd of a Beast's Hide, according to the Poet,

— πῶ δ' ὁ δάρακος σκύτε.

Whence the Latin word *lorica* is thought to be deriv'd from *lorum*. This was set with plates of Metal in various forms; sometimes in hooks, or Rings, not unlike a Chain; sometimes resembling Feathers, or the Scales of Serpents, or Fishes; to which Plates or Studs of Gold were often added: Whence we read of *δάρακες ἀλυσίδωτοι*, *λεπιδώτοι*, *ρολιδώτοι*, &c. And the Greek and Latin Poets frequently mention them. Thus *Silius* (c), speaking of the Consul *Flaminius*;

Loricam induitur, tortos huic nexilis hamos

Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.

Virgil arms his Heroes after the same manner (d);

— Rutulum thoracē Indutus, aenis

Horrebat squamis

Drest in his glittering Breast-piece, he appear'd

Frightful with Scales of Brass.

The single Plates being sometimes pierc'd thro' by Spears, and mis-sive Weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another; Thus *Statius* (e),—

— ter insuto servant ingentia ferro

Pectora

With triple Plates of Iron they defend
Their Breasts.

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Eusebii*. (c) *Lib. V.* (d) *Æneid XI.* (e) *Theb. VII.*

And in another place (d),

Multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catena.

The little Chains a mighty Breast-plate joyn.

Whence in the same manner as from the number of Cords, they were term'd *bilices*, and *trilices*; in Greek, *διπλοὶ* & *τετράπλοι*. Virgil (b),

Loricam confervam hamis, auroque trilicem.

The three-fold Coat of Mail beset with Hooks and Gold.

Κνημίδες, Ὀρεα, were Greaves of Brass, Copper, or other Metal, to defend the Legs. Whence Hesiod (c),

—— *κνημίδας δειχάλλοιο φαεινῇ,
Ἡφαίστου κλυτὰ δῶρα, φεῖ κνήμησιν ἔθηκεν.*

The Greaves of shining Brass, which Vulcan gave,
He round his Ancles plac'd,——

Homer frequently composeth them of Tin (d);

Τεῦξε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἱανὴ κασιγέγιο.

He made his Greaves of beaten Tin.

The sides were generally clos'd about the Ancles with Buttons, which were sometimes of solid Gold, or Silver, as we have it in the same Poet (e);

*Κνημίδας ᾧ πρῶτα φεῖ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε
Καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφύεσσι ἀράχας.*

The curious Greaves he round his Ancles clos'd
With Silver Buttons.

It is probable, that this piece of Armour, was at first either peculiar to the *Grecians*, or at least more generally us'd by them than other Nations; because we find them so perpetually call'd by the Poet,

—— *εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.*

Χεῖρες were Guards for their Hands, which we find also to have been us'd by some of them, with other Defences for their Arms.

(a) *Iliad*. XII. (b) *Aeneid*. III. 467. (c) *Scuto*. (d) *Iliad*. c. vi. 612.
(e) *Iliad*. γ. v. 330.

Ασπίς, a Buckler. This was first us'd by *Prætus* and *Acrisius* of *Argos* (a). It was sometimes compos'd of Wickers woven together, according to *Virgil* (b);

flectuntque Saligna
Umbonum crates

The Bucklers they of Osiers make.

Whence it is term'd *ἰτιά* (c). It was likewise made of Wood; and because it was expedient that the Warriours should be able with the greatest ease to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of Wood for this use, as the Figg, Willow, Beech, Poplar, Elder-trees, &c. as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (d). But it was commonly made of Hides; whence we find so frequent mention of *ἀσπίδες βοείαι*. These were doubled into several Folds, and fortify'd with Plates of Metal. *Ajax's* Buckler was compos'd of seven Folds of Hide, and cover'd with a single Plate of Brass, as we read in *Homer* (e);

σάκος αἰόλον ἐπ' αἰθέριον
Ταύρων ζατρεπίων, ὅππ' δ' ὄγδον ἦλασε χαλκόν.

Made of the Hides of seven well fatted Bulls,
And cover'd with a Plate of Brass;

Achilles's was guarded with three Folds more, as the Poet tells us,

— Et as, Et proxima rupis
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the Brass, and thro' nine Hides it broke;
But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same *Hero's* in *Homer* was more strongly fortify'd by two Plates of Brass, two of Tin, and a fifth of Gold (f);

πέντε πτύχας ἦλασε Κυλλοποδίων
Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἄκονδι κασιτέρας,
Τὴν δ' μίαν, χρυσῶν.

For with five Plates *Vulcan* it fortify'd,
With two of Brass, two Tin, and one of Gold.

The principal parts of the Buckler were these:

Ἀπὺξ, *ἴπυς*, *περίεργα*, or *κύκλῳ*, the outmost Round, or Circumference.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiac. C. p. 131 Edit. Hanov.* (b) *Æneid. VII. 632.*
(c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Nat. Hist. lib. VI. cap. XL.* (e) *Iliad. v. v. 222.* (f) *Iliad.*
v. 270.

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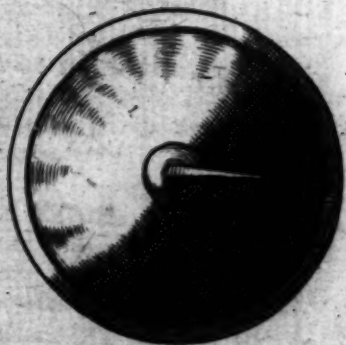
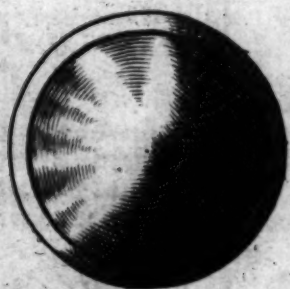
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Ομφαλός, and μεσομφάλιον, in Latin *umbo*, a Bos jutting out in the middle of the Buckler, upon which was fix'd another protuberant part term'd ἐπομφάλιον. This was of great service to them, not only in glancing off, and repelling missive Weapons, but in bearing down their Enemies. Whence *Martial* has this allusion,

In turbam incideris, cunctos umbone repelles.

Should you be in a Croud, your Slave
Wou'd with his Bos repell them all.

Τελαμών was a Thong of Leather, and sometimes a Rod of Metal, reaching cross the Buckler, whereby they hung it upon their Shoulders; according to the primitive Fashion (a): Whence *Homer* (b),

αὐτὰρ ἂπ' ὤμων
λατὶς σὺν τελαμῶνι χαμαὶ πέσε τερμιδῆσα.

Down from his Shoulders the huge Buckler fell
With its loos'd Thong.

It was sometimes call'd *κανών*, except this may be understood of the Rod, to which the τελαμών was fasten'd, as *Hesychius* expounds it, which seems most probable, and that κανόνες were Rods, whereby the Bucklers were held, (as *Homer's* Scholiast reports) but τελαμώνες, the Thongs affix'd to them, and hung upon the Warriour's Shoulders, tho' *Eustathius* will have them to have been put to the former use, and to be the same with κανόνες (c). Sometimes the Bucklers were held by little Rings call'd *πρόπανες*; But at length most of the *Grecians* us'd an Handle call'd *ὄχανον*, or *ὄχδυν*, which tho' sometimes spoken of with the former names, and explain'd by them, was really different from both, being invented by the *Carians* (d), and, as 'tis commonly thought, compos'd for the most part of small Iron Bars, plac'd cross each other, and resembling the letter χ (e). When the Wars were ended, and the Bucklers, (as was customary) hung up in the Temples of the Gods, they took off the Handles, thereby to render them unfit to serve in any sudden Insurrection: Whence *Aristophanes* introduces a Person affrighted, when he saw Bucklers hanging up with Handles,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν ὅδε πρόπανας.

O sad! The Bucklers Handles have.

Which another had also found fault with a little before;

(a) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. c. p. 184. Edit. Basil. (b) *Iliad*. p. (c) *Loco citato*:
(d) *Etymologicus Auctor*, *Homery* Scholiastes, &c. (e) *Eustathius* *loco citato*.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐχέλω, ἃ περ φιλεῖς ἢ δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας
Ταύτας ἐφ' αὐτοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεδύωαι.

Æschylus speaks of little Bells hung upon Bucklers to strike Terror into the Enemy,

ὕπ' ἀσπίδος ὅ περ
Χαλκήλατοι πλάττ' αἰ κώδωνες φόβῳ.

Most of the Bucklers were curiously adorn'd with all sorts of Figures of Birds, and Beasts, especially such as were of generous Natures, as Eagles, Lyons, &c Nor of these only, but of the Gods, of the Celestial Bodies, and all the Works of Nature: Which Custom was deriv'd from the Heroick Ages, and continu'd in later Times, being (as *Herodotus* (a) reports) first introduc'd by the *Carians*, and from them communicated to the *Grecians*, *Romans*, and *Barbarians*.

The *Grecians* had several sorts of Bucklers, the most remarkable of which seem to have been those of *Argos*, which are thought to be bigger than the rest, whence *Virgil* compares to them *Polyphemus's* monstrous Eye, which he tells us was (b),

Argolici clypei, aut Phœbææ lampadis instar.

Like an *Argolick* Buckler, or the Sun.

Most indeed of the ancient Bucklers seem to have cover'd the whole Body: whence *Virgil* (c),

— clypeique sub orbe teguntur.

Under their Bucklers cover'd close they stand.

Tyræus enumerates the Members protected thereby,

Μηρὺς τε, κνήμας κάτω, καὶ στήνα, καὶ ὄμους
Ἀσπίδος εὐρέως γαστρί καλυψάμεν.

Thighs, Legs, and Breast, Belly, and Shoulders too
The mighty Buckler cover'd.

This farther appears from the Custom of carrying dead Souldiers out of the Field upon their Bucklers; whence we read of the famous Command of the *Spartan* Mothers to their Sons, *Ἡ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τὰν*, i. e. Either bring this, (meaning the Buckler,) or be brought upon it; meaning they should either secure their Bucklers, or lose their Lives in defending them (d). And *Homer*, for the same reason calls

(a) Lib. I. (b) *Æneid.* III. (c) *Æneid.* II. (d) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. *Lacœniæ*.

them ἀσπίδας ἀμφιβέεστας, and ποδωκεῖς, which Eustatbius interprets ἀνδρομήκεες, i. e. of the same size with a Man (a).

Their Form was usually round, whence Virgil's *clypei orbis*, and the frequent Mention of ἀσπίδες εὐκυκλοι, πάντοτε ἴσαι, &c. Hence the outmost Circumference was call'd κύκλος, as hath been already observ'd.

There were likewise Shields of lesser Sizes and other Forms, the use of several of which was later than the Heroick Ages.

Γέρρον, or γέρρα, was squar'd, like the Figure *rhombus*, and first us'd by the Persians (b).

Θυρεός was oblong, and usually bending inward: It seems to have been the same, which is call'd in Pollux (c) ἀσπίς κοίλη ἐτερομήκης.

Λαισθήιον seems to have been shap'd like the former, and compos'd of Hides with the Hair, whence Grammarians derive it from λάσιος, i. e. hairy. It was very light, whence (as Eustatbius (d) observes) Homer gives it the Epithet πτερόεν,

βοείας

Ἀσπίδας δ'κύκλους, λαισθήϊα τε πτερόεντα.

Πέλτη was a small and light Buckler in the Form of an Half-Moon (e), or, according to Xenophon, resembling an Ivy-leaf, and first us'd by the Amazons. But Suidas will have it to be a kind of Four-square Buckler, wanting the ἵνυς, or exterior Ring.

This was the chief of all their Arms: The Regard they had of it appears both from what has been already observ'd concerning their Care in adorning and preserving it; and from the common Story of Epaminondas, who having receiv'd a mortal Wound, and lying under the Agonies of Death, with great Concern enquir'd whether his Buckler was safe (f). Chabrias the Famous Athenian, when his Ship was sunk, rather chose honourably to resign his Life with his Buckler, than leaving it, to escape to another Vessel (g). Military Glory indeed being esteem'd the greatest that Human Nature was capable of, they had a profound Regard for all sorts of Arms, which were the Instruments whereby they attain'd it; whence to leave them to their Enemies, to give them for a Pledge, or dispose of them any dishonourable Way, was an indeleble Disgrace both in Greece (h), and at Rome, and scarce ever to be aton'd for.

Thus have I endeavour'd to give you a Description of the principal of the Grecian Defensive Arms, which are in general term'd ἀλεξήτεια, σκεπασήτεια, and περσλήματα.

The only Offensive Arms us'd by the Ancients, were Stones, or Clubs, and such as rude Nature furnish'd them with. They were wholly ignorant of all those Arts, and Contrivances to destroy their Enemies, which Necessity, and Thirst of Glory afterwards introduc'd into the World: Thus Horace describes the Fights of those wild and uncultivated Ages,

(a) *Iliad*. ζ'. (b) Strabo lib. XV. (c) Lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Iliad*. ε' p. 433. Ed. Basil. (e) Isidorus Hispal. Origin. lib. XVIII. (f) Ammianus lib. XXV. (g) *Emilius Probus* in Chabria. (h) Aristophanis Scholiastes Puto.

*Unguibus & pugnīs, dein sustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quæ post fabricaverat usus.*

Sharp Nails, and Fists, the first Arms only were,
Then Clubs came into use, next Men took care
To make more hurtful Weapons.

Lucretius hath an elegant Passage to the same purpose (a);

*Arma antiqua manus, unguēs, dentesque fuere,
Et lapides, & item silvarum fragmina, rami,
Et flammæque ignes, postquam sunt cognita primum,
Posterior ferri vis est, arisque reperta;
Sed prius æris erit quam ferri cognitus usus.*

In the first Ages Nails, Hands, Teeth would please
A Combatant for Arms, and Boughs of Trees,
Or Stones, or flaming Brands with Anger thrown,
Were then the best, and chiefest Weapons known;
Men afterwards in Mischief wiser far
Us'd Ir'n, and Brazen Arms in ev'ry War.
Of these Brass first began to kill.

E. D.

Their Clubs were call'd *θαλαγγες* and *θαλαγγια*, whence *Grammarians* conjecture that Squadrons of Souldiers were term'd *θαλαγγες* (b), and by the *Latins*, *Phalanges*, from this primitive Way of Fighting.

The principal of their Offensive Weapons in later Ages was *ἔγχος* and *δόρυ*, Spear, or Pike, the Body of which was compos'd of Wood, in the Heroick Times most commonly of Ash, whence we have so frequent mention in *Homer* of *μελίη*, as when he speaks of *Achilles's* Spear (c);

*Πηλιάδα μελίη, ἥ πατεῖ φίλῳ πόρε Χείρων
Πηλὶς ἐκ κορυφῆς, φόρον ἔμειναι ἠρώων.*

The Ashen Spear for Murder then design'd,
When to his Father with a cruel Mind
Old *Chiron* gave it.

The *Trojans* were likewise arm'd from the same Tree (d);

Καὶ Πείρασος, ἣ λαδὲ εὐμμελίῳ Πειράμοιο.

The Head, *αἶχμη*, was of Metal. So was also the *σαυρωτήρ*, which is so call'd either q. *σαυρωτήρ*, from *σαυρός*, a Cross; or from *σαῦρος*,

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Eustathius* *Ilad.* δ'. p. 357. Ed. *Vassl.* &c. (c) *Ilad.* α' v. 143. (d) *Ilad.* δ'. 47.

a Lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one End, where it was fix'd into the Bottom of the Spear; and sharp at the other, (a), which being thrust into the Ground upheld the Spear erect, when the Souldiers rested from the Toil of War. Whence *Homer*, speaking of *Diomedes's* Followers (b);

ἀμφὶ δ' ἐταῖροι
Εὐδὸν ὑπὸ κρασὶν δ' ἔχον ἀπίδας, ἔγχεα δ' ἔσθιν
ὧς δ' ἐπὶ σωρευτῆρος ἐλήλατο.

Sleeping about him all his Men they found,
Under their Heads were laid along the Ground
Great Shields, their Spears erected upright stood
Upon their Brazen Points.

Aristotle observes, that the same Custom was practis'd amongst the *Illyrians* in his Days (c). And it seems to have been common in other Nations, as may appear from the first Book of *Samuel* (d), where *Saul* is said to have slept with his Spear fix'd in the Earth close by his Head. In Times of Peace they rear'd their Spears against Pillars, in a long wooden Case call'd *δυσεδόκη*, as we have it in *Homer* (e);

Ἐγχεος δ' ἃ ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὸν
Δυσεδόκης ἐντοσθεν εὐξέου

Against a Pillar in a well-made Case
He hung his Spear,

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose (f),

Exin, qua in mediis ingenti adnixa columna
Ædibus astat, validam vi corripit hastam.

Straight he pulls down with all the Force he cou'd,
A Spear, that in the Middle of the House
Was rear'd against a mighty Pillar.

There were two sorts of Spears, as *Strabo* hath well observ'd (g); The former was us'd in close Fight, and call'd *δρεν δρεκτὸν*, for the Use, and excellent Management of which the *Abantes* are celebrated in *Homer* (h);

Τῷ δ' αὖ' Ἀλάντες ἔποντο δοοὶ, ὅπιδεν κομῶντες,
Αἰχμηταὶ μεμαῶτες δρεκτῆσι μελίησι
Θερκας ῥήξαν δητῶν ἀμφὶ σῆδεσιν.

(a) Eustathius, *Polux.* lib. I. cap. V. (b) *Iliad.* x. v. 151. (c) *De Arte Poetica.* (d) Cap. XXVI v. 7. (e) *Odys.* a. (f) *Æneid.* XII. v. 92. (g) *Lib. X.* (h) *Iliad.* c. v. 543.

Th' *Abantes* follow'd him, whose bushy Hair
Lies thick behind, *Abantis*, who never fear
Close Fights, but bravely strike the Breast-plates through
With Ashen Spears.

Where may be observ'd the Signification of the Word *ἀρέξασθαι*, which (as the *Scholias*t remarks) is apply'd to Arms us'd in close Fight; whereas *πάλλειν* belongs rather to missile Weapons, which are call'd by the general Names of *παλτά*, and *βέλη*, of which Kind was the other sort of Spears; Whence we find one making this Boast,

Δρεῖ δ' ἀκοντίζω ὅσον ἐκ ἄλλ' τις οἶσ'.

I strike as far with a Spear, as another with an Arrow.

This was frequently us'd in the Heroick Duels, where the Combatants first threw their Spears, and then made use of their Swords. Thus *Hector* and *Achilles* (a), *Menelaus* and *Paris* (b), and the rest of the Heroes attack one another. *Theocritus* hath describ'd the Combat of *Castor* and *Lynceus* after the same Manner (c);

Εγχεσι μὲν πρῶτα τιτυσκόμοιοι πόνον ἔχον,
ἀλλήλων εἰ περὶ τὴν χερσὶν γυμνωθὲν ἴδοιεν
ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα, πάρεσσι τινὰ δ' ἠλύσασθαι,
Δ' ἄρ' ἐάγη, σακίεσσιν ἐνὶ δαγούσι παγύντα.
τὼ δ' ἄορ' ἐκ κολεοῖν ἐρυσαμένοισι, φόρον αὖτις
τεῦχον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, μάχης δ' ἔτι γίνετ' ἐρωή.

First with their Spears began the noble Strife,
Each fought to find an open Pass to Life;
But all in vain, the Shields the Stroaks endur'd,
Their Spears were broken, and the Men secur'd,
Their Swords they drew, the Blades like Lightning shone
Before the Thunderbolt falls swiftly down,
Now rose their Fury.

Mr. Creech.

The *Macedonians* had a peculiar sort of Spear call'd *σάκερα*, which was fourteen or sixteen Cubits in length.

Ξίφος, a Sword, which, according to ancient Custom, was hung in a Belt put round the Shoulders. Whence *Homer* (d);

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὁμοῖσιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρεῖον.

His Silver-hilted Sword about his Shoulders hung.

(a) *Iliad*. κ'. (b) *Iliad*. γ'. (c) *Idyll*. κζ'. v. 187. (d) *Iliad*. ζ'.

Hesiod, and the rest of the Poets mention the same Custom (a);

Ὀμοιοῖσιν δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο
Χάλκεον ἐκ τελαμώνος.

— — — A Brazen Sword

Plac'd in the Belt, down from his Shoulders hung,

The Belt reach'd down to their Thighs. Whence *Homer's Hero* (b);

———— φάσγανον ὅξυ ἐρυαμίδην παρὰ μηρῷ.

Straight from his Thigh his Sword he draws.

And *Virgil's Aeneas* (c);

———— oryus ensem

Eripit a femore, — — —

It may be enquir'd whether the Sword was hung upon the right Side, or the left; to which some reply, That Foot-souldiers wore it on the left, Horsemen on the right; and *Josephus* (d) expressly mentions Horsemen with their Swords on their right Sides; But whether this was constantly observ'd, or frequently vary'd, as *Lipsius* (e) has observ'd of the Roman Sword, cannot easily be determin'd. The Scabbard was call'd *κολεός*, close to it was hung a Dagger, or Ponyard, call'd τὸ παρὰ μηρὸν, ὀδμήκειον, or παρὰ ζώνιον ξιφίδιον, according to *Eustathius* (f), ὀδμήκειον, or ἐγχειρίδιον, and in *Homer μάχαιρα*. It was seldom us'd in Fight, but on all Occasions supply'd the want of a Knife, as appears from the Poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one Instance (g);

Αἰρεΐδης δὲ ἐρυαμίδης χεῖρας μάχαιραν,
Ἡ οἱ παρ' ξίφος μέγα κυλεὶν αἶν' ἄεστο,
Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τέρμεν τεύχος.

Drawing his Dagger, which was always put
Close by his Sword, *Airides* straightway cut
Some Hairs from the Lamb's Heads.

Possidonius in *Atbenaeus* tells us, the same Custom was practis'd by the antient Gauls (h). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the Souldiers of lower Ages us'd a Dagger call'd *ακινάκης*, which was borrow'd from the Persians (i). They had sometimes another

(a) Scuto *Herculis*. (b) *Odys.* λ'. (c) *Aeneid.* X. v. 86. (d) *Excidii Hero-*
solum. lib. III. (e) *Militia Romana.* (f) *Iliad.* γ'. (g) *Iliad.* γ'. (h) *Δευκαλίων*
lib. XIV. (i) *Moschopolus* in *uocibus Atticis*, Pollux, &c.

Sword call'd *κοπίς*, which was the same with the Roman *ensis falcatus*, and our Fauchion, or Scimeter; and was chiefly us'd by the Inhabitants of *Argos*. Not much unlike this were the *Lacedemonian* Swords, call'd, according to *Pollux*, *ξύιναι*, but, as *Xenophon*, *ξύλαι*, and, by the *Athenians*, *κνήσιες* (a): They were bent Fauchion-like, and in length far less than those commonly us'd in other Parts of *Greece*; The Reason of which Custom being demanded of *Antalcidas*; 'Tis (said he) because we encounter our Enemies hand to hand (b): And when another Person told *Agésilas* in Derision, That a Jugler on a Stage would make nothing of swallowing their Swords: Well (reply'd the King) yet with these little Weapons we are able to reach our Enemies (c). The only thing farther remarkable in the old *Grecian* Sword, is the Hilt, which they took a great Pride in adorning, not so much with Silver, and Gold, and precious Stones, as with Figures of Lyons Heads, &c. to make them appear more terrible to their Enemies.

Αξίνη, a sort of Polax: With this Weapon *Agamemnon* was encounter'd by *Pisander* in *Homer* (d);

ὁ δ' ὑπ' ἀπίδος αἶλετο καλῶ
 Ἀξίνῳ ἐϋχαλκον, ἐλαίνῳ ἀμφὶ πελέκῳ,
 Μακρῶ, ἐυξέσῳ.

The other from his Buckler straightway drew
 A curious Brazen Ax, whose Handle few
 Cou'd match for Length, for Olive, or for Work.

Πέλεκος, was not much different from the former, and is join'd with it in *Homer* (e);

Ἄλλ' οἱ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενοι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 Οἷοι δὴ πελέκει, καὶ ἀξίνῃσι μάχοντο.

Both Parties fighting close together stood,
 And unconcern'd alike for Loss of Blood,
 Axes and Hatchets us'd.

Several other Weapons of less Note may occur in Authors, whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missive Weapons: It is *κορυμή*, a Battoon of Wood, or Iron; from the Use of which the famous Robber *Periphetes*, slain by *Theseus*, was nam'd *κορυμήτης* (f); which Title was likewise conferr'd upon *Arcibous*, who, as *Homer* tells the Story, us'd to break thro' whole Squadrons of Enemies with his Iron Club (g);

Τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευνδαίων πέσμος ἴσατο, ἰσόθεος φῶς,
 Τάχ' ἔχων ἄμοισιν Ἀρηϊδίοιο ἀνακτος.

(a) *Suidas*, *Eustathius* *Iliad*. x'. *Hesychius*, &c. (b) *Plutarchus* *Apophthegm.* (c) *Idem* loc. citat. & *Lycurgo*. (d) *Iliad*. v. 611. (e) *Iliad*. 6. v. 710. (f) *Plutarchus* *Theseo*, *Diodorus Sic.* lib. 1v. (g) *Iliad*. 4. v. 136.

Δία Αρηϊδόν, ἦ, ἐπικλησιν, κορυμήτω

Ἀνδρὲς κίκλησπον καλλίζωνοί τε γυναικας,

Οὐκ ἄρ' ἔ τόξοισι μαχέσκειτο, δρεὶ τε μακρῶν,

Ἀλλὰ σιδερεῖν κορυὴν ῥηγνυσκε φάλαγγας.

Brave Ereuthalion led these on; he wore
The Arms of King Arcishous before,
Godlike Arcishous, Club-bearer nam'd,
And for his cruel Weapon greatly fam'd,
Who with his Club whole Squadrons put to Flight,
But never Spear, or Arrow us'd in Fight.

E. D.

Τόξον, the Bow, the first Invention of which some ascribe to Apollo, who from the Art of managing this Weapon hath obtain'd divers Appellations, as ἐκηβόλος, ἐκατηβελίτης, ἑκατος, τοξοφόρος, χρυσότοξος, ἀργυρότοξος, εὐφαιέτης, &c. All which, tho' moral Interpreters force to other Applications, yet the antient Authors of Fables refer to this Original. This new Contrivance the God communicated to the primitive Inhabitants of Crete (a), who are reported to have been the first of Mortals, who understood the Use of Bows and Arrows (b): And even in later Ages the Cretan Bows were famous, and prefer'd to all others in Greece (c). Some rather chose to honour Perseus, the Son of Perseus, with this Invention; and others father it upon Scythes, the Son of Jupiter, (d), and Progenitor of the Scythians, who were excellent at this Art, and by some reputed the first Masters thereof: Thence we find it deriv'd to the Grecians, some of whose ancient Nobility were instructed by the Scythians, which in those Times past for a most Princely Education. Thus Hercules (to trouble you with no more Instances) was taught by Teutarus a Scythian Swain, from whom he receiv'd a Bow and Arrows of Scythian Make: Whence Lycophron, speaking of Hercules's Arrows,

Τοῖς Τεταρείοις βυκόλῃ πτερώμασι (e).

With Arrows which he had from Teutarus.

And tho' Theocritus hath chang'd his Tutor's Name into Eurytus, yet he also was of Scythian Original: And we find the Hero in that Poet arm'd with a Maorian, i. e. Scythian, Bow (f),

Ὡχετο Μαιωτισὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went arm'd with a crooked Bow after the
Maorian Fashion.

(a) Diodorus Siculus. (b) Isidorus. (c) Pollux lib. I. cap. X. (d) Plinius.
(e) Cassandr. v. 56. Item Tzetza Scholia ibidem, & Theocriti Scholiastes Idyll.
XIII. (f) Idyll. XIII. v. 56.

Lycophron also arms *Minerva* with *Μαιώτης πλόκος*, a *Maotian* Bow, and in the same Place speaks of *Heracles's* *Scythian* Dragon, whereby he means a Bow, which he bequeath'd to *Philotes* for his Care in kindling the Pile wherein he was burn'd alive (a),

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἄρδιν εὐδυνῶ χερσὶν
Σάλπιγξ, ὑποφάλλουσα Μαιώτῳ πλόκον.
Δύρας παρ' ὀχθαῖς ὅς ποτε Φλέξας θρασυῖ
Λέοντα, ραισῶ χεῖρας ὀπλίσι Σκυῖθι
Δράκοντ', ἀφύκτων γομφίων λυεσσύπον.

Minerva, who found out the Trumpet's Sound,
Drawing her Arrows with a skilful Hand
She aim'd, and shot with a *Maotian* Bow.
This crooked Bow the Godlike *Heracles*,
Whose Arrows, when they flew wou'd always kill,
First us'd, and then to *Philotes* gave
A Present for the Pile at *Dura's* Banks.

E. D.

Both the Poets seem particularly to remark the *Incurvation* of the *Scythian* Bow, which distinguish'd it from the Bows of *Greece*, and other Nations; and was so great as to form an Half-moon, or Semicircle (b). Whence the Shepherd in *Aitheneus* (c), being to describe the Letters in *Theseus's* Name, and expressing each of them by some apposite Resemblance, compares the third to the *Scythian* Bow,

Σκυδικῷ δὲ τόξῳ τὸ τρίτον ὡς παρεμφερές.

The third was like a *Scythian* Bow,

Meaning not the more modern Character Σ, but the ancient C, which is semicircular, and bears the third Place in Θ Η C Ε Τ C. The *Grecian* Bows were frequently beautify'd with Gold, or Silver; whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and *Apollo* is call'd *ἀργυρότοξος*, but the Matter of which they were compos'd, seems for the most part to have been Wood; tho' they were anciently, *Scythian* like, made of Horn, as we read of *Pandarus's* in *Homer* (d)

Αὐτὴν ἐσύλα τόξον εὐξοον, ἰξάλε αἰγῶς
Αγροῖς, ὃν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ γέροντοιο τυχήσας,
Πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεγμένος ἐν προδοκῇσι,
Βεβλήκει περὶς σῆθος, ὃ δ' ὄψιος ἔμπιστε πέτρῃ.
Τὸ κέρα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαυδεκάδωρα πεφύκει,
Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀσκήσας κερασζόος ἦρας τέκτων,
Πᾶν δ' εὖ λήνηας, χρυσέῳ ἐπέθηκε κορώνῳ.

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 914. (b) *Amnianus Marcellinus* lib. XX. (c) *Lib. X.* (d) *Iliad.* f. v. 105.

Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd Bow,
Once it a wanton He-goat's Horn did grow,
A Goat, that coming from his wonted Rock
He spy'd, and wounded with a mortal Stroak:
The Dart pierc'd thro' his Breast, and straight the Ground
Receiv'd him falling by so deep a Wound:
Long were his Horns, and these a Workman wrought,
And made the very Bow, with which he fought;
The Horn he smoothly polish'd and affix'd
A Golden Nob upon the Top.

E. D.

Whence *Lycophron*, who affects antiquated Customs and Expressions, speaks thus of *Apollo* encountering *Idas* with his Bow (a);

— ἐν χερμασί παλῶσας κίρας.

— In Battles bent his Horn,

But some ancient *Glossographers* by κίρας would rather understand *τελ-
χασίς*, or the Bow-string, which was compos'd of Horses Hair, and
therefore call'd also *ἵππεια* (b); To which Custom *Accius* alludes,

*Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita
Tela.*

Drawing the Arrows with an Horse's Hair.

Homer's Bow-strings are frequently made of Hides cut into small
Thongs: Whence we read of τόξα βόεια.

ΕΛκε δ' οὐκ γαυρίδας τε λαβὼν, κ' τόξα βόεια.

He drew the Arrow by the Leathern String.

As *Eustathius* observes upon that Place (c). One Thing more is
remarkable in their Bows: It is that Part, to which the String was
fix'd, being upon the uppermost Part of the Bow, and call'd *καρώνη*,
commonly made of Gold, and the last Thing towards finishing a
Bow; whence *Homer*, when he has describ'd the Manner of making
a Bow, adds after all,

— χρυσέῳ ἐπέθηκε καρώνην.

Hence, *Eustathius* tells us, χρυσῶν ἐπιτίθεναι καρώνην signifies to
bring any Affair to an happy Conclusion.

The Arrows usually consisted of light Wood, and an Iron head,
which was commonly hook'd: Whence *Ovid* (d);

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 364. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Iliad.* δ. p. 344. Ed. *Bagl.* (d) *De Amore.*

Et manus bamiis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd Arrows arm'd both Hands.

Sometimes they were arm'd with two, three, or four Hooks: Hence *Statius* (a);

Aspera tergemini acies se condidit uncis.

The Head with three Hooks arm'd
Enter'd his Body.

In this Sense likewise *Hippocrates's* τετραγωνα βέλη are to be understood. The Heads of Arrows were sometimes besmear'd with Poyson; for which Piece of inhuman Skill *Virgil's* *Amycus* was famous (b);

————— *ferarum*
Vastatorem Amycum, quo non felicior alter
Ungere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

————— *Amycus* the Man,
Who many a wild and savage Beast had slain,
Fam'd for his Skill, and for his wondrous Art
In giving double Force to any Dart,
Or Arrow, with his Poyson.

This Practice was more frequent in barbarous Nations, but seldom us'd, or understood in *Greece*: Wherefore *Minerva* in *Homer* having assum'd the Form and Titles of *Mentes* King of the *Taphians*, and Son to *Anchises*, pretends that her Father, out of an extraordinary Love to *Ulysses*, oblig'd him with a Quantity of this deadly Ointment, after he had been at the Pains of a tedious Journey to *Ephyra*, to furnish himself, but had been deny'd it by *Ilus* the Son of *Mermerus*, who (as the Poet tells us) rejected *Ulysses's* Request out of a Scruple of Conscience, being afraid that Divine Vengeance would prosecute so criminal an Action (c);

Εξ Ερύνης ἀνίσταται παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο.
Ὡχέτο γὰρ κακῆϊσε δόης ἐπιγνὺς Ὀδυσσεύς,
Φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὅρα οἱ εἴη
Ἰὺς χεῖρ' εἶναι χαλκήρεα· ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν οἱ
Δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ ῥα θεὸς νηυσὶ ζέτο αἰὲν ἰόντας·
Ἀλλὰ πατήρ οἱ δῶκεν ἐμὸς, φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

————— When he had *Ilus* left
Return'd from *Ephyra*; in Hopes to find
Some Poyson he for Arrows Heads design'd,
Ulysses thither sail'd, *Ilus* rever'd
Th' immortal Gods, and therefore much he fear'd

(a) *Thebaid*, lib. IX. (b) *Æneid*. IX. v. 771. (c) *Odysse*. α. v. 260.

To grant what he desir'd, but easier far
He found *Anebialus*, who straight took care
To give the killing Poyson, which he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

E. D.

Arrows were usually wing'd with Feathers, to encrease their Speed and Force, whence *Homer's* *πτερεῖς ἰδὲ* (a), *πτερεῖς οἷσδε* (b), *Opian's* *οἷσδε φερετέρου* (c), and *εὐπτερεῖς* (d), *Sophocles's* *ἰδὲ κομήτης* (e), with divers other Epithets, and Names to the same Purpose (f). They were carry'd to the Battle in a Quiver, which was usually clos'd on all Sides, and therefore (as *Eustathius* (g) observes) join'd with the Epithet *ἀμφοτερός*: This with the Bow the Heroes carry'd upon their Backs: Thus *Apollo* in *Homer* (b);

Τὸν ἄμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφοτερόα τε φερέτελιν.

Carrying his Bow, and Quiver on his Shoulders.

Hercules is represented by *Hesiod* in the same Manner (i);

——— *ροίλιν δὲ φεῖ σήδεαι φερέτελιν*
καὶ βάλετ' ἐξ ὀπίθεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἔκτοθεν αἶσσι
πρηνεῖς, θανάτοιο λαδιδόγγοιο δούρες.

——— towards his Back
He turn'd the hollow Quiver, which contain'd
Great Shafts, whose Force no Mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous Heroine in *Virgil* (k);

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus, & arma Dianæ.
The Golden Bow and Arrows loosely hung
Down from her Shoulders.

In drawing Bows the primitive *Greeks* did not pull back their Hand towards their right Ear, according to the Fashion of modern Ages, and of the ancient *Perfians* (l); but, placing their Bows directly before them, return'd their Hand upon their right Breast (m); which was the Custom of the *Amazonian* Women, who are reported to have cut off their Right Breasts, lest they should be an Impediment to them in Shooting; on which Account their Name is commonly thought to have been deriv'd from the privative Particle *α* and *μαῶς*, i. e. from their Want of a Breast. Thus *Homer* of *Pandarus* (n),

(a) *Iliad*. δ'. v. 116. &c. (b) *Iliad*. ε'. v. 171. (c) *Alcibiades*. ε'. (d) *Kumy*. d. (e) *Trachinids*. (f) Vide *Commentarium meum* in *Lycophron*. v. 56. (g) *Iliad*. d. p. 29. Ed. *Basil.* (h) *Iliad*. α'. (i) *Scuto Herulis*. v. 130. (k) *Aeneid*. XI. v. 652. (l) *Procopius* de *Bell. Persic.* lib. I. (m) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. δ'. p. 344. &c. *Iliad*. ε'. p. 602. Ed. *Basil.* (n) *Iliad*. δ'. v. 123.

Νευρὼ μὲν ῥα ῥέει πλάσσει, τόξω δὲ σίδνεον.

Up to the Head the mortal Shaft he drew,
The Bow-string touch'd his Breast.

There were several sorts of Darts, or Javelins, as *γέρσους*, call'd in *Homer αἰγανέν* (a), *ύαδς*, and many others; some of which were projected by the help of a Strap girt round their Middle, and call'd in *Greek ἀγκύλη*, in *Latin amentum*, the Action is express'd by the Word *αγκυλίσας*, which is also sometimes us'd in a more general Sence for any sort of Darting, tho' without Straps. The Javelin thus cast was term'd *μεσάγκυλον*; the Custom is mention'd in the *Roman*; as well as *Greek Writers*: Whence *Seneca* in his *Hippolytus*,

*Amentum digitis tende prioribus,
Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.*

The Strap with your Fore-finger draw,
Then shoot with all your Strength.

The ancient *Grecians* were wont to annoy their Enemies with great Stones. Thus *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ τ' ἄλλων ἐπιπυλῆτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Εὐχεῖ τ', ἀοεῖ τε, μεγάλοις τε χερμαδίοισιν.

But he to other Ranks himself betook,
And here his Spear, his Sword, and Stones too struck
The flying Enemy.

These were not Stones of an ordinary Size, but such as the joyn't Strength of several Men in our Days would be unable so much as to lift. With a Stone of this Bigness *Diomedes* knocks down *Aeneas* in *Homer* (c);

ὁ δ' ἤ χερμαδίον λάβε χεῖρ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, δ' ὁ δ' οὐ γ' ἄνδρε φέρονται,
Οἷοι νῦν βεῖτοί εἰσι, ὁ δ' εἰ μὲν ῥέα πάλλε καὶ οἷος
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείας κατ' ἰχθίον.

— a vast and monstrous Stone
The brave *Tydidēs* took and threw alone,
A Stone it was, so heavy, and so great,
Not two the strongest Men cou'd bear the Weight,
As now Men are, but he with Ease it hurl'd,
And broke *Aeneas's* Hip.

(a) *Eustathius Odyss. d.* (b) *Iliad. λ. γ. 264.* (c) *Iliad. ε. γ. 302.*

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Hætor likewise, and *Hætor* encounter'd one another with the same Weapons; and the latter (as the Poet tells us) had his Buckler broken with a Stone scarce inferiour in bigness to a Mill-stone (a);

Εἶσω δ' αἰσὶδ' ἔαξε βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A Stone so big, you might a Mill-stone call,
He threw, which made the Shield in Pieces fall.

Nor did the Gods themselves disdain to make use of them; as appears from *Homer's Minerva*, who attack'd the God of War with a Stone of a prodigious Size, which had been in former Ages plac'd for a Land-mark (b);

Ἡ δ' ἀναχαιμένη, λίθον ἔλετο χειρὶ πάχυν
Κεῖνον ἐν πεδίῳ, μέλανα, τεύχεω τε, μέγαν τε,
Τὸν δ' ἄνδρες πέτρῳ θίσαν ἐμμεναι ἔρον ἀρέσσει·
Τῷ βάλε θῦρον Ἀθηὰ κατ' αὐχένα, λῦσε δὲ γῆα.

— here stepping back

A Stone, that long had lain to part the Land,
She forces up with her commanding Hand,
A sharp, black, heavy Stone, which, when 'twas thrown,
Struck *Mars's* Neck; the helpless God falls down
With shiv'ring Limbs.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these Passages in his twelfth *Æneid* (c), where he speaks of *Turnus* in this manner;

*Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti bis sex cervicē subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepida contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, & cursu concitius heros.*

He spake no more, but straight a Stone he spy'd,
An old prodigious Stone, which to divide
The Lands there lay, lest Quarrels might ensue,
And one should claim what was another's Due:
Should Six the lustiest Men together try
To bear this Stone, it would their Strength defie,
So weak, so frail the Bodies, that Men wear,
Such puny Men, as now on Earth appear;
He snatch'd it up, and running on him threw
This massy Stone.

E. D.

(a) *Iliad*, h. v. 270. (b) *Iliad*, p. v. 403. (c) *V. 896.*

On all which Relations several modern, especially *French* Critics insult with Triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous whilst forming what they call Rules of Probability from the Manners of their own Times, there is scarce any Passage in all the Volumes of antient Poetry, which does not on some Score or other foully disgust their curious and distinguishing Palates.

But however the heroick Fights were carry'd on in this Manner as most of the ancient Poets witness, yet in nearer Ages, when they tell us Men's Strength and Courage were lessen'd, but their Policy and Conduct improv'd, we seldom find any mention of Stones, except in Sieges, where the Defenders frequently roll'd down vast Rocks upon their Enemies Heads. They were likewise cast out of several Engines, of which the most common in Field Engagements was

Σφενδόν, a Sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the Natives of the *Balearian* Islands, where it was manag'd with so great Art and Dexterity, that young Children were not allow'd any Food by their Mothers, till they could sling it down from the Beam, where it was plac'd aloft (a); and when they arriv'd to be of Age to serve in the Wars, this was the principal of their offensive Arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnish'd with three Slings, which either hung about their Necks, according to *Eustathius* (b); or were carry'd, one on their Necks, one in their Hands, a third about their Loyns (c). Hence the *Balearian* Slings are famous in ancient Writers. I shall observe only this one Instance out of *Ovid* (d);

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Belearica plumbum
Funda jacit; volat illud, & incandescit cundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

— — — He burnt within
Just like the Lead the *Balearian* Sling
Hurls out; You hear the Bullet whistling fly,
And heat attends it all-along the Sky,
The Clouds the Fire, it wants it self, Supply.

E. D.

It was likewise common in *Greece*, especially amongst the *Acarnani-ans* (e), who were well skill'd in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it; Others give that Honour to the *Aeolians* (f). But none of the *Grecians* manag'd it with so great Art and Dexterity as the *Achaians*, who inhabited *Aegyum*, *Dyma* and *Patrae*; they were brought up to this Exercise from their Infancy (g), and are thought by some to have excell'd the *Balearians*:

(a) *Vegetius de re militari* lib. I. cap. XVI. *Luctus Florus* lib. III. cap. VIII. *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. *Strabo* lib. III. (b) *Commentario in Dionysium*. (c) *Lycophron*, ejusque *Scholastes* v. 635. (d) *Metamorph.* lib. II. v. 727. (e) *Pollux* lib. I. cap. X. (f) *Strabo*. (g) *Livius*, lib. XXXVIII.

Whence

Whence it became a Custom to call any Thing directly levell'd at the Mark, *Αχαιὸν βίλος* (a). This Weapon was us'd for the most part by the common, and light-arm'd Souldiers: *Cyrus* is said to have thought it very unbecoming any Officer (b); and *Alexander* endeavouring to render his Enemies as contemptible to his own Souldiers as he could, tells them, "They were a confus'd and disorderly Rabble, some of them having no Weapon, but a Javelin; " others were design'd for no greater Service, than to cast Stones " out of a Sling, and very few were regularly Arm'd (c)." The Form of a Sling we may learn from *Dionysius*, by whom the Earth is said to resemble it, being not exactly Spherical, but extended out in length, and broad in the middle: For Slings resembled a platted Rope, somewhat broad in the middle, with an oval Compass, and so by little and little decreasing into two Thongs, or Reins. The *Geographer's* Words are these (d);

Οὐ μὲν πᾶσα διαπρὸς σπείρομοις, ἀλλὰ διαμφοῖς
 Εὐρυτέρην βαβαῦνα περὶ ἡλίκαιο κελεύθους,
 Σπενδόνῃ εἰσικῆα. — —

Its Matter seems not to have been always the same; in *Homer* we find it compos'd of a Sheep's Fleece; and therefore one of the Heroes being wounded in the Hand, *Agenor* binds it with his Sling (e);

Αὐτὸν (sc. χεῖρα) ὃ ξυνέδραμεν ἐστέρῳ οἶδς ἀλώψ,
 Σπενδόνῃ, μὲν ἄρα οἱ δερᾶπων ἔχε ποιμνίῃ λαὸν.

A Sling of Wool he to his Hand apply'd,
 One of his Servants held it.

Out of it were cast Arrows, Stones, and Plummets of Lead call'd *μολυβδίδες*, or *μολυβδίναι σφαῖραι*, some of which weigh'd no less than an Attick Pound, i. e. an hundred Drachms. It was distinguish'd into several sorts; some were manag'd by one, others by two, some by three Cords.

The manner of Slinging was by whirling it twice or thrice about their Head, and so casting out the Bullet. Thus *Mezentius* in *Virgil* (f),

Ipse ser adducta circum caput egit habena.

Thrice round his Head the loaded Sling he whirl'd.

But *Vegetius* commends those as the greatest Artists, that cast out the Bullet with one Turn about the Head. How far this Weapon carry'd its Load is express'd in this Verse,

(a) *Snidas* (b) *Xenoph. Cyropad lib. VII.* (c) *Curtius. lib. IV.* (d) *Περὶ γεωγίας* v. 5. (e) *Iliad. v. v. 599.* (f) *Æneid. IX. v. 587.*

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis minere funda.

Its Force was so great, that neither Head-piece, Buckler, or any other Armour was a sufficient Defence against it; and so vehement its Motion, that (as *Seneca* reports) the Plummetts were frequently melted.

Lastly, we find mention of Fire-balls, or Hand-granado's call'd *πυρροδοι λιθοι*, &c. One sort of them are call'd *συνταλια*, or *συνταλιδες*, which were compos'd of Wood, and some of them a Foot, others a Cubit in Length: Their Heads were arm'd with Spikes of Iron, beneath which were plac'd Torches, Hemp, Pitch, or such like combustible Matter, which being set on Fire, they were thrown with great Force toward the Enemy's first Ranks, Head foremost, whereby the Iron-spikes being fasten'd to whatever came in their Way, they burn'd down all before them (a): Wherefore they seem to have been of the greatest Use in Leaguers, to demolish the Enemy's Works; tho' my Author mentioneth no such Thing.

Concerning Military Apparel nothing certain, or constant can be related; only it may be observ'd, that *Lycurgus* order'd the *Lacedæmonians* to cloath their Souldiers with Scarlet: The Reason of which Institution seems either to have been, because that Colour is both soonest imbib'd by Cloath, and most lasting and durable (b); Or on the Account of its Brightness and Splendor, which that Law-giver thought conducive to raise Men's Spirits, and most suitable to Minds animated with true Valour (c); Or, lastly, because 'twas most proper to conceal the Stains of Blood, a Sight of which might either dispirit the raw and unexperienc'd Souldiers of their own Party, or inspire their Enemies with fresh Life and Vigour (d): Which *Eustathius* observes to have been well and wisely consider'd, when he comments on that Passage of *Homer*, where the cowardly *Trojans* upon seeing *Ulysses*'s Blood flow from his Wound, receive new Courage, and, animating one another, rush with united Force upon the Hero (e);

*Τρώες δ' ἐμυγάδοντο, ἐπεὶ ἴδον αἷμα Ὀδυσῆος,
κεκλόμενον καὶ θυμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντες ἱέοντο.*

— The *Trojans* saw *Ulysses*'s Blood

Gush from his Wound, then with new Life inspir'd
Each stirr'd the other up, and with joynt Force
Rush'd on the Hero.

'Tis farther remarkable of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they never engag'd their Enemies, but with Crowns, and Garlands upon their Heads (f), tho' at other Times they were unaccustom'd to such Or-

(a) *Su das*. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.* (c) *Plutarchus* Institut. *Laconicæ*. (d) *Plutarchus* citat. *Ælianus* lib. VI. cap. VI. *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. (e) *Æliad*. A. v. 459. (f) *Xenophon*, necn *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*.

naments: Hereby ascertaining themselves of Success, and, as it were, anticipating their Victory, Crowns being the ordinary Rewards presented to Conquerors in all the Parts of Greece. So wonderful, indeed, were the old *Lacedæmonian* Courage and Fortune, that they encounter'd their Enemies fearless and unconcern'd, joyning Battle with Assurance of Victory; which was a Thing so common to them, that for their greatest Successes, they seldom sacrific'd to the Gods any more than a Cock: Nor were they much elevated when the happy News arriv'd, nor made Presents of any Value to the Messengers thereof, as was usual in other-Cities: For after the famous Battel of *Maninea*, we find the Person, that carry'd the Express of Victory, rewarded only with a Piece of powder'd Beef (a).

The Souldiers usually carry'd their own Provisions, which consisted for the most part, of Salt-meat, Cheese, Olives, Onyons &c. To which End every one had a Vessel of Wickers (b), with a long, narrow Neck, call'd *γύλιον*, whence Men with long Necks are by the *Comedian* term'd in Derision *γυλιώχες* (c).

CHAP. V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies.

THE *Grecian* Cities being govern'd by different Laws, the Nature, and Titles of their Offices, whether in Military, or Civil Affairs, must of consequence be distinguish'd. Wherefore, it being an endless Undertaking to recount the various Commands throughout the whole *Grecian* Nation, I shall only present you in this Place with a short View of the chief Offices in the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* Armies:

In the primitive Times, when most States were govern'd by Kings, the supreme Command belong'd to them of Course; and it was one principal Part of their Duty towards their Subjects to lead them forth in Person against their Enemies; and in single Combat to encounter the bravest of them at the Head of their Armies. And it may be observ'd, that when any Prince thro' Cowardice, or other Weakness, was judg'd unable to protect his People, it was customary for them, withdrawing their Allegiance, to substitute a Person better qualify'd in his Place: A memorable Instance whereof we have in *Thymetes* an *Athenian* King, who, declining a Challenge sent by *Xanthus* King of *Bæotia*, was depos'd without farther ado, and succeeded by a Foreigner, one *Melambius* a *Messenian*, who undertook to revenge the Quarrel of *Athens* on the *Bæotians* (d).

(a) *Plutarchus Agesilao*. (b) *Aristophan's Schol. estis A. hagnus*. (c) *Pacc*. (d) *Vide Aristælog. nothr, Lib. II. cap. XX. in Aristælog.*

Yet on some Occasions it was not impracticable for the King to nominate a Person of eminent Worth and Valour to be his Πολέμαχος, or General, who either commanded under the King, or, when the Emergency of other Affairs requir'd his Absence, supply'd his Place: Which honourable Post was conferr'd by King Erechtheus upon Ion the Son of Xuthus in the Eleusinian War. (a).

But the Government being at length devolv'd upon the People, Affairs were manag'd after a new Method; For all the Tribes being invested with an equal Share of Power, 'twas appoint'd that each of them should nominate a Commander out of their own Body. That this was done in the time of Cimon, appears from Plutarch (b). But whether each of the Tribes perpetually made Choice of one of their own Body, or sometimes nam'd Men of other Tribes, is not very certain. No Person was appointed to this Command, unless he had Children, and Land within the Territory of Athens (c). Those were accounted Pledges to the Common-wealth. And sometimes the Children were punish'd for the Treason of their Fathers. Which, tho' seemingly cruel and unjust, was yet *Antiquum & omnium civitatum*, an ancient Custom, and receiv'd in all Cities, as Cicero hath observ'd (d). He gives us in the same Place an Instance in Themistocles's Children, who suffer'd for the Crimes of their Father. Hence Sinon in Virgil, pretending to have quitted the Grecian for the Trojan Interest, speaks thus of his Children (e):

*Quos illi fors ad pœnas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, & culpam hanc miserorum morte piabunt.*

To return to our Subject: The Nomination of the Generals was made in an Assembly of the People, which on this Occasion was conven'd in the Pnyx, and frequently lighted upon the same Persons, if they behav'd themselves with Courage and Prudence; and executed their Office for the Safety and Honour of their Country; Insomuch that 'tis reported of Phocion, that he was a Commander five and forty Times, tho' he never us'd, or canvass'd for that Honour, but was always promoted by the free and voluntary Choice of the People (f). Before their Admission to Office they took an Oath of Fidelity to the Common-wealth, wherein one Thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz. That they oblig'd themselves to invade the Megarians twice every Year: Which Clause was first inserted in the Oath by a Decree preferr'd by Charinus, on the Account of Antemocritus an Athenian Herald, whom the Megarians had barbarously murder'd about the Beginning of the Peloponnesian War (g). This done, the Command of all the Forces, and War-like Preparations was entrusted in their Hands, to be employ'd and manag'd as they judg'd convenient; Yet was not their Power absolute, or unlimited, it being wisely order'd, that upon the Expirati-

(a) Pausanias Atticis. (b) Cimone. (c) Conf. Petitus commentario in *Leges Atticas*. (d) Dnarchus in Demosthenem. (e) Epist. XVI. ad Brutum. Conf. Cælius Rhodiginus. lib. XIV. cap. XII. (f) *Æneid*. lib. II. v. 139. (g) Plutarchus Pericle. (h) Plutarchus Phocione.

on of their Command, they should be liable to render an Account of their Administration: Only, on some extraordinary Occasions, it seem'd fit to exempt them from this Restraint, and send them with full and uncontrollable Authority, and then they were sty'd *Ἀυτοκράτορες* (a): Which Title was conferr'd on *Aristides*, when he was General at the famous Battle of *Plataea*; upon *Nicias*, *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus* in the *Sicilian Expedition*, and several others (b). These Commanders were Ten, according to the Number of the *Athenian Tribes*, and all call'd *Στρατηγοί*, being invest'd with equal Power, and about the first Times of their Creation frequently dispatch'd all together in Expeditions of Concern and Moment, where every one enjoy'd the supreme Command by Days. But left in controverted Matters an Equality of Voices should retard their Proceedings we find an eleventh Person joyn'd in Commission with them, and call'd *Πολέμαρχος*, whose Vote, added to either of the contesting Parties, weigh'd down the Balance, as may appear from *Herodotus's* Account of the *Athenian Affairs* in the *Median War*. To the same Person the Command of the left Wing of the Army belong'd of Right (c).

But afterwards it was look'd on as unnecessary, and perhaps not very expedient, for so many Generals to be sent with equal Power to manage military Affairs: Wherefore, tho' the ancient Number was elected every Year, they were not all oblig'd to attend the Wars; but one, two, or more, as Occasion requir'd, were dispatch'd to that Service: The *Polemarchus* was diverted to civil Business, and became Judge of a Court, where he had Cognizance of Law-suits between the Natives, or Free-men of *Athens* and Foreigners: The rest of the Generals had every Man his proper Employment, yet none were wholly free from military Concerns, but determin'd all Controversies that happen'd amongst Men of that Profession, and order'd all the Affairs of War that lay in the City (d). Hence they came to be distinguish'd into two sorts, one they term'd *τὸς ἐν τῇ Διοικήσει*, because they administer'd the City-business; the other, *τὸς ἐν τῶν ὅπλων*, from their Concern about Arms. The latter of these list'd and disbanded Soldiers as there was Occasion (e), and, in short, had the whole Management of War devolv'd upon them during their Continuance in that Post, which seems not to have been long, it being customary for the Generals, who remain'd in the City, to take their Turns of serving in the War (f).

Ταξιάρχαι were likewise ten, (every Tribe having the Privilege of electing one) and commanded next under the *Στρατηγοί*. They had the Care of *Marshalling* the Army, gave Orders for their Marches, and what Provisions every Soldier should furnish himself with, which were convey'd to the Army by publick *Criers*. They had also Power to cashier any of the common Soldiers, if convicted of Misdemeanors. Their Jurisdiction was only over the Foot (g).

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Plutarchus Aristide*, &c. (c) *Herodotus Eubo.* (d) *Demosthenes Phil. pp.* (e) *Idem Orat. de Epitriarch.* *Plutarchus Phocione.* (f) *Vipianus in M. diadem.* (g) *Zylas Orat. pro Mantitheo*, & de neglecta militia, *Aristophanis Scholiast.* *Avibus.*

Ἰππᾶρχοι were only two in Number (a), and had the chief Command of the Cavalry next under the Στρατηγοί (b).

Φύλαρχοι were ten; one being nominated by every Tribe. They were subordinate Officers to the Ἰππᾶρχοι, and invested with Authority to discharge Horse-men, and to fill up the Vacancies, as Occasion requir'd (c).

Thus much of the General Officers. The Inferiours usually deriv'd their Titles from the Squadron, or Number of Men under their Command: as λοχαγοί, χιλίαρχοι, ἐκατόνταρχοι, δεκάδαρχοι, πεμπάδαρχοι, &c. Proceed we in the next Place to the Commanders of the Spartan Army.

The supreme Command was lodg'd in one Person; For the Lacedæmonians, however fond of Aristocracy in civil Affairs, found by Experience that in War a Monarchical Government was on several Accounts preferable to all others (d): For it happening that once upon a Difference in Opinion between their two Kings, Demaratus and Cleomenes, the former withdrew his Part of the Army and left his Colleague expos'd to the Enemy, a Law was hereupon enacted, that for the future they should never command the Army together, as had been usual before that Misfortune (e). Yet upon extraordinary Occasions, when the Safety and Honour of the State was in Dispute, they had so much Prudence, as rather by transgressing the Letter of the Law to secure their Country, than by insisting on Niceties to bring it into Danger: For we find that, when Agis was engag'd in a dangerous War with the Argians and Mantineans, Plistonax his fellow-King, having rais'd an Army out of such Citizens, as by their Age were at other Times excus'd from Military Service, went in Person to his Assistance (f).

The General's Title (as some say) was Βάσις (g); which others will have common to all other Military Officers. He was ordinarily one of the Kings of Sparta; it being appointed by one of Lycurgus's Laws, that this Honour should belong to the Kings: But in Cases of Necessity, as in their King's Minority, a Protector, or Viceroy, call'd πρὸς δίκην, was substituted for the Management of Military, as well as Civil Affairs (h). 'Twas under this Character, that Lycurgus reform'd, and new modell'd the Lacedæmonian Polity, and commanded their Armies, during the Infancy of King Charilaus (i). Pausanias also was Tutor to Plistarchus, when he led the Lacedæmonians, and the rest of the Grecians against Mardonius, Xerxes's Lieutenant, at Plateæ (k).

This only concern'd their Land-armies, for the Laws made no Provision for their Fleets, their Law-giver having positively forbidden them to meddle with Marine Affairs. Wherefore when they became Masters of a Navy, they confin'd not their Elections of Admirals to the Royal House, but rather chose to commit that great Trust to their

(a) Sigonius de Rep. Athen. (b) Demisthenes Midiana. (c) Lyfias in locis citatis. (d) Iso. rates ad Nicoclem (e) Herodotus lib. V. cap. LXXV. (f) Thucydides lib. V. (g) Hyschus. (h) Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm. (i) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (k) Herodotus, Thucydides, Pausanias, Cornelius Nepos, Pausanias,

most able and experienc'd Seamen; as may appear from the Instances of *Lyfander*, and several others, who commanded the *Spartan* Fleets, tho' never invest'd with Royal Power. Nor was it ordinarily permitted their Kings, when entrusted with Land-armies, to undertake the Office of Admiral: The only Person honour'd with those two Commands at the same Time, was the *Great Agesilaus* (a).

The King, however limited and restrain'd when at Home, was supreme and absolute in the Army, it being provided by a particular Precept of the Law, that all others should be subordinate to him, and ready to obey his Commands (b). Notwithstanding this, he was not always left wholly to himself, and the Prosecution of his own Measures, it being customary for some of the Magistrates call'd *Ephori* to accompany him, and assist him with their Advice (c). To these, on some Occasions, others were joyn'd; When *Agis* had unadvisedly enter'd into a League with the *Argians*, at a Time, when it lay in his Power to have forc'd them to accept of Terms far more honourable to his Country, the *Spartans* highly resent'd his Imprudence, and enacted a Decree, that he should never again command an Army, without ten Counsellors to go along with him. Whether the succeeding Kings were hereby oblig'd, does not fully appear; but it seems probable, they were not sent to the Wars without a Council consisting, if not of the same, however of a considerable Number of the wisest Men in *Sparta*. *Agessipolis* was attended with no less than thirty (d); And tho' the Tenderness of his Age might occasion that extraordinary Provision, yet in Wars of great Concern, or Danger, and such as were carry'd on in remote Countries, Kings of the greatest Experience, and most eminent for Conduct, were not trusted without a great Number of Counsellors; For we are told, that *Agesilaus* himself, when he made his Expedition into *Asia*, was oblig'd by a Decree of the People, to take thirty along with him (e).

Beside these, the General was guarded by Three Hundred valiant *Spartans*, call'd *Ιππῆες*, or Horse-men, who fought about his Person (f), and were much of the same Nature with *Romulus's* Life-guards, call'd *Celeres*, or Light-horse, as *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* reports. Before him fought all those, that had obtain'd Prizes in the *Sacred Games*, which was look'd upon as one of the most honourable Posts in the Army, and esteem'd equivalent to all the glorious Rewards conferr'd on those Victors in other Cities (g).

The chief of the subordinate Officers was call'd *Πολέμαρχος*. The Titles of the rest will easily be understood from the Names of the Parties under their Command, being all deriv'd from them; Such as *Λοχαγωχοί*, *Περτικισήτες*, *Ευμολογῆται*, &c.

(a) *Plutarchus Agessipolis*. (b) *Herodotus* lib. VI. *Thucydides* lib. V. (c) *Xenophon* *Εκκλῆσις* lib. II. (d) *Xenophon* *Εκκλῆσις* lib. V. (e) *Plutarchus Agessilaus*, & *Xenophon*. (f) *Thucydides* lib. V. (g) *Plutarchus* *Lyurgo*.

C H A P. VI.

Of the several Divisions, and Forms of the Grecian Army, with other Military Terms.

THE whole Army, as compounded of Horse and Foot, was call'd *στρατιά*. The Front, *μίτωπον*, or *πρῶτος ζυγός*; The right-hand Man of which, as in other Places, was *πρωτοστάτης*; The Wings, *κίρατα*, of which some make *Pan*, *Bacchus's* General in his *Indian* Expedition, to have been the first Inventor; The Souldiers herein, and their Leader, *ῥαγάται*; Those in the middle Ranks, *ἐνστάται*; The Rear, *ῥοχατος ζυγός*, *ῥα*, and the Person that brought up the Rear, *ῥαγός*, or *ὀπισθοφυλάξ* (a); which seem to have been common Names for any others that obtain'd the like Places in smaller Bodies.

Πεμπάς was a Party of five Souldiers; its Leader, *πεμπάδαρχος*. *Δεκάς* of ten; its Leader, *δεκάδαρχος*. And so of the rest.

Λόχος consisted of eight, as others, of twelve, or, as some, of sixteen, which was a compleat *λόχος*, tho' some make that to contain no less than twenty five. It is sometimes term'd *εἰς* *Θ*, or *δεκαρία*, and its Leader *δοχαγός*.

Διμοιρία, or *ἡμιλοχία* was an half *λόχος*; Its Leader, *διμοιρίτης*, or *ἡμιλοχίτης*.

Συλλοχισμός was a Conjunction of several *λόχοι*: Sometimes 'tis term'd *σύσασις*, which consisted of four half, or two compleat *λόχοι*, containing thirty two Men.

Πεντηκονταρχία, however the Name imports only fifty, was usually a double *σύσασις*, consisting of four *λόχοι*, or sixty four Men: Whence its Leader was not only term'd *πεντηκόνταρχος*, but *τετραρχης*, and for *πεντηκονταρχία* we sometimes find *τετραρχία*.

Εκατονταρχία, sometimes call'd *τάξις*, consisted of two of the former, containing an hundred twenty eight Men. Its Commander was anciently call'd *ταξίαρχος*, but afterwards the Name of *Εκατόνταρχος* generally prevail'd. To every *Εκατονταρχία* were assign'd five necessary Attendants, call'd *Εκτακτοι*, as not being reckon'd in the Ranks with the Souldiers. These were

1. *Στρατοκήρυξ*, the Cryer, who convey'd by Voice the Words of Command. He was usually a Man of strong Lungs: The most remarkable of any in Story was *Homer's* *Stenor*, who, he tells us, was able to shout as loud as any fifty (b);

(a) *Orbicinus*. (b) *Iliad*. i. v. 784.

Ενθα εἶς' ἥυσε διὰ λυκώλεν' Ἡρῆ
Στύντοει εἰσαΐδῃ μεγαλήτοει, χαλκιοφόνῳ,
Ὅς τόσον αὐδήσαχ', ὅσον ἄλλοι πεντήκοντα.

Funo there clamours with imperious Sway,
Like bawling *Ssenior*, when his Lungs gave way,
Whose Voice would open in a mighty Shout,
As loud as fifty Men's. —————

2. *Σημειοφόρος*, the Ensign, remitted by Signs the Officer's Commands to the Souldiers; and was of use in conveying Things not to be pronounc'd openly, or discover'd; and when the Noise of War drown'd the Cryer's Voice.

3. *Σαλπικτής*, or Trumpeter, was necessary, as well to signify to the Souldiers the Will of their Commanders, when Dust render'd the two former uselefs, as to animate and encourage them, and on several other Accounts.

4. *Υπηρέτης*, was a Servant, that waited on the Souldiers to supply them with Necessaries. These four were plac'd next to the foremost Rank.

5. *Ὀυραγός*, the Lieutenant, brought up the Rear, and took care that none of the Souldiers were left behind, or deserted.

Σωτάσμα, *ὀδύταξις*, *ψιλαγία*, and, according to some, *ξαναγία*, was compounded of two *τάξεις*, being made up of Two Hundred Fifty Six Men. The Commander, *Συνταγματάρχης*.

Πεντακοσιάρχια, or *ξαναγία* contain'd two *σωτάσματα*, i. e. Five Hundred and Twelve Men. The Commander's Name was *Πεντακοσιάρχης*, or *Ξαναγός*.

Χιλίαιρχια, *σύσρεμμα*, and (as some think) *ξαναγία*, was the former doubled, and consisted of a Thousand and Twenty Four. The Commander, *Χιλίαιρχος*, *Χιλιότης*, or *Συσρεμματάρχης*.

Μεσαρχία, by some call'd *τέλχος*, by others *ἐπιξαναγία*, contain'd two of the former, i. e. Two Thousand Forty Eight. The Commander, *Μεσάρχης*, *Τελάρχης*, or *Επιξαναγός*.

Φαλαγγαρχία, sometimes call'd *μίερος*, *ὑποτομή κέρατος*, *σίρχος*, and, by the Ancients, *στρατηγία*, was compounded of two *τέλη*; and contain'd Four thousand, fourscore and sixteen, or Four thousand thirty six, according to others. The Officer, *Φαλαγγάρχης*, &c. *Στρατηγός*.

Διφαλαγγία, *κίρας*, *ἐπίταγμα*, and (as some think) *μίερος*, was almost a Duplicate of the former, for it consisted of Eight thousand, one hundred and thirty two. The Commander's Title was *Κεράρχης*.

Τετραφαλαγγαρχία contain'd about two *διφαλαγγίαι*, or Sixteen thousand, three hundred, fourscore and four. The Commander, *Τετραφαλαγγάρχης*.

Φάλαγξ is sometimes taken for a Party of Twenty eight Men, sometimes of Eight thousand; but a compleat *φάλαγξ* is said to be the same with *τετραφαλαγγαρχία*. Several other Numbers are signi-

signify'd by this Name, it being frequently taken for the whole Body of Foot, and as often in general for any Company of Souldiers. Indeed the *Grecian* Battles were usually rang'd into an Order peculiarly term'd *Phalanx*; which was of such Strength, that it was able to bear any Shock with what Violence soever charg'd upon them. The *Macedonians* were the most famous for this Way of Imbatteling; Their *Phalanx* is describ'd by *Polybius* to be a square Battail of Pike-men, consisting of sixteen in Flank, and five hundred in Front; the Souldiers standing so close together, that the Pikes of the fifth Rank were extended three Foot beyond the Front of the Battail: The rest, whose Pikes were not serviceable by reason of their distance from the Front, couch'd them upon the Shoulders of those that stood before them, and so, locking them together in File, press'd forward to support and push on the former Ranks, whereby the Assault was render'd more violent and irresistible. The Commander was call'd *Φάλαγγάρχης* in *DIW* edī trisibuo? edī oi?

Μήκος Φάλαγγος was the Length, or first Rank of the *Phalanx*, reaching from the farthest extremity of one Wing to that of another. 'Tis the same with *μέτωπον, πρῶτον, σῆμα, παρτάξις, πρωτολαχία, πρῶτος αἶται, πρῶτος ζυγός, &c.* The Ranks behind were call'd, according to their Order, *δεύτερος, τρίτος ζυγός, &c.* *Βάθος*, or *τάχος Φάλαγγος*, sometimes call'd *τόχος*, was the Depth, consisting in the Number of Ranks from Front to Rear. *Ζυγοί Φάλαγγος*, were the Ranks taken according to the length

of the *Phalanx*. *Στήχοι*, or *λόχοι*, were the Files measur'd according to the Depth. *Διχοτομία Φάλαγγος*, the Distribution of the *Phalanx* into two equal Portions, which were term'd *πλευράι, κέρατα, &c.* or Wings. The left of these was *κίρας ἐνόνυμον*, and *εἰς*; The right, *κίρας δεξιόν, κεφαλή, δεξιόν ἀκρωτήριον, δεξιόν ἄγχη, &c.* *Αἶσος, ὀρθὰς, σμυχὴ Φάλαγγος*, the Body, or middle Part between the Wings.

Λεπτυσμὸς Φάλαγγος, the lessening the Depth of the *Phalanx* by cutting off some of its Files.

Ορδία, ἑτερομήκης, or παρμήκης Φάλαγγος, *acies recta*, or the *Hersa*, wherein the Depth exceeded the Length.

Πλαγία Φάλαγγος differ'd from the former, being broad in Front, and narrow in Flank; whereas the other was narrow in Front, and broad in Flank (a).

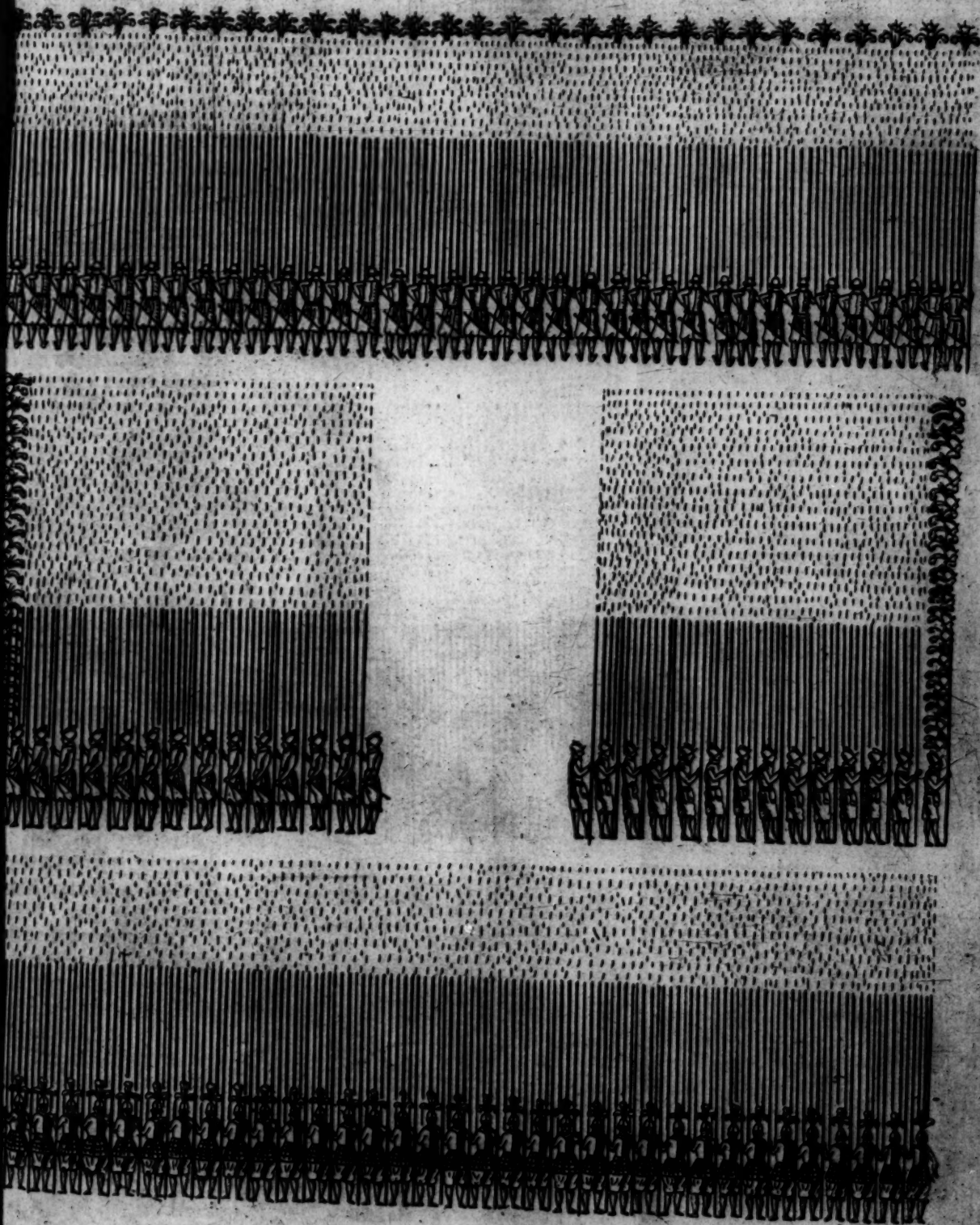
Αὐξὴ Φάλαγγος, or *obliqua acies*, when one Wing was advanc'd near the Enemies, to begin the Battle, the other holding off at a convenient Distance.

Αμφίστοιμος Φάλαγγος, when the Souldiers were plac'd back to back, that they might every way face their Enemies: Which Form of Battalia was us'd, when they were in Danger of being surrounded.

Ἀντίστοιμος Φάλαγγος differ'd herein from the former, that it was form'd lengthways, and engag'd at both Flanks; whereas the former engag'd at Front and Rear.

The four Fronted Phalange against all Attempts of the Enemy

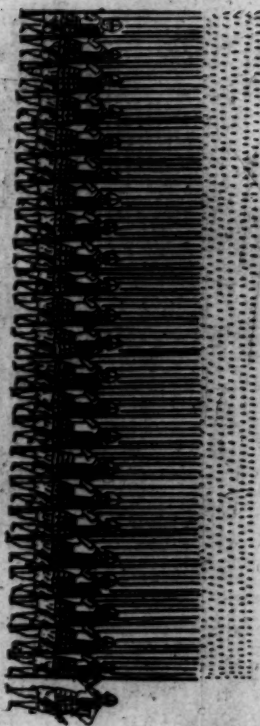
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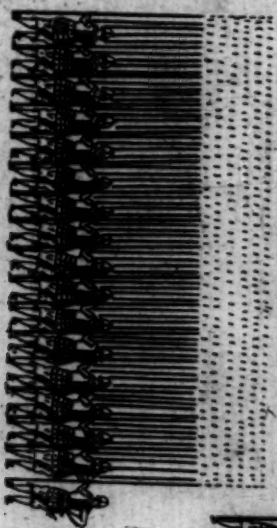
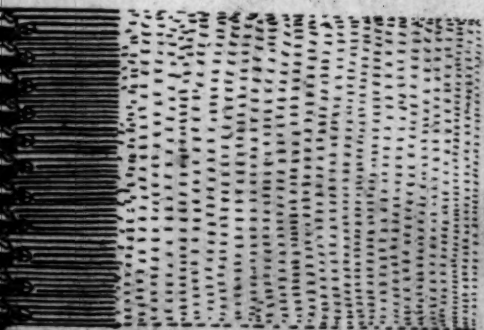


*Plagiophalaxe or the Broad-Fronted
Phalange —*

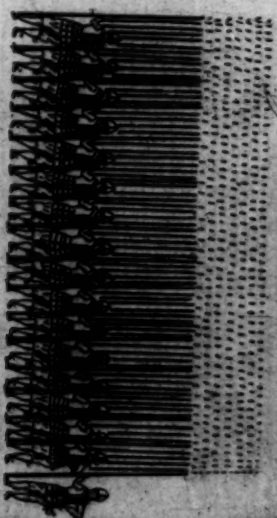
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Orthophalaxe or y^e Horse



*Loxe Phalaxe or y^e narrow Fronted
Phalange —*

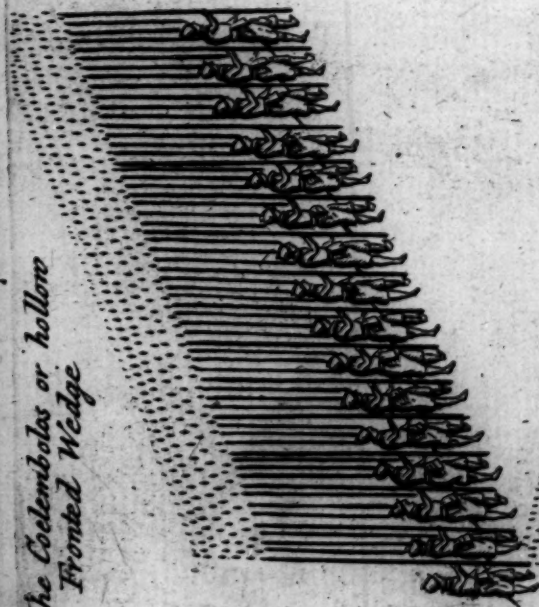






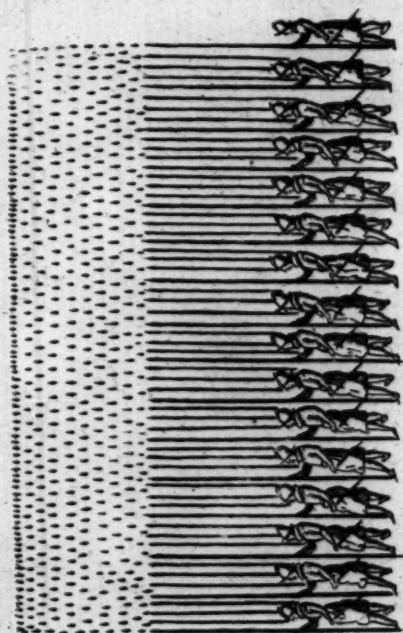
p. 59

*The Coelembolas or hollow
Fronted Wedge*



The Front

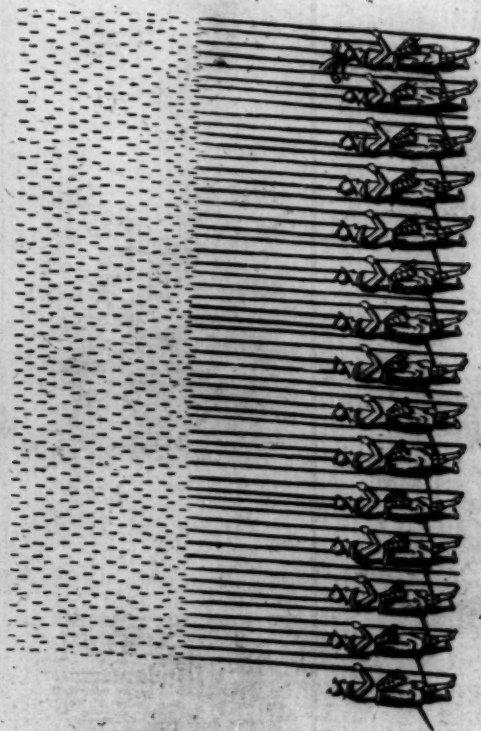
The Induction





*The Battail call'd
Pinthium*

p. 59

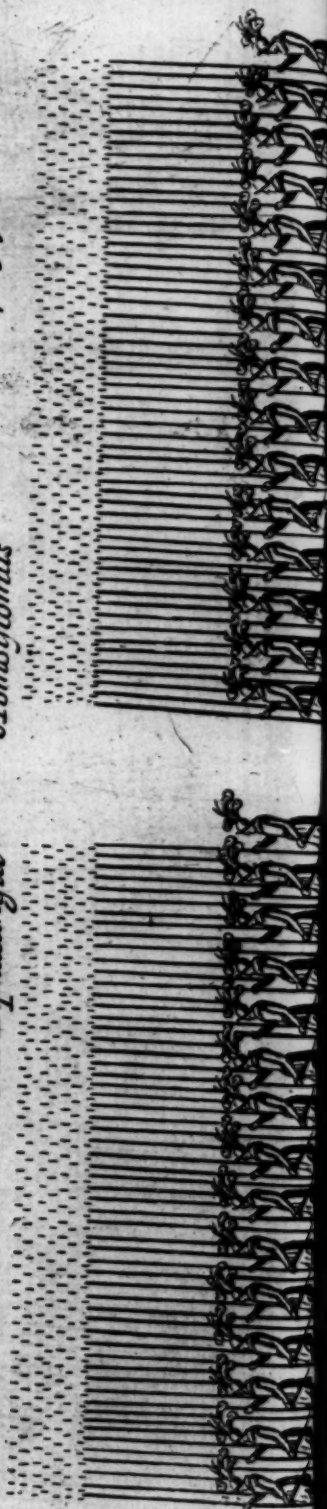


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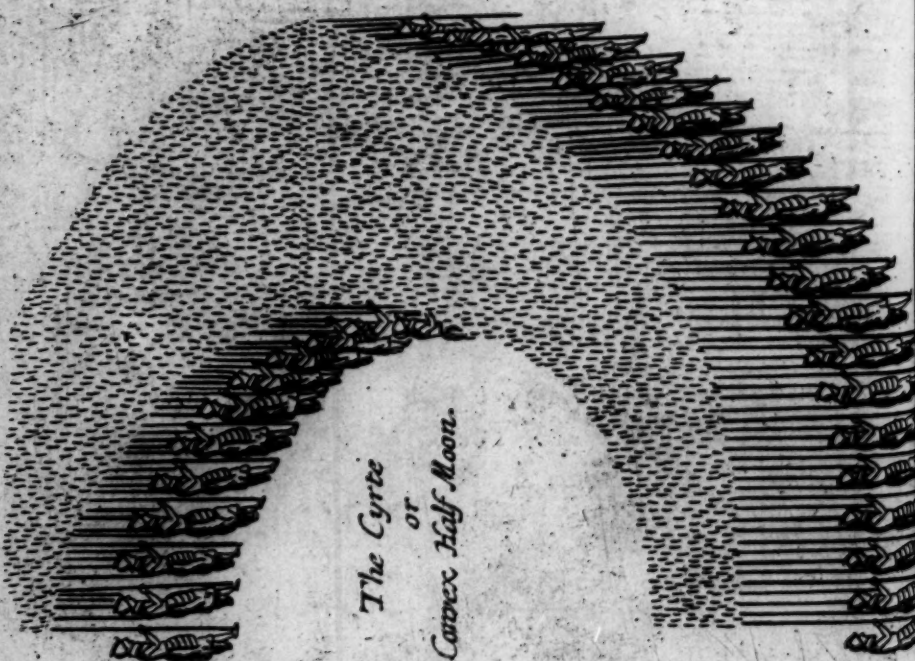
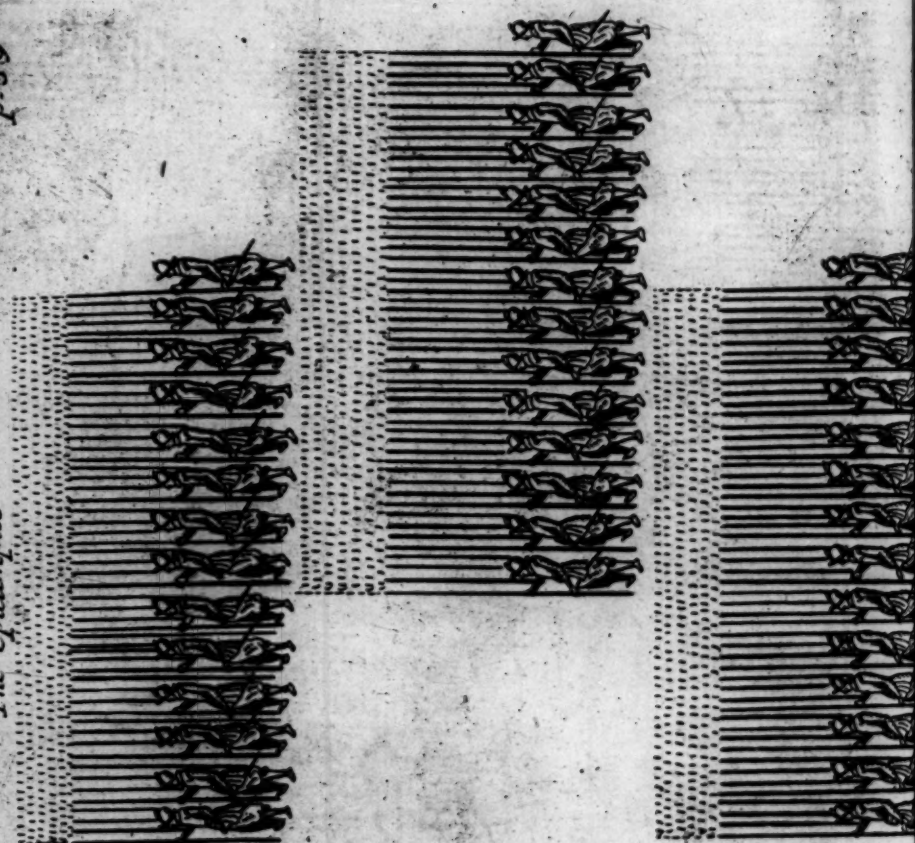
The Diphalangia.

Homoistomus

p. 59



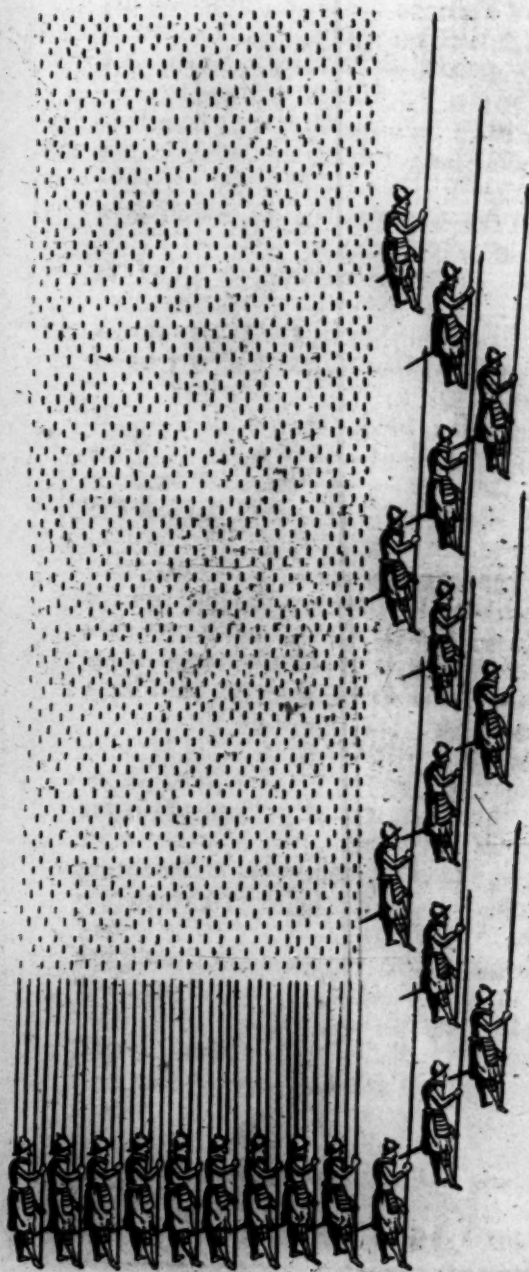




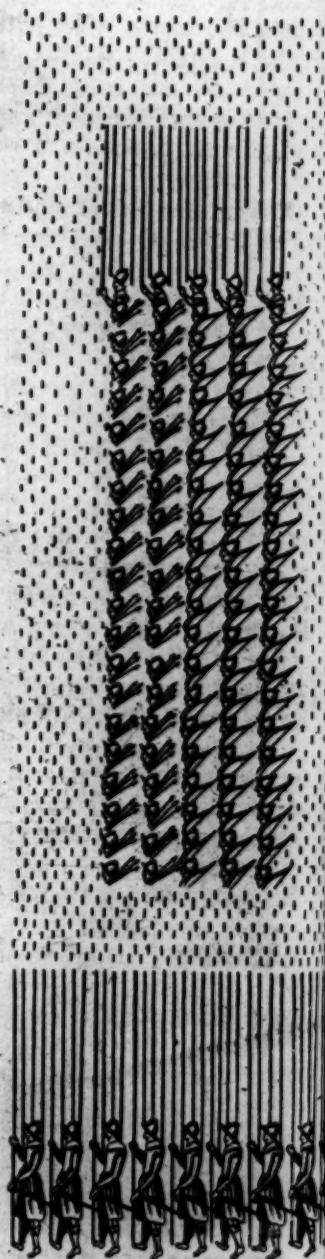
*The Cyrte
or
Convex Half Moon.*



The Peplegmene



The Plasiun



Ἀμφίστομος διατάξις, when the Leaders were plac'd in both Fronts, but the Οὐραγοί, who follow'd the Rear, transplanted into the Middle, so that their Enemies were confronted on all Sides.

Ἀντίστομος διατάξις was contrary to the former, having the Οὐραγοί and their Rear on the two Sides, and the rest of the Commanders, who were plac'd at other Times in the Front, in the Midst, facing one another; In which Form the Front, opening in two Parts, so clos'd again, that the Wings succeeded in its Place, and the last Ranks were transplanted into the former Place of the Wings.

Ὀμοῖστος διατάξις was, when both the Phalanx's had their Officers on the same Side, one marching behind the other in the same Form.

Ἐτερόστος διατάξις, when the Commanders of one Phalanx were plac'd on the right Flank, in the other on the left.

Πεπλεγμένη τάλαγξ, when its Form was chang'd, as the Ways requir'd, thro' which it march'd.

Ἐπικαμπής τάλαγξ represented an half-Moon, the Wings turn'd backwards, and the main Body advanc'd toward the Enemy; or on the contrary.

The same was call'd κυρτή, and κοίλη, being Convex, and hollow.

Ἐσπαρμένη τάλαγξ, when the Parts of the Battalia stood at an unequal Distance from the Enemy, some jutting out before others.

ὑπερτάλαγξις, when both Wings were extended beyond the adverse Army's Front; When only one, ὑπερπέριος.

Ρομβοειδής τάλαγξ, call'd likewise σφαινοειδής, a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, Sides, representing the Figure of a Diamond. This Figure was us'd by the Thessalians, being first contriv'd by their Country-man Jason. Indeed most of the common Forms of Battalia in Greece, in Sicily also, and Persia, seem to have been devis'd after this, or some other Square (a).

Ἐμβολον, rostrum, or cuneus, was a Rhombus divided in the Middle, having three Sides, and representing the Figure of a Wedge, or the Letter Δ. The Design of this Form was to pierce, and enter forcibly into the Enemies Body.

Κοιλέμβολον, or Forfex, was the Cuneus transvers'd, and wanting the Basis: It represented a Pair of Sheers, or the Letter V; and seems to have been design'd to receive the Cuneus.

Πλινθίον, Πλινθία, laterculus, an Army drawn up in the Figure of a Brick, or Tyle, with four unequal Sides; its Length was extended towards the Enemy, and exceeded the Depth.

Πύργος, Turris, was the Brick inverted, being an oblong Square, after the Fashion of a Tower, with the small End towards the Enemy. This Form is mention'd by Homer (b);

Οἱ δὲ τε περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀρέας αὐτὸς ἀρτυίαντες.

Wheeling themselves into a Tower's Form.

(a) *Alanus* Tacticis, qui ubique in hoc capite consulendus. (b) *Iliad.* μ'. v.

Πλαίσιον had an oblong Figure, but approaching nearer to a Circle than Quadrangle.

Τετράων, was an Army extended at length with a very few Men in a Rank, when the Ways they march'd thro' could not be pass'd in broader Ranks: The Name is taken from a Worm that insinuates it self into little Holes in Wood. On the same Account we find mention of φάλαγξ ξιφειδής, so rang'd, as it were, to pierce thro' the Passages.

Πύκνωσις φάλαγγος was the ranging Souldiers close together, so that, whereas in other *Battalies* every Man was allow'd four Cubits Space on each Side, in this he took up only two.

Συναπτισμὸς was closer than the former, one Cubit's Room being allow'd to every Souldier: 'Tis so call'd from Bucklers, which were all join'd close to one another.

Several other Forms of *Battalia* may occur in Authors, as those drawn in all the sorts of *Spherical* Figures. One of these was call'd ἴλι, first invented by *Ilion* of *Theffaly*, representing the Figure of an Egg, into which the *Theffalians* commonly rang'd their Horse (*a*). 'Tis commonly taken for any Party of Horse of what Number soever, but sometimes in a more limited Sense for a Troop of Sixty four.

Ἐπιδωχία contain'd two ἴλαι, *i. e.* One hundred and Twenty eight.

Ταρεντινὰρχία was a Duplicate of the former, consisting of Two Hundred Fifty Six: For they commonly us'd a sort of Horsemen, call'd Ταρεντίνοι, or ἰπταγωνισταί, who annoy'd their Enemies with Missive Weapons, being unable to sustain a close Fight by reason of their light Armour. There was likewise another sort of *Tarentine* Horse-men, who, having discharg'd their missive Weapons, engag'd their Enemies in close Fight. Their Name was deriv'd from *Tarentum* in *Italy*, which us'd to furnish out Horse-men of these sorts: But whether the Name of this Troop was taken from the sort of Horse-men, or the Numbers being the same with that us'd by the *Tarentines*, is not certain.

Ἰπταρχία contain'd two of the former, *i. e.* Five Hundred and Twelve.

Ἐπιπταρχία was a double Ἰπταρχία, being made up of One Thousand and Twenty Four.

Τέλος was the former doubled, containing Two Thousand Forty Eight.

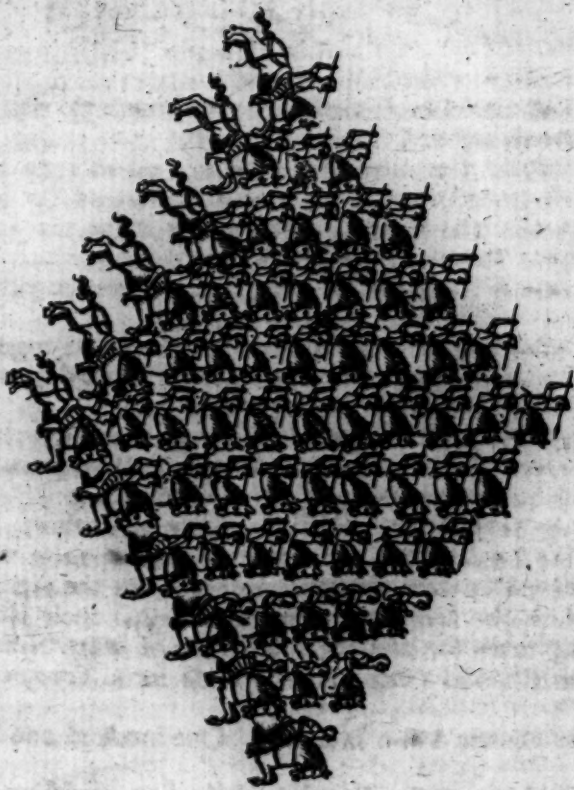
Ἐπίταγμα was equal to two τέλη, being compos'd of Four Thousand Ninety Six.

The *Lacedæmonian* Divisions of their Army had peculiar Names.

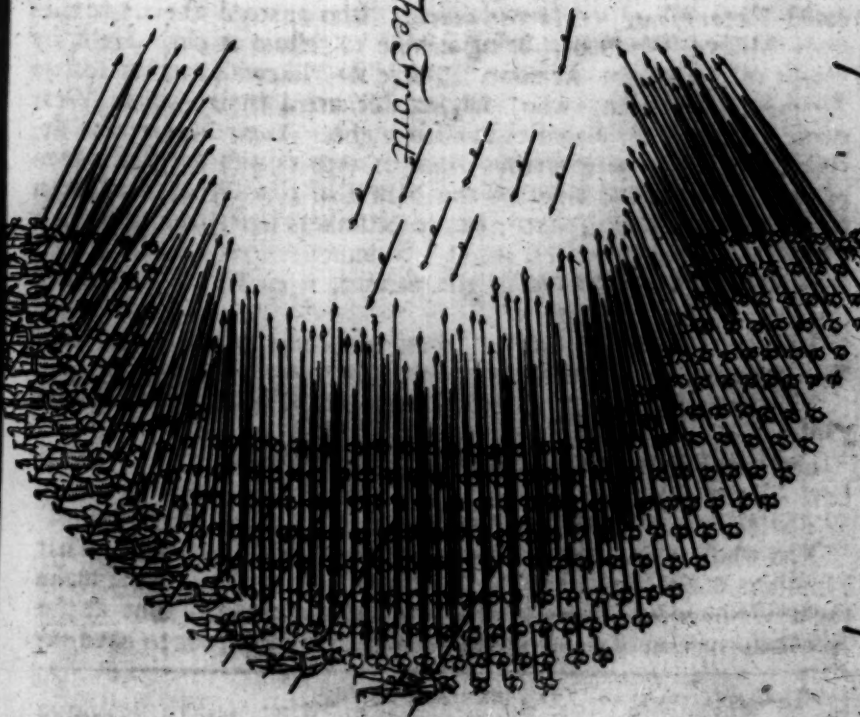
The whole Army was divided into Μόραι, or Regiments. What Numbers of Soldiers were rang'd in each is uncertain. Some make them five-hundred, others seven, and some nine (*b*); But at the first-Reformation of the Common-wealth, they seem not to have ex-

(*a*) *Ælianus* loc. citat. (*b*) *Plutarchus* *Pelopida*.

The Rhombe of Horse



The Half Moon or Menoides of Foot



The Front



ceeded four-hundred, who were all Foot-men. The Commander was call'd *πολιμαρχός* (a); to whom was added a subordinate Officer call'd *Συμφορδής* (b); The former was Colonel, the latter his Lieutenant.

Λόχος was the fourth Part of a *Μόρα*: And tho' some affirm there were five *Λόχοι* in every *Μόρα* (c), yet the former Account seems more agreeable to the ancient State of the *Spartan* Army: For we are assur'd by *Xenophon*, that in every *Μόρα* there were four *Λοχαγωγοί*.

Πεντηκοσός was the fourth Part, or, as others, half of a *Λόχος*, and contain'd fifty Men, as appears from the Name. The Commander hereof was styl'd *πεντηκοστής*, *πεντηκοτατής*, or *πεντηκοστής*: Of these there were eight in every *Μόρα*, as the fore-mention'd Author reports.

Ενωματία was the fourth Part, or, as others, the half of *πεντηκοσός*, contain'd twenty-five Men, and so call'd, because all the Soldiers therein were *ἐνέμοτοι διὰ σφαγίων* (d), or bound by a solemn Oath upon a Sacrifice to be faithful and loyal to their Country. The Commander was term'd *ἐνωμοταρχός*, or *ἐνωμοταρχός*. Of these *Xenophon* affirms, there were sixteen in every *Μόρα*; which, together with his Account of the *Λόχοι*, and *πεντηκοσούς*, makes it evident that the primitive *Μόραι* consisted only of four-hundred: The Disagreement of Authors herein seems to have been occasion'd by the Encrease of the *Lacedæmonian* Army; for in succeeding Ages the *Spartans*, having augmented their Forces, still retain'd their ancient Names, so that the eighth Part of a *Μόρα*, tho' perhaps containing several *Fifties*, was still term'd *πεντηκοσός*. The *Roman* Battalions, in like Manner, however encreas'd by new Additions, were still call'd *Legiones*; which, tho' at first they contain'd no more than three-thousand, were afterwards vary'd as Necessity requir'd, and consisted of four, five, or six-thousand. The same may be observ'd of their *Cohortes*, *Manipuli*, *Ordines*, &c.

There are several other Military Terms, an Explication of some of which may be expected in this Place.

Πεσταξις is the placing of any Company of Soldiers before the Front of the Army; as *πεσταξις φιλών*, when the light-arm'd Men are drawn before the rest of the Army, to begin the Fight at a Distance with missive Weapons.

Επιταξις is contrary to the former, and signifies the ranging of Soldiers in the Rear.

Περαξις, when to one, or both Flanks of the Battle, Part of the Rear is added, the Front of those, that are added, being plac'd in the same Line with the Front of the Battle.

Τρόταξις, when the Wings are doubled, by bestowing the light-arm'd Men under them in an embow'd Form, so that the whole Figure resembles a three-fold Door.

Ενταξις, *παρίνταξις*, or *προσένταξις*, the placing together of different sorts of Soldiers; as when light-arm'd Men are order'd to fill up void Spaces between the heavy-arm'd Companies.

(a) *Xenophon de Rep. Laced.* (b) *Idem Ellin. lib. VI.* (c) *Hesychius.* (d) *Idem.*

Παρεμβολή is distinguish'd from the former, as denoting the Completion of vacant Spaces in the Files by Soldiers of the same sort.

Επαγωγή is a continu'd Series of Battalions in Marches drawn up after the same Form behind one another, so that the Front of the latter is extended to the Rear of the former: Whence this Term is sometimes taken for the Rhetorical Figure *Inductio*, where certain Consequences are inferr'd, in a plain and evident Method, from the Concession of some Antecedents (a).

Παράγωγή differs herein from επαγωγή, that the *Phalanx* proceedeth in a Wing not by File, but by Rank, the Leaders marching not directly in the Front, but on one Side; when toward the left, 'twas call'd εὐώνυμος παράγωγή: When toward the right, δεξιὰ παράγωγή.

Επαγωγή and παράγωγή are distinguish'd into four sorts; For when they expected the Enemy, and march'd on prepar'd for him only on one Side, they were call'd επαγωγή, or παράγωγή μονόπλευρος: When on two Sides, δίπλευρος: When on three, τρίπλευρος: When every Side was ready for an Assault, τετραπλευρος.

The Motions of the Soldiers at their Officers Command were term'd κλίσεις.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, to the right: Because they manag'd their *Spears* with their right Hands.

Επανακλίσις, the retrograde Motion.

Κλίσις ἐπὶ ἀριστερᾷ, to the left: For their Bucklers were held in their left Hands.

Μεταβολή is a double Turn to the same Hand, whereby their Backs were turn'd on what before lay to their Faces. There were two sorts of it:

1. Μεταβολή ἐπὶ ὕψους, whereby they turn'd from Front to Rear, which is term'd ὕψος, so that their Backs were toward their Enemies; whence 'tis call'd μεταβολή ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. It was always effected by turning to the right.

2. Μεταβολή ἀπὸ ὕψους, or ἐπὶ πολεμίων, from Rear to Front, whereby they turn'd their Faces to their Enemies, by moving twice to the left.

Επιστροφή, when the whole Battalion, close join'd Man to Man, made one Turn either to the right, or left.

Αναστροφή is oppos'd to ἐπιστροφή, being the Return of such a Battalion to its former Station.

Περισπασμός, a double ἐπιστροφή, whereby their Backs were turn'd to the Place of their Faces, the Front being transferr'd to the Place of the Rear.

Εκσπασμασμός, a treble ἐπιστροφή, or three Wheelings.

Εἰς ὁρδὴν ἀποδύνααι, or ἐπὶ ὁρδὴν ἀποκτασθῆναι, to turn about to the Places they were in at first.

Εξελισμός, ἐξελισμός, or ἐξελίξις, Countermarch, whereby every Soldier, one marching after another, chang'd the Front for the Rear, or one Flank for another: Whence there are two sorts of Counter-

(a) *Aristotelis Topic.* lib. I. *Quintilianus* lib. V. cap. X. *Cicero.*

marches,

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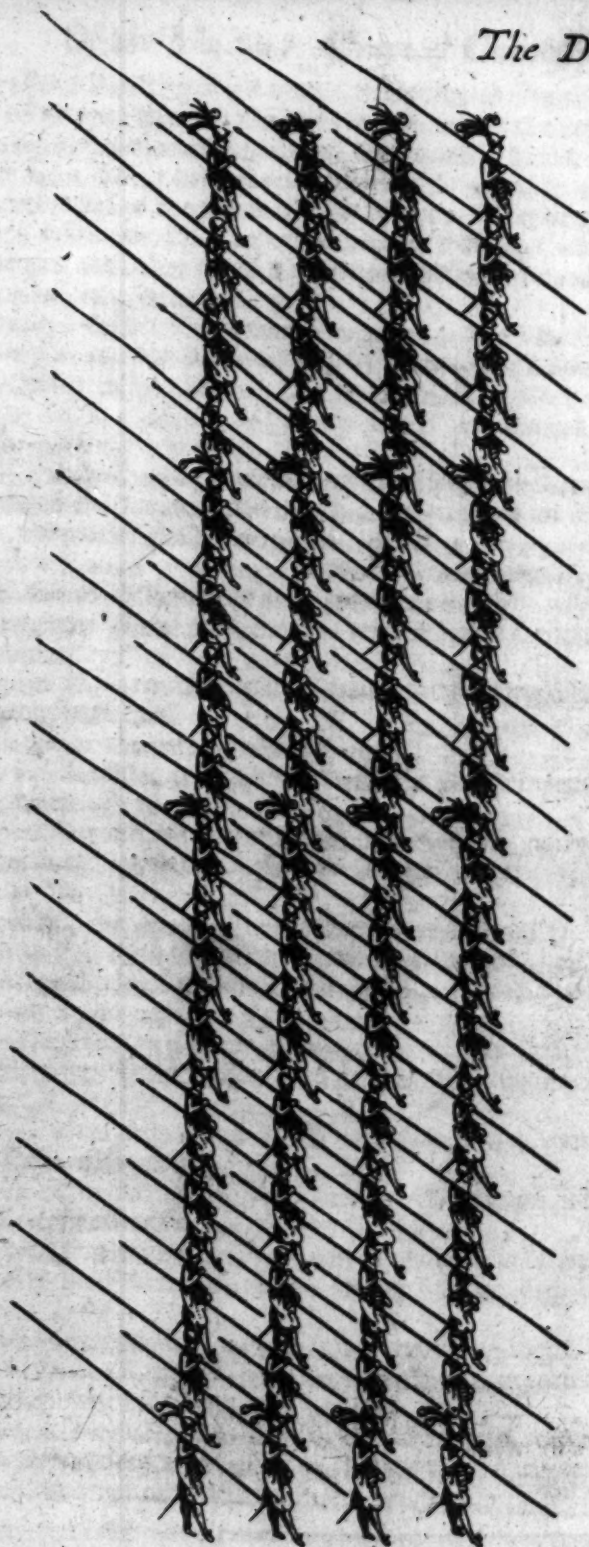
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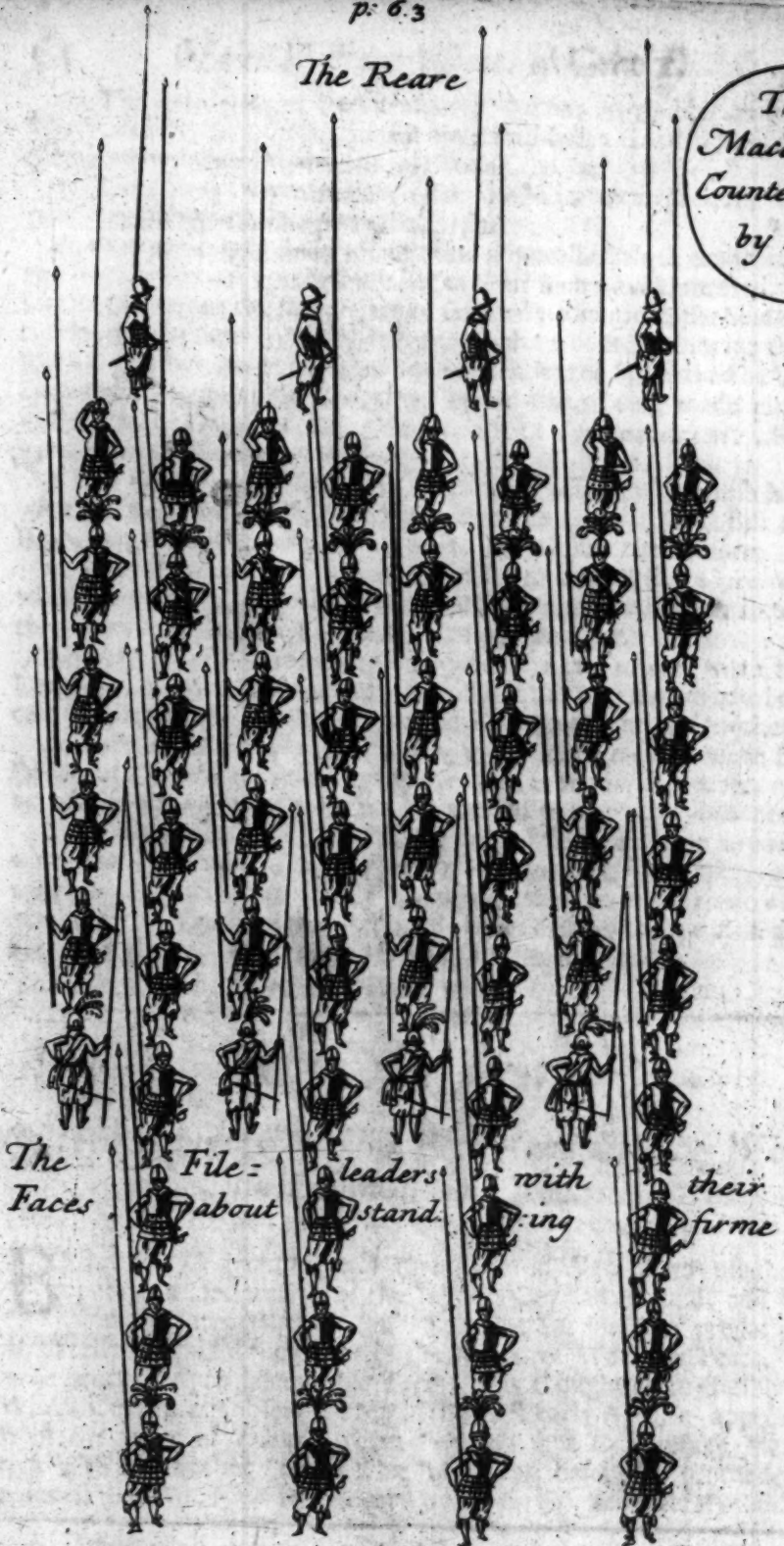






The Reare

*The
Macedon
Counterma
by File*



*The
Faces* *File =* *leaders* *with* *their*
about *stand.* *ing* *firme*

The bringers up dismarching

marches, $\chi\tau\iota\lambda\acute{o}\chi\eta\varsigma$, and $\chi\tau\iota\zeta\upsilon\gamma\alpha$, one by Files, the other by Ranks; both are farther divided into three sorts.

1. $\text{Εξελισμὸς Μακεδῶν } \chi\tau\iota\lambda\acute{o}\chi\eta\varsigma$, invented by the Macedonians, was thus: First the Leaders of the Files turn'd to the right, or left about, then the next Rank pass thro' by them on the same Hand, and, being come into the distant Spaces, plac'd themselves behind the Leaders of their Files, then turn'd about their Faces the same Way: In like manner the third Rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the Bringers up were last, and had turn'd about their Faces, and again taken the Rear of the Battle. Hereby the Army was remov'd into the Ground before the Front, and the Faces of the Soldiers turn'd backward. This appear'd like a Retreat, and was for that Reason laid aside by Philip of Macedon, who us'd the following Motion in its stead.

2. $\text{Εξελισμὸς Ἀλαλῶν } \chi\tau\iota\lambda\acute{o}\chi\eta\varsigma$, invented by the Lacedaemonians, was contrary to the former; They took up the Ground before the Phalanx, this the Ground behind it; and the Soldiers Faces turn'd the contrary Way; In this the Motion was from Rear to Front, in this from Front to Rear. *Alian* (2) describes it two ways; One was, when the Bringers up first turn'd about their Faces, the next Rank likewise turning their Faces, began the Countermarch, every Man placing himself directly before his Bringer up; the third did the like, and so the rest, till the Rank of File-leaders were first. The other Method was, when the Leaders of Files began the Countermarch, every one in their Files following them orderly. Hereby they were brought nearer to their Enemies, and represented a Charge.

3. $\text{Εξελισμὸς Περσικὸς, or Κεντρικὸς, } \chi\tau\iota\lambda\acute{o}\chi\eta\varsigma$, was us'd by the Persians and Cretans; it was sometimes term'd $\chi\tau\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$, because manag'd like the Grecian chori, which, being order'd into Files and Ranks, like soldiers in Battle-array, and moving forward toward the Brink of the Stage, when they could pass no farther, retir'd one thro' the Ranks of another; the whole Chorus all the Time maintaining the same Space of Ground, they were before possess'd of; wherein this Countermarch differ'd from the two former, in both which the Phalanx chang'd its Place.

$\text{Εξελισμὸς κατὰ } \zeta\upsilon\gamma\alpha$, Countermarch by Rank, was contrary to the Countermarch by File: In the Countermarch by File the Motion was in the Depth of the Battalia, the Front moving toward the Rear, or the Rear toward the Front, and succeeding into each other's Place, In this the Motion was in length of the Battalia flank-wise, the Wing either marching into the midk, or quite thro' to the opposite Wing: In doing this, the Soldiers, that stood last in the Flank of the Wing, mov'd first to the contrary Wing, the rest of every Rank following in their Order. It was likewise perform'd three Ways.

1. The Macedonian Countermarch began its Motion at the Corner of the Wing nearest the Enemies upon their appearing at either Flank, and remov'd to the Ground on the Side of the contrary Wing, so resembling a Flight.

2. The *Lacedæmonian* Countermarch, beginning its Motion in the Wing farthest distant from the Enemy, seiz'd the Ground nearest to them, whereby an Onset was represented.

3. The *Chorean* Countermarch maintain'd its own Ground, only removing one Wing into the other's Place.

Διπλασιάσαι is to double, or increase a Battalia, which was effected two ways. Sometimes the Number of their Men was augmented, remaining still upon the same Space of Ground; sometimes the Soldiers, continuing the same in Number, were so drawn out by thinning their Ranks, or Files, that they took up a much larger Space than before. Both these Augmentations of Men, or Ground, being made either in Length, or Depth, occasion'd four sorts of *διπλασιασμοί*, which were made by Countermarches:

1. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν χτ' ζυγῶ*, or *χτ' μήκος*, when fresh Men were inserted into Ranks, the Length of the Battalia being still the same, but the Soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

2. *Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, was when the Files were doubled, their Ground being of no larger Extent than before, by ranging them close to one another.

3. *Διπλασιασμός τῶν κατὰ ζυγῶ*, or *κατὰ μήκος*, when the Length of the Battalia was increas'd, without the Accession of new Forces, by placing the Soldiers at greater Distances from one another.

4. *Διπλασιασμός τῶν κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, when the Depth of Ground taken up by an Army was render'd greater, not by adding new Files, but separating the old to a greater Distance.

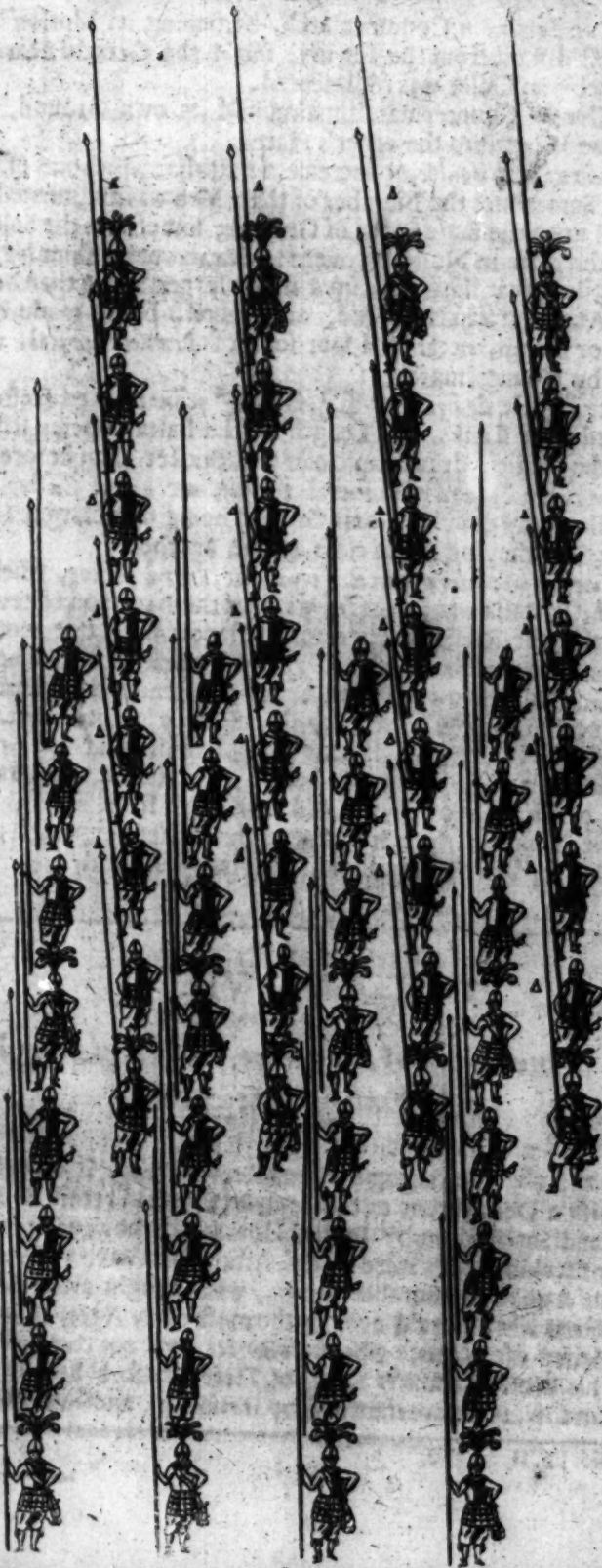
To conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the *Grecians* were excellently skill'd in the Method of imbattelling Armies, and maintain'd publick Professours call'd *τακτικοί* from *τάξις*, who exercis'd the Youth in this Art, and render'd them expert in all the Forms of Battle, before they adventur'd into the Field.

C H A P. VII.

Of their manner of making Peace, and declaring War, their Embassadors, &c.

BEfore the *Grecians* engag'd themselves in War, it was usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had receiv'd, and to demand Satisfaction by Embassadors; For however prepar'd, or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War, yet Peace, if to be procur'd upon honourable Terms, was thought more eligible: Which Custom was observ'd even in the most early Ages, as appears from the Story of *Tydeus*, whom *Polynices* sent to compose Matters with his Brother *Eteocles* King of *Thebes*, before he proceeded to invest that City, as we are inform'd by *Statius* (a), and several others,

(a) *Thebaid.* lib. II. v. 368.

Doubling of Rankes in Action



— *potior cunctis sedit sententia, fratris
Præsentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus: Andax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte subit.* —

The Council then vote it expedient,
That to the King a Legate shou'd be sent,
Who might to prove his Faith the Oath declare,
And stop the Ferment of intestine War;
This Treaty *Tydeus* bravely undertook.

Nor was the *Trojan War* prosecuted with so great Hazard and Loss to both Parties, till these Means prov'd ineffectual; For we find that *Ulysses* and *Menelaus* were dispatch'd on an Embassy for *Troy* to demand Restitution; Whence *Antenor* thus bespeaks *Helen* (a),

Ἦδ' ἔχ' εὐχέσθ' ὅτ' ἦλυθε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς
Σεῦ ἔνεκ' ἀγγελίης σὺν ἀνιρίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout *Atrides* sage *Ulysses* came
Hither as Envoies, *Helen*, thee to claim.

The same Poet in another Place acquaints us, that their Proposal was rejected by the *Trojans* over-rul'd by *Antimachus*, a Person of great Repute amongst them, whom *Paris* had engag'd to his Party by a large Sum of Money (b);

— Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὃς ῥα μάλιστα
Χρυσὸν Ἀλέξανδρῳ δεδεδυμένος, ἀγλαὰ δῶρα,
Οὐκ ἔλαχ' Ἑλένῳ δάμνασι ξανθῷ Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erway'd the Embassy
Refus'd, and did fair *Helena* deny,
Since *Paris* had by Largesses of Gold
Secur'd his Trust. —

Invasions without Notice were look'd on rather as Robberies than lawful Wars, as design'd rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any Losses, or Damages sustain'd, which, for ought the Invaders knew, might have been satisfy'd for an easier Way. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius* (c) relates of the *Æsoliens*, that they were held for the common Out-laws and Robbers of *Greece*, it being their Manner to strike without Warning, and make War without any previous and publick Declaration, whenever they had Opportunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty of their Neighbours. Yet there want not Instances of Wars begun without previous Notice, even

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 205. (b) *Iliad*. λ'. v. 124. (c) *Lib*. IV.

by Nations of better Repute for Justice and Humanity; But this was only done upon Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them: Whence it came to pass, that such Wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with Excess of Rage and Fury; the contesting Parties being resolv'd to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the World.

Embassadors were usually Persons of great Worth, or eminent Station, that by their Quality and Deportment they might command Respect and Attention from their very Enemies; And what Injuries, or Affronts soever had been committed, yet Embassadors were held sacred by all Sides. Gods and Men were thought to be concern'd to prosecute with utmost Vengeance all Injuries done to them. Whence (to omit several other Instances) we read that the *Lacedæmonians* having inhumanly murder'd *Xerxes's* Embassadors, the Gods would accept none of their Oblations and Sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful Omens, till two Noblemen of *Sparta* were sent as an expiatory Sacrifice to *Xerxes* to atone for the Death of his Embassadors by their own: That Emperor indeed gave them Leave to return in safety without any other Ignominy, than what they suffer'd by a severe Reflection on the *Spartan* Nation, whose barbarous Cruelty he profess'd he would not imitate, however provok'd by them; Yet Divine Vengeance suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd, but inflicted what those Men had assum'd to themselves, upon their Sons, who being sent on an Embassy into *Asia*, were betray'd into the Hands of the *Athenians*, and by them put to Death, which my Author concludes to have been a just Revenge from Heaven for the *Lacedæmonian* Cruelty (a).

Whence this Holiness was deriv'd upon Embassadors, has been matter of Dispute: Fabulous Authors deduce it from the Honour paid by the Ancients to the *ἡγεῖντες*, or Heralds, who were either themselves Embassadors, or, when others were deputed to that Service, accompany'd them, being held sacred on the account of their Original, because descended from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*; who was honour'd with the same Employment in Heaven, these obtain'd upon Earth: 'Tis true that these Men were ever had in great Esteem, and their Persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as *Eustathius* observes, *Ulysses* in *Homer*, when cast upon foreign and unknown Coasts, usually sends an Herald to protect the Men deputed to make Discovery of the Country and its Inhabitants, Persons of that Character being reverenc'd even in barbarous Nations, except some few, such as the *Lastrygones*, or *Cyclopes*, in whom all Sense of Humanity was extinguish'd (b); They were likewise under the Care and Protection of *Mercury* the President God of their Occupation, and *Jupiter* (c); whence *Achilles* calls them the Messengers not of Men only, but of *Jupiter* (d);

(a) *Herodotus Polymn* cap. CXXXIV. (b) *Eustathius Iliad.* v. p. 83, 84. Ed. *Basil.* (c) *Idem Iliad.* x. p. 729. (d) *Iliad.* a.

Χαίρετε, κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἡδ' ἐὼς ἀνδρῶν.

All Hail! ye *Envoies* of great *Jove* and Men.

But these Honours seem not to have been conferr'd upon them so much, because they were descended from *Mercury*, (several other Families, to whom no such Respect was due, bearing themselves much higher on their Original) as upon account of their Office, which being common to them with other Embassadors, seems to have challeng'd an equal Reverence to both: License, indeed, being once granted to treat Persons of that Character injuriously, all Hopes of Peace and Reconciliation amongst Enemies must be banish'd for ever out of the World; and therefore in the most rude and unpolish'd Ages all sorts of Embassadors were civilly entertain'd, and dismiss'd with Safety: Whence *Tydeus's* Lady in *Statius* (a) is prevail'd with to let her Husband go Embassador to *Thebes*, because that Title would afford him Protection in the midst of his Enemies;

Te, fortissime gentis
Ætolum, multum lachrymis conata morari est
Deiphile, sed jussa patris, tutique regressus
Legato, justaque preces vicere sororis.

Thy tender Wife, *Heroic Soul*, did pine,
And scarce admit thy generous Design,
Until her boiling Passion did abate
By *Argia's* Prayers, and a Parent's Threat,
And that *Tutelar God*, who do's on *Envoies* wait.

The *Athenian* Heralds were all of one Family, being descended from *Ceryx* the Son of *Mercury*, and *Pandrosus* Daughter to *Cecrops* King of *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonian* Heralds were all descended from *Talthybius*, *Agamemnon's* Herald, who was honour'd with a Temple, and Divine Worship at *Sparta* (b).

They carry'd in their Hands a Staff of Lawrel, or Olive, call'd κηρύκειον, round which two Serpents, without their Crests erected, were folded, as an Emblem of Peace and Concord (c). Instead of this the *Athenian* Heralds frequently made use of the Εἰρεσιώνη, which was a Token of Peace and Plenty, being an Olive-branch cover'd with Wool, and adorn'd with all sorts of Fruits of the Earth.

Κήρυκες, or Heralds, are by some thought to differ from πρεσβυται, or Embassadors, in this; That Embassadors were employ'd in Treaties of Peace, whereas Heralds were sent to declare War (d): But this Distinction is not constant, or perpetual, the κήρυκες, being

(a) *Thersites*, lib. II. v. 371. (b) *Herodotus* loc. citat. *Pausanias* *Lacôn.* 11.
(c) *Plinius* lib. XXIX. cap. III. (d) *Suidas*.

frequently taken for Persons commission'd to treat about accommodating Differences, which may appear, as from some of the forecited Places of *Eustathius*, so from several passages in *Homer*, and other Authors.

Embassadors were of two sorts, being either sent with a limited Commission, which they were not to exceed, or invested with full Power of determining Matters according to their own Discretion. The former were liable to be call'd in Question for their Proceedings; The latter were subject to no after-reckoning, but wholly their own Masters, and for that reason styl'd *Πρεσβεις αυτοκρατορες*, Plenipotentiaries (a).

It may be observ'd, that the *Lacedemonians*, as in most other Things their Customs were different from the rest of the *Greeks*, so likewise in their Choice of Embassadors had this peculiar, that for the most part they deputed Men, between whom there was no very good Correspondence; supposing it most improbable, that such Persons should so far trust one another, as to conspire together against the Common-wealth. For the same reason, it was thought a piece of Policy in that State to raise Dissensions between their Kings (b).

Their Leagues were of three sorts: 1. A bare *σπονδή, σπονδήκη, ειρήνη*, or Peace, whereby both Parties were oblig'd to cease from all Acts of Hostility, and neither to molest one another, nor the Confederates of either.

2. *Επιμαχία*, whereby they oblig'd themselves to assist one another in case they should be invaded.

3. *Συμμαχία*, whereby they covenanted to assist one another as well when they made Invasions upon others, as when themselves were invaded, and to have the same Friends and Enemies (c).

All these Covenants were solemnly confirm'd by mutual Oaths, the manner of which I have already describ'd in a former Book (d): To the end, they might lye under a greater Obligation to preserve them inviolate, we find it customary to engrave them upon Tables, which they fix'd up at Places of general Concourse, that all the World might be Witnesses of their Justice and Fidelity: Thus we find the Articles of Treaty between *Athens* and *Sparta* not only publish'd in those Cities, but at the Places where the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, and *Isthmian* Games were celebrated (e). Others exchange'd certain *Tesserae*, in *Greek*, *σύμβολα*, which might be produc'd on any Occasion, as Evidences of the Agreement. The Covenant it self was also call'd by the same Name (f). Farther, to continue the Remembrance of mutual Agreements fresh in their Minds, it was not uncommon for States thus united, interchangeably to send Embassadors, who, on some appointed Day, when the People assembled in great Numbers, should openly repeat, and by mutual Consent confirm their former Treaty: This we find practis'd by the *Athenians*

(a) Vide *Archæolog. nostr. lib. I. cap. XV.* (b) *Aristoteles Politic. lib. II.* (c) *Su. das.* (d) *lib. II. cap. VI.* (e) *Thucydides de Bello Peloponnes.* (f) *Harpoeration's Σύμβολον.*

and *Spartans* after their fore-mention'd League, the *Spartan* Embassadors presenting themselves at *Athens* upon the Festival of *Bacchus*, and the *Athenians* at *Sparta* on the Festival of *Hyacinthus*.

Their manner of declaring War was to send an Herald, who bad the Persons that had injur'd them to prepare for an Invasion, and sometimes in token of Defiance cast a Spear towards them. The *Athenians* frequently let loose a Lamb into their Enemies Territories; signifying thereby, that what was then an Habitation for Men, should be laid wast and desolate, and become a Pasture for Sheep (a). Hence ἀρνα προβάλλειν came to be a proverbial Phrase for entring into a State of War.

This was rarely done without the Advice and Encouragement of the Gods; the Soothsayers, and all sorts of Diviners were consulted, the Oracles enrich'd with Presents, and no Charge, or Labour spar'd to engage Heaven (so they imagin'd) to their Party: Instances of this kind are almost as common as the Declarations of War, which was never undertaken before the Gods had been consulted about the Issue. Nor was the Verdict of a single Deity thought sufficient; but in Wars of great Moment and Consequence, whereon the Safety of their Country and Liberties depended, they had Recourse to the whole Train of prophetic Divinities, soliciting all with earnest Prayers lifted up to Heaven on the Wings of costly Offerings and magnificent Presents, to favour them with wholesom Counsel. A remarkable Example whereof we have in *Croesus*, before he declar'd War against the *Persians*; when not content with the Answers of his own Gods, and all the celebrated Oracles in *Greece*, in consulting which he had lavishly profus'd vast Quantities of Treasure, he dispatch'd Embassadors as far as *Libya* loaden with Wealth, to ask Advice of *Jupiter Hammon* (b).

When they were resolv'd to begin the War, it was customary to offer Sacrifices and make large Vows to be paid upon the Success of their Enterprize. Thus when *Darius* invaded *Attica*, *Callimachus* made a Vow to *Minerva*, that, if she would vouchsafe the *Athenians* Victory, he would sacrifice upon her Altars as many He-goats, as should equal the Number of the Slain among their Enemies. Nor was this Custom peculiar to *Greece*, but frequently practis'd in most other Countries: Many Instances occur in the Histories of *Rome*, *Persia*, &c. The *Jews* us'd the same Method to engage the divine Favour, as may appear from *Jephthah's* Vow, when he undertook to be Captain over *Israel* against the *Ammonites* (c).

After all these Preparations, tho' the Posture of Affairs appear'd never so inviting, it was held no less impious than dangerous to march against their Enemies, till the Season favour'd their Enterprize: For being extremely superstitious in the Observation of Omens, and Days, till those became fortunate, they durst not make any Attempts upon their Enemies. An Eclipse of the Moon, or any other of those they esteem'd unlucky Accidents, was enough to

(a) *Diogenæan Collect. Prov. Su'das*, &c. (b) *Herodotus* l.b. I. (c) *Judicium* cap. XI. v. 30.

deter them from Marching: And if all other Things promis'd Success, yet they deferr'd their Expedition till one of the Days, they look'd on as fortunate, invited them to it. The *Athenians* could not be perswaded to march ἐν τῷ ἐξόχῳ, before the Seventh (a); which gave occasion to the Proverb, whereby Persons, who undertook any Business unseasonably and before the proper Time, were said to do it ἐν τῷ ἐξόχῳ (b). But the *Lacedæmonians* were of all others the most nice and scrupulous in these Observations; their Lawgiver having commanded them to pay a critical and inviolate Obedience to the Celestial Predictions, and to regulate all their Proceedings as well in Civil, as Military Affairs by the Appearances of the Heavenly Bodies: Amongst the rest they were oblig'd by a particular Precept never to march before the full Moon (c); For that Planet was believ'd to have a particular Influence upon their Affairs, to bless them with Success, when it self was in the Height of its Splendor, but, till it was arriv'd there, to neglect, or suffer them to be blasted for want of Power to send Assistance. So constant a Belief of this they had entertain'd, that the greatest Necessity could not prevail upon them to alter their Measures; For when the *Athenians* were like to fall into the Hands of *Darius*, and sent to implore their Assistance, they agreed indeed to send them a Supply of Men, but, rather than march before full Moon, forc'd them to run the hazard of a decisive Battle, and with a very small Force to encounter an Hundred Thousand *Medians* (d).

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Camps, Guards, Watches, and Military course of Life.

OF the Form of the *Grecian* Camps nothing exact and constant can be deliver'd, that being not always the same, but vary'd, as the Custom, or Humour of different States, or the Conveniencies of Place and Time requir'd. The *Lacedæmonians*, indeed, are said to have been prescrib'd a constant Method of building Towns and encamping, by their Law-giver, who thought a Spherical Figure the best fitted for Defence (e); which was contrary to the Custom of the *Romans*, whose Camps were Quadrangular; but all Forms of that sort were rejected by *Lycurgus*, the Angles being neither fit for Service, nor defensible, unless guarded by a River, Mountain, Wall, or some such Fortification. It is farther observable of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they frequently mov'd their Camps, being accusom'd vigorously to prosecute all their Enterprizes, im-

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Equit. Hesi chius.* (b) *Zenobius. Cent. III. proverb. LXXIX.* (c) *Lucianus Astrolog.* (d) *Herodotus lib. VI.* (e) *Xenophon De Rep. Laced.*

patient of Delays and tedious Procrastinations, and utterly averse from passing their Time without Action: Wherefore the reason of this being demanded of *Lycurgus*, he reply'd that " 'Twas that they might do greater Damage to their Enemies (a): To which *Xenophon* adds a second, " That they might give more early Relief to their Friends (b).

Of the rest of the *Grecian* Camps it may be observ'd, that the valiantest of the Soldiers were plac'd at the Extremities, the rest in the Middle; that the stronger might be a Guard to the weaker, and sustain the first Onsets, if the Enemy should endeavour to force their Entrenchments. Thus we find *Achilles* and *Ajax* posted at the Ends of the *Grecian* Camp before *Troy*, as Bulwarks on each Side the rest of the Princes, who had their Tents in the Middle, as we learn from *Homer* (c);

Στῇ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσῆος μεγαλήτεϊ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,
 Ἡ δ' ἐν μεσάτῳ ἔσκει, γεγωνέντων ἀμφοτέρωσθε,
 Ἡ μὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίῃς Τελαμωνιάδαο,
 Ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεύου τοῖς ῥ' ἔχοντο νῆας εἴσας
 Εἵρυσαν, ἠγορήν πίσσωσι, καὶ κέρτεϊ χερῶν.

Atrides stood i'th' Midst o' th' Fleet, hard by
 Where th' *Odyssean* high-built Ship did lie,
 That all his Orders equally might hear,
 As far as *Ajax's* on one Side, as far
 As *Peleus Son's* o' th' other, for they were
 At each Extremity like Fortresses.

When they design'd to continue long in their Encampments, they contriv'd a Place, where Altars were erected to the Gods, and all Parts of Divine Service solemnly perform'd; In the same Place publick Assemblies were call'd together, when the General had any Thing to communicate to his Soldiers; and Courts of Justice were held, wherein all Controversies among the Soldiers were decided, and Criminals sentenc'd to Punishment: Which Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan* War, and is mention'd by *Homer* (d);

κατὰ νῆας Ὀδυσῆος δαίσιον
 Ἰξε δῶν Πάτροκλος, ἵνα σφ' ἀγορὴ τε, δέμις τε
 ἦεν, τῇ δὲ καὶ σφί δαῶν ἐσττεύχοντο βωμοί.

Sweating to th' *Ulyssean* Ships he came,
 Where their Assemblies, and their Courts were held,
 And the Gods worship'd.

When they were in Danger of having their Camp attack'd, it was usual to fortifie it with a Trench and Rampire, or Wall, on the Sides whereof they erected Turrets not unlike those upon the Walls of Cities, out of which they annoy'd their Enemies with

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegmat. Laconic. (b) *Loco citato*. (c) *Iliad*. 8. v. 222 Item *Sophocles Ajax*, ejusque *Scholias* *Triglinus* v. 4. (d) *Iliad*. 8. v. 806.

missive Weapons. Thus the *Grecians* in *Homer* were forc'd to defend themselves in the ninth Year of the *Trojan War*, when *Achilles* refus'd to assist them, whereas till that Time they had wanted no Fortifications, but immur'd the *Trojans* within their own Walls: The Poet has thus describ'd their Works (a);

τῆχ' ἔδειμαν,
Πύργους δ' ὑψηλὰς, εἰλας νηῶν τε, καὶ αὐτῶν.
Ὡς δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποιέον εὖ ἀραρυίας,
Ὅρρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίην ὁδὸς εἶναι,
Ἐκτοθεν δ' βαδείαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τάρεον ὀρυζάναν,
Εὐρείαν, μεγάλῳ, ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

A thick, substantial Wall of vast Extent
They rais'd with Turrets, as a Muniment
To them and th' Fleet: and that there might a Way
Be for their Cavalry upon Survey,
They fram'd great Gates, the Wall too they intrench'd
With Stakes infix'd. —

The manner of living in Camps depended upon the Disposition of their Generals, some of which allow'd their Soldiers in all sorts of Excess and Debauchery; others oblig'd them to the strictest Rules of Temperance and Sobriety; a remarkable Instance whereof we have in *Philip of Macedon*, who (as *Polyanus* reports) condemn'd two of his Soldiers to Banishment for no other Offence, than because he had found them with a Singing-woman in his Camp. But the *Grecian* Discipline was not always so severe and rigid, as may appear from *Plutarch* (b), who tells us, that the *Lacedæmonians* alone of all the *Grecians* had no Stage-players, no Jugglers, no Dancing or Singing-women attending them, but were free from all sorts of Debauchery and Looseness, of gaudy Pomp and Foppery; The young Men, when commanded nothing by their General, were always employ'd in some Exercise, or manly Study, the old were busy'd in giving Instructions, or receiving them from Persons more skilful than themselves; and their looser Hours were diverted with their usual Drollery, and rallying one another facetiously after the *Laconick* Fashion: Yet their Law-giver allow'd them greater Liberty in the Camp than at other Times, to invite them to serve with Delight in the Wars; for, whilst they were in the Field, their Exercises were more moderate than at Home, their Fare not so hard, nor so strict a Hand kept over them by their Governors; so that they were the only People in the World, to whom War gave Repose. They were likewise allow'd to have costly Arms, and fine Cloaths, and frequently perfum'd themselves, and curl'd their Hair: Whence we read that *Xerxes* was struck with Admiration, when his Scouts brought him Word, the *Lacedæmonian* Guards were at Gymnical Sports, and curling their Hair (c).

(a) *Iliad*, v. v. 436. (b) *Cleomene* p. 810. Edit. *Parisi.* & *Lycurgo.* (c) *Herodotus* lib. vii. cap. CCviii. & CCix.

It was also customary at Athens for Horsemen to nourish their Hair. Hence the following Words of Aristophanes (a):

ὁ δὲ κόμῳ ἔχων
Ἰππάζειαι τε, καὶ ξυωρικεύσαι:

And in another place of the same Poet, there is an allusion to this Practice (b):

Νῦν ἔνι ταῖς κόμαις
ῥυμῶν.

The Custom seems to have been deriv'd from the primitive Times, there being scarce any Expression so frequent in Homer, as that of *καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί*. Afterwards Cynaeas and Phrymus, beside several other changes in the Athenian Discipline of Soldiers, procur'd a Law to be enacted, which forbid them *κομᾶν, καὶ ἀσροδισαίης εἶναι* To nourish their Hair, and to live delicately (c).

Their Guards may be distinguish'd into *φυλακαὶ ἡμεριναὶ* and *νυκτεριναὶ*: The first were upon Duty by Day, the other by Night. At several Hours in the Night certain Officers call'd *παιπολοί*, did *παιπολεῖν*, or walk round the Camp, and visit the Watch; to try whether any of them were asleep, they had a little Bell, term'd *κῶδων*, at the Sound of which the Soldiers were to answer (d): Whence to go this Circuit was call'd *κῶδωνίζειν*, and *κῶδωνοφορεῖν*.

κῶδωνοφορεῖται, πανταχῇ
Φυλακαὶ κατεσκήκασιν.

Hence also *κῶδωνίζειν* is us'd for *πειράζειν*, to try, or prove (e); and *ἀκῶδωνιστος* for *ἀπειράστος*, untry'd, or unprov'd (f). This Custom furnish'd Brasidas with an Advantage against Pericles in the Peloponnesian War; for, having observ'd the Sounding of the Bell to be over, he took his Opportunity before the Bell's return, to set up Ladders in an unguarded Place of the Wall, and so enter'd the City (g).

The Lacedaemonian Watch were not permitted to have their Bucklers, that, being unable to defend themselves, they might be more cautious how they fell asleep. To which Custom *Izetz* alludes in one of his *Historical Chiliads* (h);

Πατέ καὶ τίς τ' ἑρατηγῶν μᾶλλον ρεονάνταν πάντας
Γυμνὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνευθε τὸς φύλακας ἔωσεν,
Ὅπως ἐπαγρυπνότερα τ' φυλακῶν ποιῶνται,
Καὶ μὴ θαρρήσαντες αὐταῖς εἰς ὕπνον ἐκτραπῶσιν.

(a) Nubibus Act. I. Sc. I. (b) Equitibus Act. III. Sc. II. (c) Aristophanis Scholiastes ad Equites. (d) Suidas. (e) Aristophanes Βατράχοις. (f) Idem Ὑψίστη. (g) Thucydides lib. IV. (h) Chiliad. IX. Hist. CCLXXVI.

One of the Gen'als once most eminent
In Stratagems and warlike Policy
Gave out, that all the Guards should march *unarm'd*
With Bucklers, to secure them vigilant;
Left they supinely negligent should Sleep.

The rest of the *Spartan* Soldiers were oblig'd to take their Rest arm'd, that they might be prepar'd for Battle upon any Alarm (a).

It may be farther observ'd of the *Spartans*, that they kept a double Watch; One within their Camp, to observe their Allies, lest they should make a sudden Defection; the other upon some Eminence, or other Place, whence there was a good Prospect, to watch the Motions of their Enemies (b).

How often the Guards were reliev'd doth not appear; as neither whether it was done at set and constant Times, or according to the Commander's Pleasure. *Φυλακή* indeed, which signifies a Watch, is frequently taken for the fourth Part of the Night, answering to the *Roman Vigilia*; as appears from several Places of the *New Testament*, as well as other Authors; But it seems to have this Signification rather from the *Roman*, than *Grecian* Watches, those being chang'd four Times every Night, *that is*, every third Hour, (computing the Night from Six to Six, or rather from Sun to Sun) for the Time between the two Suns was divided into twelve equal Parts, which were not always the same, like our Hours, but greater or less, according to the Season of the Year; and are therefore by Astronomers term'd *unequal* and *planetary Hours*.

C H A P. IX.

Of their Battles, the General's Harangues, the Sacrifices, Musick, Signals, Ensigns, the Word, and Way of ending Wars by single Combat, &c.

BEfore they joyn'd Battle, the Soldiers always refresh'd themselves with Victuals, Eating and Drinking plentifully: Which Custom with its Reasons we have largely accounted for in *Ulysses's* elegant Oration to *Achilles* (c), where he advises the young General by no means to lead out the Army fasting;

Μηδ' ἔτιος ἀγαθὸς περ ἰών, θεοεικέλ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
ἤσσιας ὄτρυνε προτὶ Ἴλιον ἦας Ἀχαιῶν
Τρῶσιν μαχέσασθ' ὡς, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔσται
Φύλοπις, εὖτ' ἂν πρῶτον ὁμιλήσῃσι φάλαγγες

(a) *Xenophon*. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Iliad*, τ. v. 155.

Ἀνδρῶν, ἐν δὲ δεδς πνεύσῃ μένος ἀμφοτέροισιν·
 Ἀλλὰ πάσαδαι ἀνωχθεῖ δοῖς ὅπ' ἡνυσὶν Ἀχαιῶς
 Σίτε καὶ οἶνοιο, τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή.
 Οὐ γὰρ ἀνὴρ περὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐς ἡέλιον καταδωῖτα
 Ἀχιλλῶ· σίτοιο δωθήσεται ἀντα μάχεσθαι
 Εἴτε γὰρ θυμῶ γε μαινόμενα πολεμίζειν,
 Ἀλλὰ τε λάθρη γῆα βαρύνεται, ἥδ' ἐκίχ' ἀνέ
 Δίφα τε, καὶ λιμός, βλάβεται δὲ τε γένατ' ἰόντα.
 Ὃς δὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ οἶνοιο κορεσάμενος καὶ ἐδωδῆς
 Ἀνδράσι δυσμνήσας πανημέριος πολεμίζει,
 Θαρσαλέον νῦν οἱ ἦτορ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν, ἥδ' ἐτι γῆα
 Πλεῖν κάμνει, πλεῖν πάντα ἐξωῆσαι πολέμοιο.

Noble Achilles, tho' with martial Rage
 Thy gen'rous Mind is fir'd thy Foes t' engage,
 Let not thy valiant Troops to Troy repair,
 There to sustain the great Fatigues of War,
 Before brisk Wines and Viands animate
 Their Souls with Vigour to repel their Fate,
 That Troy to their embattel'd Force may yield,
 And with amazing Terror quit the Field;
 For such is th' Energy of sparkling Juyce
 With such Heroick Zeal it warms, such Prowess doth infuse;
 No Man hath Puissance the whole Day to fight,
 'Till the Phœbean Carr brings on the Night,
 Unless rich Wine and wholesem Food prepare
 His Courage for the Dust and Din of War;
 His strenuous Limbs then Marches undergo,
 And he with dauntless Rage assails the Foe;
 Inflaming Wine incites his Fury on,
 And thus he'll venture 'till the Battles won.

F. A.

We are told also by *Livy*, that the *Romans* thought this a Preparative absolutely necessary, and never omitted it before Engagements (a).

This done, the Commanders marshall'd the Army in order to an Engagement: In which Art the *Grecians* were far inferiour to the *Romans*; for drawing up their whole Army, as it were, into one Front, they trusted the Success of the Day to a single force; whereas the *Romans*, ranging their *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii* in distinct Bodies behind one another, were able after the Defeat of their first Body, twice to renew the Battle, and could not be entirely routed till they had lost three several Victories. Yet something not unlike this we find practis'd as long since as the *Trojan War*, where old *Nestor* is said to have plac'd a Body of Horse in the Front, behind these the most infirm of the Foot, and, last of all, such of them as surpass'd the rest in Strength and Valour (b);

(a) Lib. IX. (b) *Iliad*, δ', v. 297.

Ἰππῆας δ' αὖ πρώτα σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχλοισι,
 Πεζεὺς δ' ἐξ ὀπίθεν εἵσεν πολέας τε, καὶ ἑθλὺς,
 Ἐρκος ἔμην πολέμοιο· κακὸς δ' ἐς μέανον ἔλασεν,
 Ὀρεα καὶ ἐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀναγκάειν πολεμίζει.

Nestor the Horse plac'd first in all the Host,
 Ith' Rear the Infantry maintain'd their Post,
 Such as he had detatch'd from all the rest,
 For Courage, Hardship, and for Strength the best:
 And to the end that none shou'd run away
 Ith' midst of all were order'd in Array
 The rude, th' infirm, the inexperienced. —

F. A.

Where tho' some interpret τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ ὀπίθεν of the right and left Wings, and others several other Ways, yet the most natural and genuine Sense of the Poet seems to be, that they were drawn up behind one another (a).

At this Time the General made an Oration to his Soldiers, wherein with all the Motives suitable on such Occasions he exhorted them to exert their utmost Force and Vigour against the Enemy: And so wonderful was the Success, that attended these Performances, that many times, when Affairs were in a declining, and almost desperate Condition, the Soldiers, animated with fresh Life and Courage, have instantly retriev'd them, and repuls'd those very Enemies, by whom themselves had before been defeated: Several of these Instances may be found in the Grecian and Roman Histories; few of which are more remarkable than that of Tyrtæus the lame Athenian Poet, to whom the Command of the Spartan Army was given by the Advice of an Oracle in one of the Messenian Wars; The Spartans had at that Time suffer'd great Losses in many Encounters, and all their Strategems prov'd ineffectual, so that they began to despair almost of Success, when the Poet by his Lectures of Honour and Courage, deliver'd in moving Verse to the Army, ravish'd them to such a Degree with the Thoughts of dying for their Country, that, rushing on with a furious Transport to meet their Enemies, they gave them an entire Overthrow, and by one decisive Battle put an happy Conclusion to the War (b).

Before they adventur'd to joyn their Enemies, they endeavour'd by Prayers, Sacrifices, and Vows to engage Heaven to their Assistance, and sung an Hymn to Mars, call'd παιὼν ἑμβατήριος, as that sung to Apollo after a prosperous Battle, was term'd παιὼν ἐσθινός (c). The Lacedæmonians had a peculiar Custom of sacrificing to the Muses, which was either design'd to soften and mollify their passionate Transports, it being their Custom to enter the Battle calm and sedate (d); or to animate them to perform noble and

(a) Plutarchus lib. de Homero. (b) Pausanias Messenicis, Diodorus Sic. lib. XV. Justin. lib. III. (c) Thucyd. Schol. lib. I, &c. (d) Plutarchus de superstitiis.

Heroical Exploits, deserving to be transmitted by those Goddesses to Posterity (a). The Soothsayers inspected all the Sacrifices to pre-
 sage the Success of the Battle; And till the Omens prov'd favour-
 able, they rather chose tamely to resign their Lives to the Enemy,
 than to defend themselves. The *Spartans* especially were above
 Measure addicted to this Superstition; For in the famous Battle at
Plataea, when *Mardonius* the *Persian* General had fall'n upon the
Grecians, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, who at that Time commanded the
Grecian Army, offering Sacrifice, found it not acceptable to the
 Gods, and thereupon commanded his *Lacedaemonians*, laying down
 their Bucklers at their Feet, patiently to abide his Commands; The
 Priests offer'd one Sacrifice after another, but all without Success, the
 the *Barbarians* all the Time charging upon them, and wounding and
 slaying them in their Ranks, till at length *Pausanias* turning himself
 towards the Temple, with Hands lifted up to Heaven, and Tears in
 his Eyes, besought *Juno* of *Cithaeron*, and the rest of the Tutelar
 Deities of the *Plataeans*, that if the Fates would not favour the *Greci-
 ans* with Victory, they would grant at least, that by some remarka-
 ble Exploit they might demonstrate to their Enemies, that they
 wag'd War with Men of true Courage and Bravery: These Prayers
 were no sooner finish'd, when the Sacrifices appearing propitious, the
 Signal was given, and they fell with such Resolution upon the *Persi-
 ans*, that in a short Time they entirely defeated their whole Army (b).

Their Signals are commonly divided into *σύμβολα*, and *σημεία*,
 which Words sometimes indeed are us'd promiscuously, but in Pro-
 priety of Speech are distinguish'd.

Σύμβολα were of two kinds, either *φωνικά*, or *ὄψατά*, i. e. pro-
 nounc'd by the Mouth, or visible to the Eye: The first are term'd
συνθήματα, the latter *ὄψωνθήματα*.

Συνθήματα, in Latin *Tessera*, or the Word, communicated by the
 General to the subordinate Officers, by them to the whole Army,
 as a Mark of Distinction to know Friends from Enemies (c). It
 commonly contain'd some good Omen, or the Name of some Deity
 worship'd by their Country, or General, and from whom they ex-
 pected Success in their Enterprizes. *Cyrus*, for example, us'd *Ζεὺς
 σύμμαχος*, *ἡγεμὼν*, or *σώτης* (d); *Cæsar*, *Venus genitrix* (e); *An-
 gustus*, *Apollo* (f): But this Custom often prov'd of fatal and pern-
 icious Consequence; for by frequently questioning one another they
 bred Confusion among themselves, and (which was no less dange-
 rous) discover'd their Word to the Enemies; As we find happening in
 the Fight between the *Athenians* and the *Syracusians*, spoken of by
Thucydides (g): It became likewise the Occasion of several mischie-
 vous Strategems, one of which we find practis'd by an *Arcadian* Cap-
 tain in a War with *Lacedæmon*; when engaging in the Night, all the
Tessera he gave his Soldiers was, that they should forthwith kill
 whoever demanded the Word; whereby they easily distinguish'd,

(a) Idem *Lycurgo*. (b) Idem *Aristide*. (c) *Glossographi*. (d) *Xenophon* *Kōgō
 παίδ*. lib. VII. (e) *Appianus* *Bell. Civil.* lib. II. (f) *Valerius Maximus*. lib. I.
 cap. V. (g) *Lib. VII.*

and slew the *Spartans*, themselves being undiscover'd, and therefore secure (a).

Παράσυνθημα was a visible Character of Distinction, as nodding their Heads, waving their Hands, clashing their Weapons, or such like (b).

Σημεῖα were Ensigns, or Flags, the Elevation whereof was a Signal to joyn Battle, the Depression to desist (c). Of these there were different sorts, several of which were adorn'd with Images of Animals, or other Things bearing peculiar Relations to the Cities they belong'd to; The *Asbenians*, for instance, bore an Owl in their Ensigns (d), as being sacred to *Minerva*, the Protectress of their City: The *Thebans* a *Sphinx* (e), in Memory of the famous Monster overcome by *Oedipus*: The *Persians* paid Divine Honours to the Sun, and therefore represented him in their Ensigns (f).

The *σημεῖον* was frequently a Purple Coat upon the Top of a Spear, as appears of *Conon's* in *Polyænus*, and *Cleomenes's* in *Plutarch*: Not was it uncommon to use other Colours; *Polybius* speaking of the Fight between *Antigonus* and *Cleomenes* (g) tells us, "That the *Illyrians*, having Orders to begin the Battle, were to receive a Signal by a white Flag, that should be spread from the nearest Post to *Olympus*; But the Signal to be given to the *Megalopolitans* and the Cavalry, was a Purple Coat, which was to be advanc'd in the Air, where *Antigonus* himself was posted".

The ancient *Grecian* Signals were lighted Torches thrown from both Armies by Men call'd *πυρφόροι*, or *πυροφόροι*, who were Priests of *Mars*, and therefore held inviolable; and, having cast their Torches, had safe Regress (h): Whence of Battles fought with Transport of Fury, wherein no Quarter was given, it was usual to say, *ὡς δ' πυρφόρος ἐσώθη*, i. e. Not so much as a Torch-bearer escap'd. To this Custom there are frequent Allusions in *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: *Lycophron*, speaking of the *Phœnicians*, who by stealing *to* began the Quarrel between *Europe* and *Asia*, saith,

Εχθρας δὲ πυρσὸν ἔβαν ἠπείρουσι διπλάσι (i).

They rais'd envenom'd Discord, who then shook
Her baleful Torch within two Continents.

Hence also *Statius* (k);

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæo
Ostendit Bellona facem. ———

Bellona first from the *Larissæan* Tow'r
Shakes the dire Torch. ———

(a) *Polyænus* lib. I. (b) *Onofander Strateg.* cap. XXVI. (c) *Suidas*, *Thucydides* Schol. lib. I. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lysandro*. (e) *Idem* *Pelopida*, *Cornelius Nepos* *Epaminonda*. (f) *Currius* lib. III. (g) *Fine* lib. II. (h) *Euripidia* *Scholias* *Phœnissæ*, *Lycophronis* *Scho* *lisses* v. 250. *aliique* *plures*. (i) *Cassandra* v. 1295. (k) *Thebaid*. IV. v. 5.

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Thro' ev'ry distant Field the Noise was heard,
And Crowds of stout *Bebrycians* soon appear'd.

Mr. Creech.

Lycophron also, speaking of the *Trojan War* (a),

Καὶ δὴ καταΐδει γαῖαν δοχῆς Ἀρης,
Στερόβω δ' αἱματηρὸν ἐξέρχων νόμον.

Great *Mars*, that nimble God of War,
Invigorates the Youth by Sound of Shell,
Twining and circling into various Rounds,
Thus was the Land laid waft, thus rag'd the fl'ry God.

Where tho' the *Scholiast* falls foul upon the Poet for introducing Shells at a Time when Trumpets were in use, which he tells us may be made appear from *Homer*, yet herein he seems to be too audacious, it being observable (b), that, tho' *Homer* mentions Trumpets, yet they never make any Part of the Description of his Heroical Battles, but only furnish him with a *Simile*, or *Allusion*; As happens in the Place cited by *Tzetzes* (c),

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' αἰεζὶ ἤλη φωνή, ὅτε τ' ἴαχε σάλπιγξ,
Ἄσυ πεπλομένην δούων ἀπὸ θυμορραϊσίων.
Ὡς τὸτ' αἰεζὶ ἤλη φωνή γένητ' Αἰακίδαο.

When Foes encamp'd around a City lie,
And wait surrender from the Enemy,
Great Fear runs thrilling thro' their Breast within
The Walls, when echoing Trumpets do begin;
Such was *Achilles's* Voice, such Dread appear'd
In all the *Dardan* Host, 'twas so distinctly heard.

F. A.

Whence it may be presum'd, that Trumpets were indeed us'd in *Homer's* Time, being then only a late Invention, and not so ancient as the *Trojan War*, as the old *Scholiast* hath also observ'd (d). *Virgil* indeed appears to give some Countenance to *Tzetzes's* Opinion, when he speaks of *Misenum*, whom he makes to have serv'd *Hector* in the *Trojan War*, and afterward *Aeneas*, in the Office of a Trumpeter (e);

— illi *Misenum* in littore sicco,
Ut venere, vident indigna morte peremptum;
Misenum *Aeoliden*, quo non praestantior alter
Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere capti;
Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes; *Hectora* circum
Et lituo pugnas insignis obibat & hasta.

(a) *Cassandra* v. 249. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad* Ʒ. (c) *Iliad* Ʒ. v. 219. (d) *Ilad* Ʒ. v. 219. *Iliad* Ʒ. v. 388. (e) *Aeneid* VI. v. 163.

Postquam

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*Postquam illum victor vita spoliavit Achilles,
Dardanio Æneæ sese fortissimus heros
Addiderat socium, non inferiora secutus.*

As soon as they approach'd, they spy'd their Friend
Misenus dead by some untimely End,
The brave Misenus, above all renown'd
To make with swelling Notes the chearful Trumpet sound;
New Vigour would encourage on the War,
When e'er his Trumpet echo'd from afar.
He was th' illustrious Hector's Intimate,
The Ranks he'd traverse in Heroick State,
With 's Spear he'd exercise, with 's Trumpet animate;
But when Achilles Hector overcame,
And slew him in the Field, as great a Name
H' atchiev'd by cleaving to Æneas's Side,
A Prince for 's Prowess no less dignify'd.

F. A.

But here the Brazen Trumpet and Lituus are taken from the Practice of the Poet's own Age by a Figure familiar to Men of his Profession; for Misenus was never acquainted with so rare a Contrivance, and tho' we find him so proud of his Art, as to challenge the Gods of the Sea, yet 'twas not to a Contention on the Trumpet, but on a Shell, the Instrument us'd by these Deities: Whence the same Poet, who may be suppos'd to be the best Interpreter of his own Words, speaks thus in the Verses immediately following,

*Sed tum forte, cava dum personat æquora concha
Demens, & cantu vocat in certamina Divos,
Æmulus exceptum Triton, si credere dignum est,
Inter saxa virum spumosa immerferat unda.*

But, whilst the Sea-Gods proudly he defy'd
Sounding a Writen Shell by the Ocean's Side,
As his due Fate for his Ambitious Sound,
Him, if Report deceive not, Triton drown'd.

Nevertheless in the more Eastern Countries Trumpets were us'd several Ages before. They are several times mention'd in the Sacred History of the Jews, whose Priests Office it was to sound the Alarm upon that Instrument (a).

There were six several sorts of Trumpets (b), which have occasion'd the Disagreement in ancient Writers concerning the first Author of the Invention; it being common for them to ascribe to the Inventor of any one sort, the Honour of the first Contrivance.

1. The first Trumpet was contriv'd by Minerva, the common Mother and Patroness of almost all Arts and useful Inventions;

(a) Numer. XXXI. (b) Eustathius *Ad. s.* p. 1189. Edit. Basil.

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Whence she was honour'd with the Title of Σάλπιγξ, mention'd in *Lycophron* (a),

Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἄκραν ἀφ' ἧς ὠδυνᾷ χρεῖσιν
Σάλπιγξ.

Under this Name she was worship'd in a Temple dedicated to her at *Argos* (b): But *Pausanias* is rather of Opinion, that this Trumpet was the Invention of one of *Hercules's* Sons, call'd *Tyrrhenus*, whose Son *Hepelaus* (having communicated it to a Party of *Dorians*, the Subjects of *Iemenus*) in Memory of the Invention, and out of Gratitude to the Goddess for her Assistance therein, gave her this Sir-name (c).

2. The second was the *Egyptian* Trumpet, call'd χρέν, *Osiris's* Contrivance: It was round, and us'd at Sacrifices to call the Congregation together (d).

3. The third was invented in *Gallia Celtica*, where it was term'd κάρυξ: It gave a very shrill Sound, but was not very large: It was cast in a Mould, and had its Mouth adorn'd with the Figure of some Animal. They had a Pipe of Lead, thro' which they blew into the Trumpet, when they sounded.

4. The fourth was first us'd in *Paphlagonia*, and call'd βόιν, from βῶς, or the Figure of an Ox upon its upper Orifice; It had a deep bass Sound.

5. The fifth was invented in *Media*, had also a deep Note, and was sounded by the Help of a Pipe compos'd of Reeds.

6. The sixth was call'd σάλπιγξ *Τυρρηνική*, because invented by the *Tyrrhenians*, from whom it was communicated to the *Grecians* by one *Archondas*, who came to assist the *Heracidae*, or Posterity of *Hercules* (e). Others attribute the first Contrivance of it to *Tyrrhenus*, *Hercules's* Son (f). Its Orifice was cleft, and sent forth an exceeding loud and shrill Sound, not unlike the *Phrygian* Flute; Whence it became of all the rest the most proper for Engagements: *Ulysses* in *Sophocles*, compares to it the Goddess *Minerva's* Voice (g),

Ω φέγγυ' Αδάμας φιλάτης ἰμοὶ θεῶν,
Ὡς εὐμαδὲς σὺ, πᾶν ἀποπλοῦς ἦς, ὄμω.
Φώνημι' ἀκίω, καὶ ξυραεπάζω φρενὶ,
Χαλλοσόμεν κἀδ' ὄνος ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς.

How clear, *Minerva*, and distinct thy Voice,
Thou, whom I reverence above the rest
Of Deities, who crowd th' Ætherial Court,
Thy Voice I know, and perfectly retain,
Altho' thou art unseen, as if I'd heard

(a) *Cassandra* v. 915. (b) *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*, *Eustathius* loc. cit. (c) *Pausanias* *Corinthiacis*. Vide *Commentarium* nostrum in *Lycophron* v. 915. (d) *Eustathius* loc. cit. Idem deinceps videndus. (e) *Sophocles* *Scholiastes* *Ajace* x. 17. *Suidas*, *Diodorus Siculus* lib. V. (f) *Hyginus* *Fab.* 274. (g) *Ajace* v. 16.

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The *Tyrrhene* Trumpet, whose continuing Sound
Leaves an Impression of its echoing Notes.

F. A.

Where the *Scholiast* observes, that *Minerva's* Voice is resembled to the *Tyrrhenian* Trumpet, because it was easily known by reason of its Loudness, as that Trumpet excell'd all others, and was at the first hearing easy to be distinguish'd from them.

These were the most common and remarkable sorts of Trumpets; others may perhaps now and then occur in Authors, such as the *Libyan* mention'd by *Suidas*, and one of *Sophocles's* *Scholiasts* (a), but seem to be of less Note, and not so frequently us'd.

Several other Instruments were us'd in sounding Alarms; the *σύρυξ*, or Pipe, in *Arcadia*; the *πικτις*, sometimes term'd *μυγάδις*, in *Sicily* (b). The *Cretans* were call'd to Battle by the Sound of *αὐλοὶ*, or Flutes (c); as others, of *Cithara*, Lutes, or Viols (d); but, as most of the ancient Writers affirm, of *Lyra*, or Harps (e), which, *Plutarch* tells us, were not laid aside for many Ages (f): The Person that sounded the Alarm, the *Cretans* call'd *ἱκεῖος*, and others term'd him *ἱκυκτῆς* (g) from a sort of Trumpet call'd *ἱκυξ*.

The *Lacedaemonians* are particularly remarkable for beginning their Engagements with a Concert of Flutes (h); The reason of which Practice being demanded of *Agessilaus*, he reply'd, "That it was to distinguish Cowards"; such being unable, by reason of their Consternation, to keep Time with their Feet to the Musick, as was their Custom. This Answer is indeed facetious, and not wholly without Truth, yet seems not fully to comprehend the Design of this Custom: *Valerius Maximus* is yet farther from the Truth, and stands in direct Opposition to it, when he supposes it intended to raise the Courage of the Soldiers, that they might begin the Onset with greater Violence and Fury; for *Thucydides*, with whom the rest of ancient Historians agree, assures us, that the Design of it was rather to render them Cool and Sedate, Trumpets and other Instruments being more proper to inspire with Heat and Rage; but these Passions they thought rather apt to beget Disorder and Confusion, than to produce any noble and memorable Actions, Valour being not the Effect of a sudden and vanishing Transport, but proceeding from a settled and habitual Firmness and Constancy of Mind: Wherefore they endeavour'd not with Noise and Hast, but with compos'd Minds and settled Countenances, to advance in a majestick and deliberate Pace towards their Enemies. The manner of it is describ'd by *Plutarch* (i), who tells us, "That the Ar-

(a) *Loco citato*. (b) *Clemens Pædag.* lib. II. cap. IV. (c) *Polybius* lib. IV. (d) *A. Gellius* lib. I. cap. XI. *Martianus Capella* lib. IX. (e) *Clemens* loc. cit. *Athenæus* lib. XII & XIV. *Eustathius* ad *Iliad.* J. (f) *Lib. de Musica*. (g) *Hesychius*. (h) *Idem* Auctores, qui de *Cretensibus* ciuntur, item *Xenophon*, *Maximus Tyrinus* *Dissert.* XII. & XXI. *Quintilianus* lib. I. cap. XVI. *Thucydides* lib. V. *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. *Lucianus* de *Salutatione*, & alii palam. (i) *Lycurgo*.

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“ my being drawn up in Battle-array, and the Enemy near, the
 “ King sacrific’d a She-goat, and at the same time commanded the
 “ Soldiers to adorn their Heads with Garlands, and the Fluters to
 “ play *Κασόρειον μέλος*, the Tune of *Castor’s Hymn*; and himself,
 “ advancing forward, begun the *ἐμβατήριος παῦς*, or Alarm :
 “ So that it was at once a delightful and terrible Sight to see them
 “ march on keeping Pace to the Tune of their Flutes, without
 “ ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks, their
 “ Musick leading them into Danger cheerful and unconcern’d : For
 “ (proceeds my Author) Men thus dispos’d were not likely to be
 “ possess’d with Fear, or transported with Fury; but they proceed-
 “ ed with a deliberate Valour full of Hope and good Assurance,
 “ as if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them”. *Maximus* the
Tyrian attributes to this Method those great Successes, and nume-
 rous Victories, that have render’d the *Spartan* Name famous in all
 succeeding Ages; but it seems peculiarly calculated and adapted to
 the Discipline and Temper of that State; and scarce to be imitated,
 till the old *Lacedæmonian* Resolution, and unparallel’d Firmness of
 Mind shall be recall’d.

The rest of the *Grecians* advanc’d with eager Haft and Fury, and
 in the beginning of their Onset gave a general Shout to encourage
 and animate themselves, and strike Terror into their Enemies :
 This was call’d *ἀλαλαγμός*, from the Soldiers repeating *ἀλάλ*, *Sui-
 das* makes them to have cry’d also *ἰλελεῖ* : The first Author of it
 was *Pan*, *Bacchus’s* Lieutenant-General in his *Indian Expedition*;
 where, being encompass’d in a Valley with an Army of Enemies
 far superiour to them in Number, he advis’d the God to order his
 Men in the Night to give a general Shout, which so surpriz’d the
 opposite Army, that they immediately fled from their Camp :
 Whence it came to pass, that all sudden Fears, impress’d upon Men’s
 Spirits without any just Reason, were call’d, by the *Greeks* and *Ro-
 mans*, *Panick Terrors* (a).

This Custom seems to have been us’d by almost all Nations, Bar-
 barous as well as Civil; and is mention’d by all Writers, that treat
 of Martial Affairs: *Homer* hath oblig’d us with several elegant De-
 scriptions of it, too numerous to be inserted in this Place: I shall
 however give you one out of the fourth *Iliad* (b), where he re-
 sembles the Military Noise to Torrents rowling with impetuous
 Force from Mountains into the subjacent Vallies;

Ὡς δ’ ὅτε χεῖμαρροι ποταμοί, κατ’ ὄρεσσι ρέοντες,
 Ες μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὀμβριμὸν ὕδωρ
 Κρητῶν ἐκ μεγάλων, κοίλης ἔτροδε χαράδρης,
 Τῶν δέ τε τηλόσε δῶπον ἐν ἔρεσιν ἔκλυε ποιμῶ,
 Ὡς ἤ μισγομένων γένετο ἰαχή τε, φόβος τε.

As with impetuous Torrent Rivers flow
 Down a steep Hill, when swoll’n by Winter’s Snow,

(a) *Po yanus Strateg.* lib. 1. (b) *V.* 452.

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Into the Vales with mighty Floods they pour,
Fraught with Destruction and an hideous Roar :
Thus fled, thus posted all the Trojan Rout
In eager Flight with dismal Noise and Shout.

F. A.

Some may infer from the beginning of *Homer's third Iliad*, that this Noise was only a barbarous Custom, practis'd indeed by the *Trojans*, but laugh'd at by the more civiliz'd *Grecians* (a)

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κόσμηθεν αἶψ' ἠγεμόνεσσιν ἑκάστοι,
Τρῶες μὲν κλαγγῇ τ', ἐνοπῇ τ' ἴσαν, ὄρνιδες ὥς.
Ὡς τε περ κλαγγῇ γεράνων πέλει ἐρανόδι περ,
Αἱ τ' ἐπεὶ ἐν χειμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀδέσφοτον ὄμβρον,
Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' ἀνεαυροῖο ῥοάων,
Ἀνδράσι Πυρμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρεσαι,
Ἡέμει δ' ἄρα ταί γε κακῶ ἐσιδα περφέρονται,
Οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν σιγῇ, μένεια πνέοντες, Ἀχαιοί,
Ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.

As, when the nipping Winter Season's past,
To a Pygmean Combat Cranes make haft,
In chearful Flights they blacken from afar
The Clouds, and gladly meditate a War,
With Noise and Clangor eagerly they fly,
Such were the clam'rous Shouts of th' *Trojan* Enemy,
Silent and Wise the *Argian* Legions move
Fix'd and united by a mutual Love,
Auxiliary Aid resolv'd to shew,
If an impending Loss came threatning from the Foe.

F. A.

But this is only to be understood of their March, as appears likewise from another Passage in the fourth *Iliad*, where the Poet has admirably represented the Order and regular March of the *Grecians*, with the Confusion and disorderly Motion of the *Barbarians* (b):

ἑταυρώτεραι Δαναῶν κίνητο θάλασγες
Ναλεμέως πόλεμόνδε, κίλαε δὲ οἰσιν ἑκάστος
ἠγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀκλῶ ἴσαν (ὃ δὲ κε φαίης
Τόσων λαὸν ἐπεῖθαι ἔχοντ' ἐν σῆδεσιν αὐδῶν)
Σιγῇ δαδίοτες σημάτωντας ἀμφὶ δὲ πᾶσι
Τεύχεα ποικίλ' ἔλαμπε, τὰ εὐμόροι ἐσιχόωντο.
Τρῶες δ' ὥστ' ὅτις πολυπάμμος ἀνδρὸς ἐν αὐλῇ
Μυεῖαι ἐσῆκασιν, ἀμειγρόμεναι γάλα λακόν,
Ἀζηχὲς μεμακῆναι, ἀκύνεσθαι ὅσα ἀγνῶν
Ὡς Τρώων ἀλαλητὸς ἀνὰ στρατὸν εὐρὺν ὄρεται

(a) V. 1. (b) V. 427.

With stern and awful Visage Chiefs bear Sway,
 While all their Forces silently obey;
 In thick Battalions they march along,
 (But who would think that such a num'rous Throng
 Shou'd fill the Plains, and scarce e'er use a Tongue)
 Such pow'rful Chiefs the *Grecian* Hero's were,
 Thus did their Conduct gracefully appear;
 As thus they march, their burnish'd Arms afar
 Display the Lustre of a future War.
 Not in such State advanc'd the *Trojan* Rout,
 With thund'ring Peals of Noise, and pompous Shout
 A Tumult they did raise, and th' Air did rend;
 Thus, when a Swain large Flocks of Ewes hath penn'd
 To milk their burthen'd Duggs, they doleful bleat
 Hearing their Lambkins bleating for the Teat.

F. A.

Where 'tis manifest he only speaks of their March, because a few Verses after, where he comes to describe the Engagement of the two Armies, he does it in the Words before cited; and in all other Places he mentions the great Noise and Clamour of both Parties in their Encounters. Thus in the sixteenth *Iliad* he speaks of *Achilles's Myrmidons* (a),

Εν δ' ἔπεισον Τρώεσιν ἀολλέες· ἀμφὶ δὲ νῆες
 Σμερδαλέον κονάκησαν αὐσάντων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν.

The *Grecians* press o' th' *Trojans* with a Noise,
 The Ships reflect the Echo of their Voice.

And a little before (b); *

Εκ νηῶν ἐχέοντο, βοὴ δ' ἀστρεος ὄρεα.

They throng out of their Ships with joyful Shout.

Nay so necessary, and almost essential was this Shout to a Battle, that *εὐλοπία*, *αὐτὴ*, and *βοή* are us'd by the Poet as equivalent Terms for *μάχη*: And, when he commends his Heroes for being *βόλῳ ἀγαθοί*, he often means no more than *μαχῶν ἀγαθοί*, excellent Warriours. 'Twas also one Part of a good Soldier's and Commander's Character, to have a strong Voice, not only because it was the Custom to signify their Orders by Word of Mouth before Trumpets were invented, but for the Terror wherewith it surpriz'd and astonish'd their Enemies (c): Instances of this Nature are very frequent in *Homer*, where *Hector*, *Achilles*, and several others strike a

(a) V. 276. (b) V. 267. (c) *Eustathius Iiad.* c. p. 187. l. γ'. p. 305. ll. λ'. p. 799. &c. Ed. Basil.

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Consternation into the adverse Party with a Shout: And later Authors give this good Quality its peculiar Commendation; *Plutarch* in particular, in his Character of *Marcus Coriolanus* the Roman General, observes that he was not only dreadful to meet in the Field by reason of his Hand and Stroke, but (what he tells us *Caro* requir'd in an accomplish'd Warriour) insupportable to an Enemy for the very Tone and Accent of his Voice, and the sole Terror of his Aspect.

In the Heroical Wars the Generals fought at the Head of their Armies, as appears in all *Homer's* Battles: Whence they are frequently term'd *πρωμαχοι*, and *πρωμοι*, because they did *πρωμαχίζεν τὰς στρατῶν*, fight before their Armies; Thus when he lead up the Trojans (a):

Τρωσὶν ἢ πρωμάχιζεν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.

At th' Head o' th' Trojans Godlike Paris fought.

And when *Achilles* sends out his Soldiers to defend the Grecian Ships, having allotted to the rest of his Officers their several Posts, he places *Patroclus* and *Automedon*, as chief Commanders, before the Front (b).

Πάντων ὃ προπάροιθε δὲ ἄνέρεσσι φερέσσι δον,
Πάτροκλος τε καὶ Αὐτομέδων, ἵνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
Πρόθεν Μυρμιδόνων πολεμίζεμεν. —

Before the rest two well-arm'd Chiefs appear'd,
Patroclus, and *Automedon*, prepar'd
With equal Courage to begin the Fight
At th' Head o' th' *Myrmidons*. —

To heap up more Instances in a Thing so well known would be to no purpose. In wiser Ages this Practice was laid aside, and Generals, considering how much the Event of the Battle depended upon the Preservation of their Persons, usually chose safer Posts, and were more cautious how they adventur'd themselves into Danger.

The Retreat, and other Commands seem usually to have been sounded upon the same Instrument, wherewith the Alarm was given; Yet in those Places, where the Alarm was sounded by soft and gentle Musick, the Retreat and other Orders we find sometimes signify'd upon louder Instruments: Which may be observ'd of the *Lacedaemonians*, who seem to have us'd Trumpets in signifying the General's Orders, as appears from *Polybius* (c), who reports that *Cleomenes* commanded a Party of his Army to change their Posts by Sound of Trumpet.

(a) *Iliad*. γ'. v. 16. (b) *Iliad*. κ'. 218. (c) *Lib. II. prope finem.*

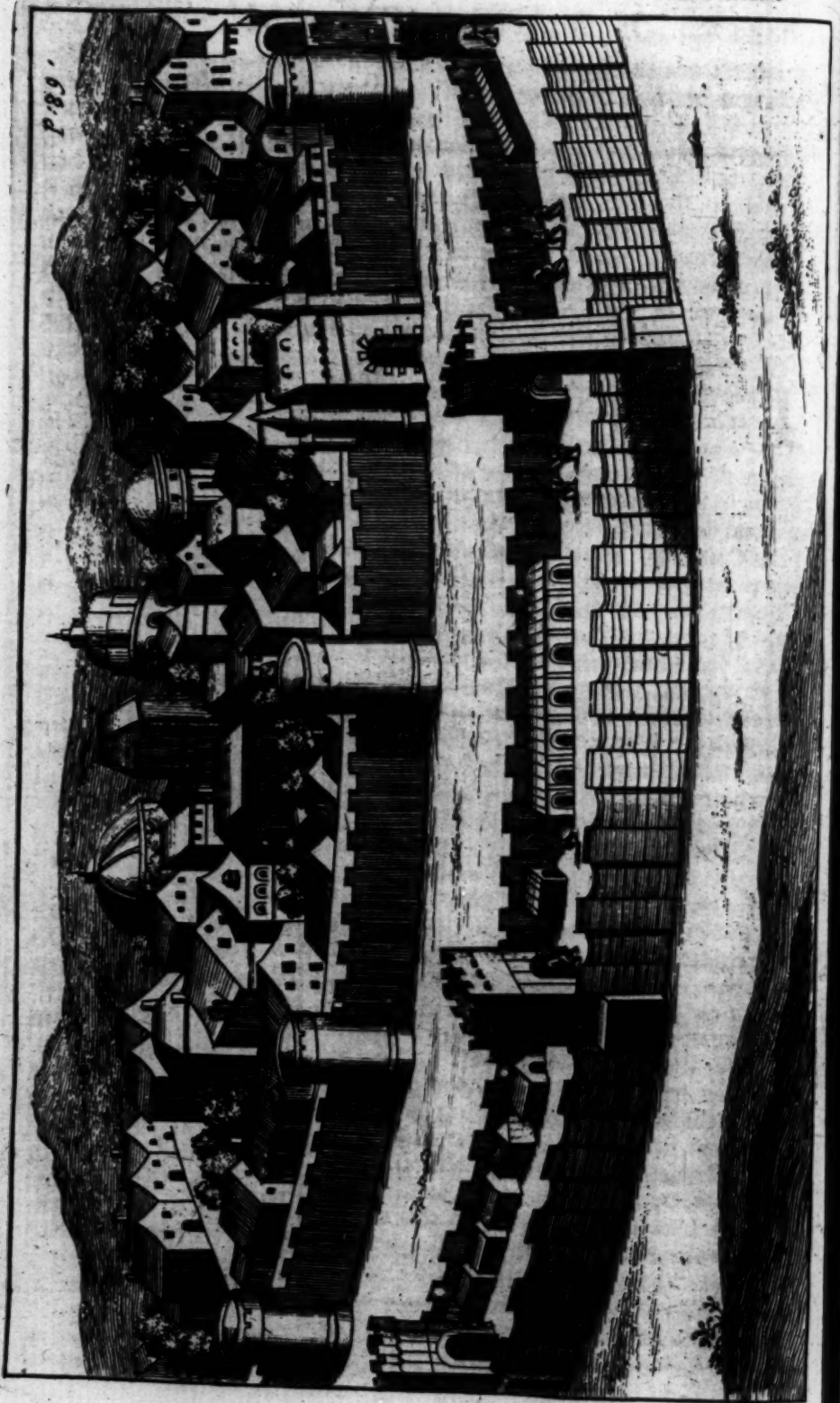
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The *Lacedæmonians*, when their Enemies fled out of the Field, were not allow'd to prosecute their Victory, or make long and eager Pursuits after them (a): While they made Opposition, and were able to fight for Mastery, they contended with invincible Courage and Resolution to bear them down; but, when they ceas'd to make Resistance, and yielded the Day, they gave them Liberty to provide for their Safety by Flight, pursuing them only a very short Space, and that by slow and easy Paces: The reason of which Custom *Pausanias* (b) accounts for from their strict and inviolate Observance of Order and Discipline, which made them rather chuse to let their Enemies escape, than by breaking their Ranks to overtake them: *Plutarch's* Relation seems also rational, and well suited to the old *Spartan* Temper; "That the *Spartans*, having routed an Enemy, "pursu'd him till they had compleated their Victory, and then "sounded a Retreat; thinking it base, and unworthy of true *Grecians*, to cut Men in Pieces, that had ceas'd from resisting them, "and left them the Field: Which manner of Dealing with those "they had conquer'd, did not only shew their Magnanimity and "Greatness of Soul, but had a Politick End in it too; For their Enemies, knowing that they kill'd only those who made Resistance, "and gave Quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best Way "to consult their Safety by an early Flight (c)".

One Thing farther remains before the Conclusion of this Chapter, viz. That it was frequent amongst the ancient *Greeks* to put their Cause upon the Issue of a single Combat, and to decide their Quarrels by two, or more Champions on each Side: And their Kings and great Commanders were so eager in their Pursuit after Glory, so tender of the Lives of their Subjects, that they frequently sent Challenges to their Rival Princes, to end their Quarrel by a single Encounter, that by the Death of one of them they might prevent the Effusion of more Blood. Remarkable Instances hereof we have in *Xerxes* King of *Æolia*, who, challenging the King of *Attica*, was slain by him, and so ended a dangerous War between those States (d); and in *Pittacus* the famous *Mitylenian*, who slew *Phryno* the *Athenian* General in a single Combat: Ancient Histories are full of such Examples, as likewise of Wars happily concluded by a small Number commission'd by mutual Agreement to decide the Controversy: The *Lacedæmonians* furnish us with one memorable Instance in their Wars with *Argos* about the Title to *Thyrea*, which was determin'd by three hundred on each Side: Nor was the Conclusion of the War between the *Tegeans* and *Pheneans*, two small States in *Arcadia*, less remarkable, being effected by a Combat of three Brothers on each Side (e), all the Circumstances of whose Story run exactly parallel to that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* so famous in *Roman* Histories: The Eastern Countries were acquainted with the same Custom, as may appear from *Goliath's* challenging the *Israelitish* Host to give him a

(a) *Thucydides* lib. V. *Polyanus* lib. I. (b) *Messenicus*. (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*, *Apophthegmat. Laconicis*, nisi *de* *opysiacis*. (d) Vide *Archæolog. nostr.* Vol. I. cap. XX. in *Analogen*. (e) *Plutarchus* *Parallelis*.





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Man to fight with him, and the Flight of the *Philistines* upon *David's* Victory over their Champion.

C H A P. X.

Of their Sieges, with the most remarkable of their Inventions, and Engines us'd therein.

TH E R E are no Footsteps of any Siege amongst the primitive *Grecians*; their Cities were not fortify'd with Walls, but lay open to all Invaders, and their Inhabitants, once vanquish'd in open Field, became an easy Prey to the Conquerors. Wherefore 'tis not to be wonder'd, that the People of those Times enjoy'd no fix'd and settled Habitations, but frequently remov'd from one Part of the Country to another, being forc'd to quit their Seats, whenever they were coveted by a Power superiour to their own (a).

This moving and unsettled Condition, wherein they continu'd for some Ages, caus'd them to attempt several Methods to secure themselves: Some built their Cities upon the Tops of unaccessible Rocks, and Mountains, whence they could easily repel a greater Force of Enemies: Others, whose Situation was not so defensible, were driv'n to seek other Ways for their Safety, till at length some Heads of no vulgar Understanding brought forth an amazing Contrivance to enclose their Houses and Possessions within Walls; this at first was look'd on as a Work so wonderful, so far above Human Capacity, that the Gods were frequently call'd from their blessed Mansions to undertake it: The Walls of *Troy* (to mention no more) were of Divine Workmanship, and rais'd by no meaner Persons than *Neptune* and *Apollo*: But if Mortals had the Happiness to project, and finish so great a Design, they seldom fail'd of being translated to Heaven, and having their Names enroll'd among those exalted Beings, to whom they were thought to make near Approaches, whilst on Earth.

And, since it was their Custom to immortalize the first Authors of every little Contrivance, 'tis no Wonder if they conferr'd the same Honours on those great Benefactors to whom they were oblig'd for the Security and quiet Possession of whatever the rest of their Deities had gratify'd them with. Once, indeed, enclos'd within Walls, they look'd upon themselves safe from all Assaults; and, had not a weak Opposition within been sufficient to repel much greater Forces of Invaders, such a Town as *Troy* could never have held out ten Years against an hundred thousand Besiegers.

Nor were the *Grecians* of later Ages, however renown'd for Knowledge in Military Affairs, very willing to undertake, or expert in managing Sieges; But rather chose to end their Quarrels, if possible,

(a) *Thucydides* initio lib. I.

by one decisive Battle, than to undergo the Fatigue, and other Incommodities of so tedious, so dangerous, and expensive a Method.

Of all the *Greeks* the most averse from undertaking Leaguers, and the most unskilful in carrying them on to Advantage, were the *Lacedæmonians*; insomuch, that after *Mardonius's* Defeat at *Plataea*, when a Body of *Persians* had taken Refuge in some Wooden Fortifications, they could find no Means to drive them thence, but must have been forc'd to retire, had not the *Athenians*, and some other *Greeks* advanc'd to their Assistance (a). For we are told by *Plutarch*, That their Law-giver oblig'd them by a special Injunction not easily to engage in Besieging Towns; and to lose their Lives in such Undertakings was accounted inglorious, and unworthy a *Spartan*, as we learn from the same Author (b), who, speaking of *Lyfander's* being slain before the Gates of a little *Boeotian* Town call'd *Haliartus*, tells us, "That like some common Soldier, or one of the forlorn Hope, he cast away his Life ingloriously, giving Testimony to the ancient Spartans, that they did well to avoid Storming of Walls, where the stoutest Man may chance to fall by the Hand not only of an abject Fellow, but of a Boy, or Woman; as they say *Achilles* was slain by *Paris* at the *Scaen* Gates of *Troy* (c)"; *Pyrhus* also the great King of *Epirus* fell by the Hand of a Woman at *Argos* (d).

When they endeavour'd to possess themselves of a Town, or Castle, it was usual first to attempt it by Storm, surrounding it with their whole Army, and attacking it in all Quarters at once, which the *Greeks* call'd *συνωλεσίην*, the *Romans* *corona cingere*. When this Method prov'd ineffectual, they frequently desisted from their Enterprise: But if resolv'd to prosecute it, they prepar'd for a longer Siege; in carrying on which they seem not to have proceeded in any constant and settled Method, but to have vary'd it according to the Direction of their Generals, as well as the Difference of Time, Place, and other Circumstances.

When they design'd to lay close Siege to a Place, the first Thing they went about was *σποταρχισμός*, or *πεταρχισμός*, the Works of Circumvallation, which we find sometimes to have consisted of a double Wall, or Rampire, rais'd up of Turfs call'd in *Greek* *πλινθία*, and *πλινθία*, in *Latin* *caespites*. The interiour Fortification was design'd to prevent sudden and unexpected Sallies from the Town, and to deprive it of all possibility of Succour from without; the exterior to secure them from foreign Enemies, that might come to the Relief of the Besieg'd. Thus, when the *Peloponnesians* invested *Plataea*, *Thucydides* reports, they rais'd a double Wall, one towards the City, the other towards *Athens*, to prevent all Danger on that Side; the middle Space, which was sixteen Feet, was taken up with Lodges for Guards and Sentinels, built at due Distances from one another, yet so close, that at a distant View the whole Pile appear'd to be one broad Wall, with Turrets on both Side-, after every Tenth of which was a larger Tower extended from Wall to Wall.

(a) *Herodotus* lib. IX. c. p. LXIX. (b) *Plutarch*, *Sylla*. (c) *Homer* *Iliad*. χ'. γ. 360. (d) *Plutarchus* *Pyrrho*.

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Engines were call'd by the ancient Greeks *μάγαρα*, and afterwards *μηχαναί*. The first Invention of them the *Grecians* claim to themselves, being not easily induc'd to allow the Contrivance of any Art to other Nations; for it was their Custom to travel into *Aegypt*, *India*, and other Eastern Countries, to furnish themselves with Sciences, and Inventions, which afterwards they made publick in *Europe*, and vented as Productions of their own: Hence was deriv'd most of the *Grecian* Philosophy; and as for Engines us'd in Sieges, it appears they were invented in the Eastern Nations many Ages before *Greece* had the least Knowledge of, or Occasion for them: *Moses's* Times seem not to have been unacquainted with them (a), several of the *Jewish* Kings likewise appear to have known the Use of them; whereas the *Grecians* till *Homer's* Times are not found to have had the least Hint of any such Thing: *Statius* indeed carries them as high as the *Trojan* War, and, speaking of the various Presents sent to *Achilles* by the *Grecians* in order to carry on the War, reports that *Pylos* and *Messene* furnish'd him with Engines to batter the Walls;

Murorum tormenta Pylos Messenaeque tradunt.

Large batt'ring Engines are from *Pylos* sent,
And from *Messene*. — — —

But the Poet seems to have forgotten the rude and unskillful Age of this Hero, and to have form'd his Description from the Practices of his own Times; since Authors of better Credit have no mention of any such Thing. *Homer* indeed speaks of *κεῖρα*, which some ancient Interpreters take for *κλίμακες*, scaling Ladders (b),

— — — οἱ δ' ἔπειτα
Κεραίων ἐπέβαινον, ἀναχύνον δ' ἔρατ' ἔχοντες.

Bearing well-pointed Spears these straight ascend
The scaling Ladders. — — —

But it may with no less Propriety be taken for the Pinnacles of Towers, as we find it us'd in the following Verse (c);

Κεῖρας δ' πύργων ἔρπον, καὶ ἔραιπον ἐπάλξεσσι.

The Tower's lofty Pinacles they raz'd,
Demolish'd all their Bulwarks. — — —

Others again will have them to have been as ancient as the *Theban* War, and to have been the Contrivance of *Capaneus*, one of the seven Champions; the Story of whose being knock'd down with Thunderbolts was grounded on no better a Foundation, than that,

(a) *Deuteronom*, cap. XX, 20. (b) *Iliad*, μ', v. 444. (c) *Ibid*, v. 258.

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attempting to scale the Walls of *Thebes* with Ladders, he was beaten down and slain with Stones: And since the Contrivance is so easy and obvious, it may not be wholly improbable, that even those Ages were acquainted with it: However the different sorts of Ladders were invented afterwards, when some of them were *πηκταί* (a), *plicatiles*, folded; others *διαλυταί*, *solutiles*, to be taken in Pieces (b), for the Convenience of Carriage. The Matter they were compos'd of, was likewise very different, being not only Wood, but Ropes, Leather, &c.

The rest of their Engines seem however to have been later: The *Ram* indeed is said by *Pliny* to have been invented in the *Trojan War*, and to have given occasion to the Fable of the Wooden Horse built by *Epeus*, it being the constant Practice of those Times to wrap up the Original of every Invention in Fables: But this is only Conjecture, and may with the same Ease be deny'd, as asserted; *Athenæus* indeed speaks of this Engine as very ancient (c), but doth not fix its Invention to any determinate Time, only observes that the *Romans* were oblig'd for it to the *Grecians*; and since *Vitruvius* gives the Honour of its Contrivance to the *Carthaginians* in their Siege of *Gades*, and neither *Homer*, nor any *Greek Writer* for many Ages after has the least mention thereof, there seems little reason to credit *Pliny's* Report. 'Tis probable however, that those Ages might have some small Helps in taking Towns, contriv'd, as by several others, so particularly by *Epeus*, who is famous in Poetical Story for being an Artificer, and (as *Lycophron* reports) was very serviceable on that Account to the *Grecian Army*,

Πύκτις μὲν ἰσθλὸν, πῶκα δ' ἐν κλόνῳ δορὺς,
καὶ πλείστα τέχναις ὠφελήσαντα στρατὸν (d).

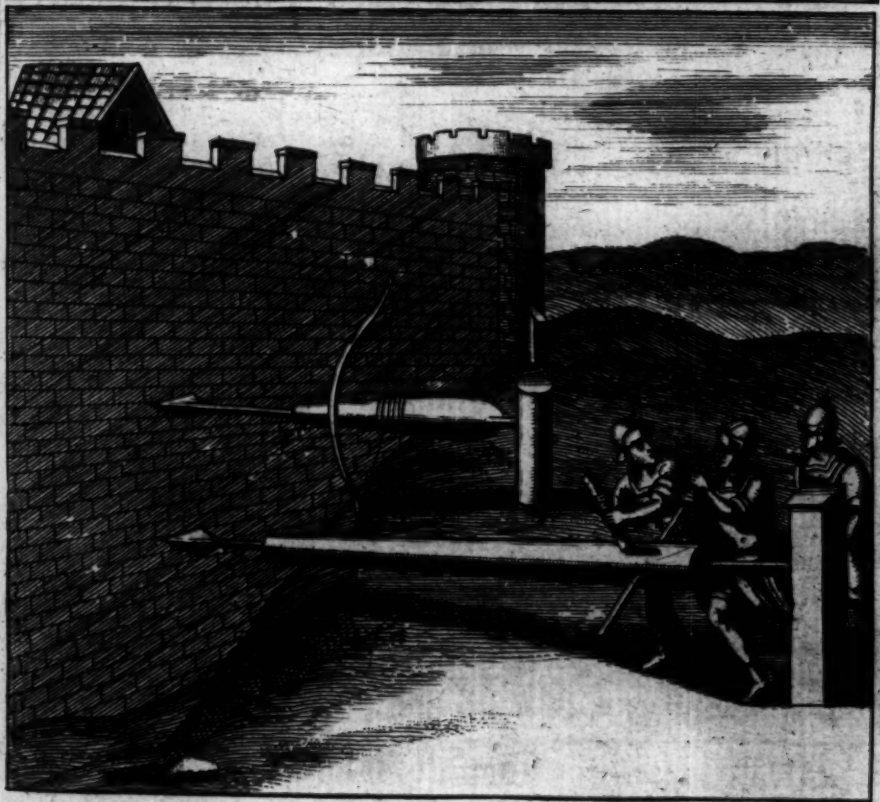
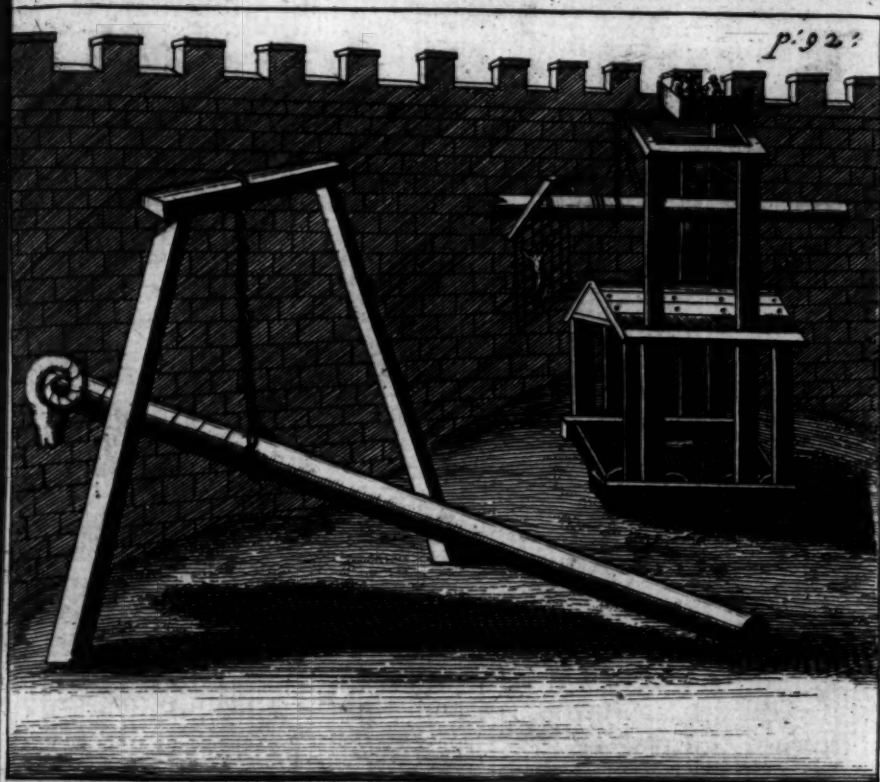
Dauntless in Boxing, but dismay'd at th' Sound
Of clashing Arms, yet by his famous Art
He was most useful to the *Grecian Fleet*.

But these Devices seem to have been exceeding contemptible, and unartificial; and therefore were wholly laid aside in wiser Ages, and, it may be, never practis'd but at their first Invention. The only constant Instruments us'd by the ancient *Grecians* in demolishing Walls, were (for ought appears to the contrary) those they call'd *τερέπαρα*, in *Latin* *terebra*, which were long Irons with sharp Ends. Wherefore 'tis reasonable to conclude that most of their famous Engines were invented about the Time of the *Peloponnesian War*, wherein 'tis plain from *Thucydides* they were us'd; *Diodorus* (e) and *Plutarch* (f) will have *Pericles* to have contriv'd several of them by the Assistance of *Artemon* an Artificer of *Clazomenæ*, as Rams, Tortoises, &c. yet *Cornelius Nepos* reports, that some of them were us'd in the Age before by *Miltiades*, when he besieg'd *Paros*; *Plutarch* also

(a) *Appian*. (b) *Plutarchus Arato*. (c) *Fine lib. IV*. (d) *Cassandr. v. 945*.
(e) *Lib. XII*. (f) *Pericle*.

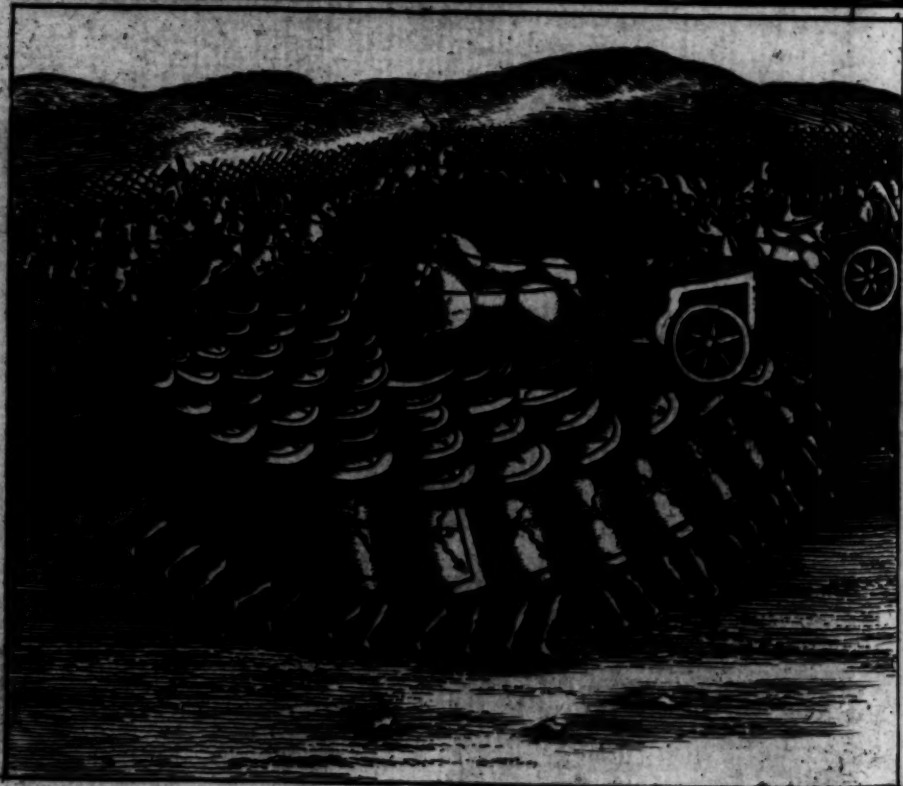
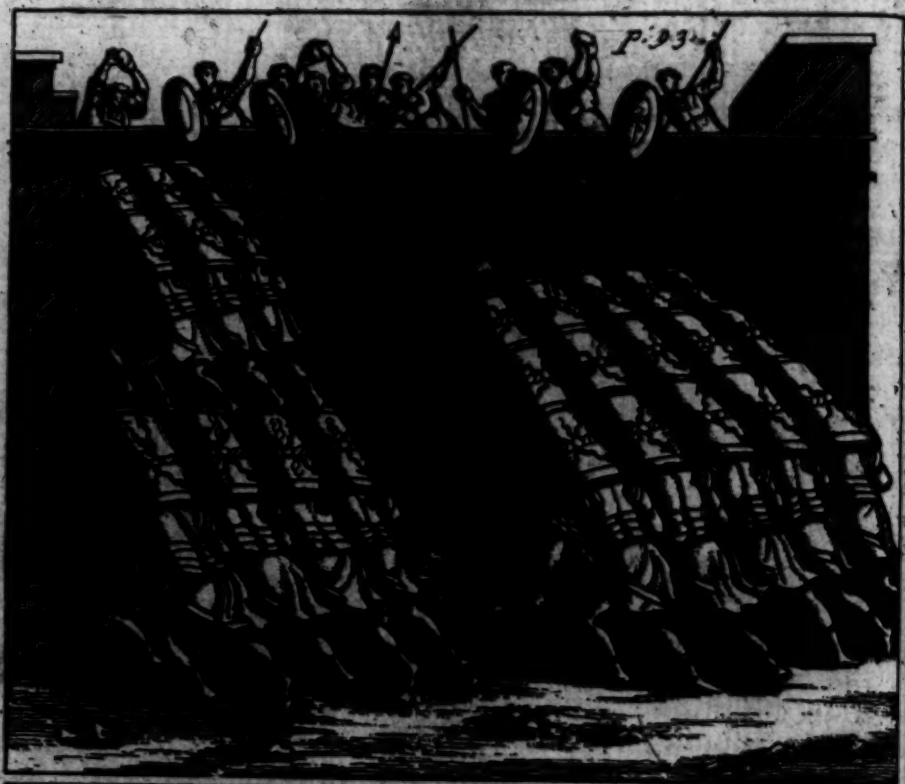
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himself, when he reports out of *Ephorus*, that battering Engines were first employ'd in the *Samian War* by *Pericles*, and compos'd at that Time by *Arimon*, being then a strange and surprizing Sight, presently after adds, that *Heraclides* of *Pontus* will have that Engineer to have flourish'd several Ages before the *Samian War*; so that nothing of Certainty can be expected in this Matter. The Principal of the *Grecian* Inventions were these which follow:

Χελών, *testudo*, a Tortoise, a defensive Invention, so call'd from covering and sheltering the Soldiers, as a Tortoise is cover'd by its Shell. Several sorts we find of it, as,

1. *Χελών στρατιωτικῶν*, *testudo militaris*, term'd sometimes *συναμίσμας*, when the Soldiers, drawn up close to one another, and the hindermost Ranks bowing themselves, plac'd their Targets above their Heads; as if we suppose the first Rank to stand erect, the rest to stoop lower and lower by Degrees, till the last Rank kneel'd upon the Ground; the Men in the Front and on the Sides holding their Targets before their Bodies, the rest covering the Heads of those that were plac'd before them; so that the whole Body resembled a Pent-house, or Roof cover'd with Tiles, down which the Enemy's missile Weapons easily glided without Prejudice to the Soldiers underneath. This Invention was us'd in Field-battles, but more frequently in surprizing Cities before the Besieg'd were prepar'd for Defence; and serv'd to protect the Besiegers in their Approach to the Walls.

2. *Χελών χωρῶς* was four-square; the chief Design thereof was (as the Name imports) to guard the Soldiers in filling Ditches, and casting up Mounts.

3. *Χελών ὀρθῆς*, was triangular with its Front shelving downwards for the Protection of Pioneers, who undermin'd Walls.

4. To these may be added *Testudo arietaria*, wherewith those that batter'd the Walls were protected; of which afterwards.

Γέρρα, Wicker Hurdles, resembling the *Roman vineæ*, which the Soldiers held over their Heads. The Word came at length to signify Trifles, from the Siege of *Syracuse*, where the *Athenians* calling continually for Hurdles to shelter them, the Besiegers in Derision cry'd *γέρρα, γέρρα*.

Another Engine compos'd of Boards, and, like the *Roman Pluteus*, was us'd by *Alexander's* Soldiers, as we read in *Curtius*.

Χόμα, *agger*, a Mount, which was rais'd so high as to equal, if not exceed the Top of the besieg'd Walls: The Sides were wall'd in with Bricks or Stones, or secur'd with strong Rasters to hinder it from falling; the Fore-part only, being by Degrees to be advanc'd nearer the Walls, remain'd bare. The Pile it self consisted of all sorts of Materials, as Earth, Timber, Boughs, Stones, &c. as *Thucydides* reports in the Siege of *Platae*; Into the middle were cast also Wickers, and Twigs of Trees to fasten, and, as it were, cement the other Parts. The whole Fabrick is thus describ'd by *Lucan* (a);

— *tunc omnia late*
Procumbunt nemora, & spoliantur robore silva;
Ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
Suspendant, struata laterum compage ligatam
Ardet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.

The Groves are fell'd, and strongest Timber sought,
 From thickest Forrests largest Oaks are brought,
 To make strong Rafter to support the Pile,
 Left th' Earth break in and frustrate all their Toyl,
 Unable to sustain the Tower's Weight.

H. H.

Πύργοι, *turres*, moveable Towers of Wood, usually plac'd upon the Mount: They were driven upon Wheels, which were fix'd within the Bottom-planks to secure them from the Enemies. Their Size was not always the same, but proportion'd to the Towers of the City they besieg'd; the Front was usually cover'd with Tiles, and in later Times the Sides were likewise guarded with the same Materials; their Tops were cover'd with raw Hides, and other Shrowds, to preserve them from Fire-balls and missile Weapons: They were form'd into several Stories, which were able to carry not Soldiers only, but several sorts of Engines; whence *Silius* (a);

Turris multiplici surgens ad sidera tello
Exibat, tabulata decem cui crescere Grajus
Fecerat, & multas nemorum consumserat umbras.

Thin were the Groves, and scarce cou'd boast a Shade,
 When th' *Grajan* with ten Rooms a Tower made,
 Whose various Turrets seem'd the Stars to invade.

The first Contrivance is attributed to some Artificers of *Sicily* about the Time of *Dionysius* the Tyrant; by some to *Polyidus* a *Thessalian*, *Philip* of *Macedon*'s Engineer (b); by others to *Diades* and *Chareus* (c), who were *Polyidus*'s Scholars, and entertain'd by *Alexander* in his Eastern Expedition: The last of these seem rather to have been Improvers of the former Invention, for we find mention of Wooden Towers in the elder *Dionysius*'s Reign (d): It may be the Device of making *πύργους φορητούς*, portable Turrets, to be taken in Pieces and carry'd along with the Army, may be owing to them.

Κεῖρας, *aries*, the Ram, was an Engine with an Iron Head call'd in Greek *κεφαλή*, or *ἐμβολή*, resembling a Ram's Head, wherewith they batter'd the Enemies Walls. Of this there were three kinds:

1. The first was plain and unartificial, being nothing but a long Beam with an Iron Head, which the Soldiers drove with main Force against the Wall.

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) *Athenæus Mechanicis* apud *Turneb.* *V. synvius* lib. X. cap. XIX. (c) *Heron* cap. XIII. (d) *Diodorus Siculus*.

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2. The second was hang with Ropes to another Beam, by the Help of which they thrust it forwards with much greater Force.

3. The third differ'd only from the former, as being cover'd with a *χελώνη*, or Shroud to guard the Soldiers, whence 'tis call'd *testudo arietaria*.

The Beam was sometimes no less than an hundred and twenty Feet in length, and cover'd with Iron Plates, lest those who defended the Walls should set it on Fire; the Head was arm'd with as many Horns as they pleas'd: *Josephus* reports that one of *Vespasian's* Rams, the length whereof was only fifty Cubits, which came not up to the Size of several of the *Grecian* Rams, had an Head as thick as ten Men, and twenty five Horns, each of which was as thick as one Man, and plac'd a Cubit's Distance from the rest; the Weight hung (as was customary) upon the hinder part, weigh'd no less than one thousand and five hundred Talents; when it was remov'd from one Place to another, if it was not taken in Pieces, an hundred and fifty Yoke of Oxen, or three hundred Pair of Horses and Mules labour'd in drawing it; and no less than fifteen hundred Men employ'd their utmost Strength in forcing it against the Walls. At other Times we find these Rams driven upon Wheels.

Ελέπολις was first invented by *Demetrius*, Son to *Antigonus*, who, having taken *Rhodos*, with several other Towns by the Help of this Engine, was honour'd with the Sirname of *πολιορκητής*. We have several Descriptions of it left us by *Vitruvius* (a), *Plutarch* (b), and *Diodorus* (c), who, tho' differing in other Points, are thus far agreed, That it was a Machine of prodigious Bulk, not unlike the Ram cover'd with a Shroud, but vastly bigger, and of far greater Force; that it was driven both with Ropes and Wheels, and contain'd several other smaller Engines, out of which Stones, and other missile Weapons were cast.

Καταπίλται are us'd in different Senses, sometimes for Arrows, sometimes for Engines, out of which Arrows were cast; in the later of which Significations they are term'd *ῥευτελεῖς*, and *βελοςάσεις*. They are likewise, tho' not very properly, taken for Engines to cast Stones; and we find them sometimes us'd to throw great Pieces of Timber. The Invention of them is ascrib'd to the *Syrians* by *Pliny*; but *Diodorus* (d), and *Plutarch* report, they were first contriv'd in *Sicily*, about the Time in which the elder *Dionysius* engag'd in the War with *Carthage*.

Engines to cast Stones were of several sorts; some only for smaller Stones, such as *σφενδόνας*, Slings; others for those also of a larger Size, call'd sometimes only by the general Names of *μάγχανα*, and *μαγγανικά ὄργανα*, or *ἀρετήσια ὄργανα*, the former of which seem to signify all sorts of Engines, the later all those design'd to cast missile Weapon; sometimes by more peculiar Titles, as *λιθοβόλοι*, *πετροβόλοι*, *πετροβολικά ὄργανα*, which Names are yet so general, as to comprehend all Engines that cast Stones: Nor is there any

(a) L. b. X. (b) *Demetrio*. (c) L. b. XX. (d) Lib. XIV.

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proper Term, that I know of, for that famous Engine, out of which Stones of a size not less than Mill-stones, were thrown with so great Violence, as to dash whole Houses in Pieces at a Blow: 'Twas call'd indeed by the *Romans*, *Ballista*, but this Name, tho' of *Grecian* Original, appears not to have been us'd in *Greece*; this Engine however was known there, and was the same with that us'd by the *Romans*, the Force of which is thus express'd by *Lucan* (a);

*At saxum quoties ingenti verberis ictu
Excussitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
Abscidit impulsu ventorum adjuncta vetustas;
Frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
Exanimat, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.*

Such is the Force, when massy Stones are thrown,
As when from some Mount's Top a Rock falls down,
Which now worn out with Age can't longer bear
The Shock of Winds, and Fury of the Year;
They break thro' all that in their Passage lye,
And do thro' Walls and Houses force their way,
Not only kill the Man, but spread all o'er
The Ground his scatter'd Limbs and reeking Gore.

H. H.

These were the most remarkable Engines the *Grecians* us'd in taking Towns. It will be expected in the next Place, that some Account be given of the Methods, by which the Besieg'd defended themselves.

Upon the Enemy's approach, they gave notice to their Confederates (if they had any) to hasten their Assistance: In the Day this was done by raising a great Smoak; in the Night by Fires, or lighted Torches, call'd *φρυκτοί*, and *φρυκτωεΐαι*, whence to signify the coming of Enemies was call'd *φρυκτωρεΐν* (b). These Torches were term'd *φρυκτοί πολέμιοι*, to distinguish them from those they call'd *φρυκτοί φίλιοι*, which were lighted upon the approach of Friends: They differ'd in this, that the later were held firm and unmov'd, the former tols'd and wav'd to and fro in the Air.

They seem not to have had any constant Method of defending themselves; but thus much may be observ'd in general, that the Walls were guarded with Soldiers, who, with Stones, and all sorts of missive Weapons assaulted the Invaders; and the *καταπέλται* with other Engines of that kind, were planted within the Town, and play'd upon them. Several other Methods were practis'd against them, as, when the *Tyrians* heating brass Bucklers red hot, and filling them with Sand and Lime, pour'd it upon *Alexander's* Soldiers, which getting between their Armour and Flesh, burn'd vehemently, and caus'd them to fling off their Armour, so that

(a) Lib. III. (b) *Theognidis Scholiastes*, *Homeri Scholiastes* *Prod.* 9.

the Besiegers wounded them at pleasure, without receiving any Hurt. Several ways they had to elude the Force of their Engines, and defeat their Stratagems: Their Mines they render'd ineffectual by Countermines; their Mounts they let fall to the Ground by Undermining the Foundations: Their Towers and all their Engines they burn'd with Fire-balls; themselves they defended with Skins, Wooll-packs, and other Things proper to ward off Stones, and other missive Weapons: The Heads of Battering Rams they broke off with Stones of a prodigious Size from the Walls; or (as we read of the *Tyrians*) render'd them useless by cutting the Ropes, whereby they were govern'd, with long Scythes: And if there remain'd no Hope of defending their Walls, they sometimes rais'd new ones with Forts within. Many other Contrivances were us'd, as the Posture of Affairs requir'd, and as the Besieg'd were ingenious in finding out Methods for their own Preservation.

Their manner of treating the Cities they had taken, was not always the same, depending upon the Temper of the General, who sometimes put all, at least all that were in Arms, to the Sword, demolish'd the Walls and Buildings, and made the rest Slaves; sometimes graciously receiv'd them into Favour, requiring only some Tributary Acknowledgment. The *Athenians* had a Custom of sending Colonies to inhabit the Places they had depopulated, which they divided by Lots among some of the Commonalty, when met together in a publick Assembly (a).

When they demolish'd a City, it was frequent to pronounce direful Curses upon whoever should endeavour to rebuild it; which some imagine was the reason that *Troy* could never be rais'd out of its Ashes, tho' several Persons attempted it, being devoted to eternal and irreparable Ruin by *Agamemnon* (b): This seems to have been a very ancient Custom, and deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for (to omit other Instances) we find *Joshua* at the Destruction of *Jericho*, to have fix'd an Imprecation upon the Person that should rebuild it (c), which was accomplish'd in *Hiel* the *Berbelite* many Ages after, in the Reign of *Abab* (d).

C H A P. XI.

Of the Slain, and their Funerals.

THE ancient *Grecians* seem to have treated the Bodies of their dead Enemies in a very undecent and inhuman manner, basely revenging the Injuries they had receiv'd from them whilst living, by disfiguring, and stabbing their Carcases, and exposing them to Scorn and Ignominy: Which cruel and barbarous Practice

—(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Nubibus*, p. 134. (b) *Eustathius Iliad. d. p. 350.* (c) *Joshua cap. VI. 26.* (d) *1. Reg. cap. XVII. 34.*

was not thoroughly reform'd in the *Trojan War*, as appears from divers Instances in the *Iliads*, where dead Enemies are dismember'd by insulting Conquerors; none of which is more remarkable than that of *Hector*, who lay unbury'd many Days, was dragg'd round *Troy's Walls*, and *Patroclus's Sepulchre*, and suffer'd all sorts of Indignities: This indeed might be imputed to *Achilles's* extravagant Rage for the loss of *Patroclus*, or (as the *Scholiast* (a) affirms) to a peculiar Custom of *Theffaly*, his native Country, where it was their constant Practice to drag at their Chariots the Murderers of their near Friends; did it not appear that the rest of the *Grecians* us'd him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead Body (b):

Ἡ ῥα καὶ ἐκ νεκροῦ ἐρύσαστο χάλκεον ἔγχος.
 Καὶ τὸ γ' ἀνέδδεν ἔθνη· ὃ δ' αὖτ' ὤμων τεύχε' ἐσύλαε
 Αἱματόεντ'· ἄλλοι δὲ σείδραμον ἕως Ἀχαιῶν,
 Οἱ καὶ θνήσαντο οὐλῇ καὶ αἵδος ἀγνῆτων
 Ἐκτορεσσιν, ἔδ' ἄρα οἱ τις ἀνστήτη γὰρ παρῆσιν·
 Ὡς δὲ τις ἐπίσκειν ἰδὼν ἐς πλησίον ἄλλον,
 Ὡ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ μαλακώτερος ἀμφοτέρωθεν
 Ἐκτῶρ, ἢ ὅτε νῆας ἐνέπρησεν πυρὶ κηλῶν.

Thus having said, with unrelenting Force
 He rends his vengeful Spear from *Hector's* Corse;
 Too small the Recompence one Death cou'd give;
 But, *Hector* Dead, his *Manes* still must grieve:
 He then the bloody, lifeless Corps despoyl'd;
 And Soldiers, with avenging Fury fill'd,
 With eager Haste about his Body press,
 Admire his Stature, and his Comeliness;
 Each vents his Rage upon th' already slain,
 As tho' they meant to kill him o'er again:
 Then thus one pointing to his Neighbour said,
 With vaunting Words insulting o'er the Dead,
 "Is this the *Hector*, whose tremendous Name
 Brought Fear and Terror, wheresoe'er it came?
 "Gods! How he's chang'd since when he threw his Fire
 "Amidst our Ships, and made whole *Greece* retire.

H. H.

Tydeus has no better Treatment in *Statius* (c);

*Ducitur hostili (prob. dura potentia Fati!)
 Tydeus ille solo, modo cui Thebana sequenti
 Agmina, sive gradum, seu frena effunderet, ingens
 Limes utrinque datus: Nusquam arma, manusque quiescunt,
 Nulla viri feritas; juvat ora rigentia leto,
 Et formidatos impune lacerare vultus;*

(a) *Iliad*. χ'. v. 398. (b) *Ibid*. v. 367. (c) *Thebaid*. IX. v. 180.

*Hic amor, hoc una timidi, fortisque sequuntur
Nobilitate manus, infestaque sanguine tela
Conjugibus servant, parvisque ostendere natis.*

At God-like *Tydeus* (wretched Turn of Fate!)
Avenging, *Tyrians* level all their Hate;
At God-like *Tydeus*, whose commanding Sway
Thro' *Theban* Troops did propagate Dismay;
Whether he mounted on his Horse appear'd,
Or for destructive War on Foot prepar'd,
Th' opposing Squadrons dar'd not long to stay,
But, where he led, submissively gave way;
Yet he brave Chief is dragg'd along the Field,
And bears what Foes with Pow'r and Fury fill'd
Cou'd e'er inflict; his dreadful Arms they seize,
All stab his Corps, and tear his manly Face;
The most opposing Minds in this conspire,
The tim'rous and the brave alike desire
To stab the Body of their Foe when slain,
And with his Blood their glutted Blades to stain,
These they as Marks of highest Honour prize,
And keep to shew their Wives, and blooming Boys.

H. H.

Whence it appears to have been their constant Practice, and look'd on as very consistent with Virtue and Honour; as *Servius* hath likewise observ'd, when *Virgil's Mezentius* was us'd in the same manner; the Poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such thing, which notwithstanding plainly appears; for whereas he only receiv'd two Wounds from *Aeneas* (a), we find his Breast-plate afterwards pierc'd thro' in twelve, i. e. a great many Places, a determinate Number being put for one indefinite (b);

—his sex thoraca petitus
Perfossumque locis.

Thro' twice six Places was his Breast-plate pierc'd

The barbarous Nations were not less guilty of this inhuman Practice. *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*, having valiantly lost his Life in fighting against *Xerxes*, had his Head fix'd upon a Pole, and his Body gibbeted (c): But the *Grecians* were long before that time convinc'd of the Villany, and Baseness of such Actions; and therefore, when *Pausanias* the *Spartan* was urg'd to retaliate *Leonidas's* Injury upon *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* General overcome at *Plataea*, he refus'd to be concern'd in, or to permit a Revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a *Grecian*: Even in the Times of the *Trojan* War the *Grecians* were much reform'd from the Inhumanity as well of their

(a) Fine *Æn.* X. (b) *Æneid.* XI. v. 9. (c) *Herodotus* Calliope.

was not thoroughly reform'd in the *Trojan War*, as appears from divers Instances in the *Iliads*, where dead Enemies are dismember'd by insulting Conquerors; none of which is more remarkable than that of *Hector*, who lay unbury'd many Days, was dragg'd round *Troy's Walls*, and *Patroclus's Sepulchre*, and suffer'd all sorts of Indignities: This indeed might be imputed to *Achilles's* extravagant Rage for the loss of *Patroclus*, or (as the *Scholiast* (a) affirms) to a peculiar Custom of *Thessaly*, his native Country, where it was their constant Practice to drag at their Chariots the Murderers of their near Friends; did it not appear that the rest of the *Grecians* us'd him in a manner no less brutish and barbarous, insulting over him, and stabbing his dead Body (b):

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Th' opposing Squadrons dar'd not long to stay,
But, where he led, submissively gave way;
Yet he brave Chief is dragg'd along the Field,
And bears what Foes with Pow'r and Fury fill'd
Cou'd e'er inflict; his dreadful Arms they seize,
All stab his Corps, and tear his manly Face;
The most opposing Minds in this conspire,
The tim'rous and the brave alike desire
To stab the Body of their Foe when slain,
And with his Blood their glutted Blades to stain,
These they as Marks of highest Honour prize,
And keep to shew their Wives, and blooming Boys.

H. H.

Whence it appears to have been their constant Practice, and look'd on as very consistent with Virtue and Honour; as *Servius* hath likewise observ'd, when *Virgil's Mezentius* was us'd in the same manner; the Poet indeed does not expressly affirm any such thing, which notwithstanding plainly appears; for whereas he only receiv'd two Wounds from *Aeneas* (a), we find his Breast-plate afterwards pierc'd thro' in twelve, i. e. a great many Places, a determinate Number being put for one indefinite (b);

—his sex thoraca petitus
Perfossumque locis.

Thro' twice six Places was his Breast-plate pierc'd

The barbarous Nations were not less guilty of this inhuman Practice. *Leonidas* King of *Sparta*, having valiantly lost his Life in fighting against *Xerxes*, had his Head fix'd upon a Pole, and his Body gibbeted (c): But the *Grecians* were long before that time convinc'd of the Villany, and Baseness of such Actions; and therefore, when *Pausanias* the *Spartan* was urg'd to retaliate *Leonidas's* Injury upon *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* General overcome at *Platæa*, he refus'd to be concern'd in, or to permit a Revenge so barbarous, and unworthy a *Grecian*: Even in the Times of the *Trojan* War the *Grecians* were much reform'd from the Inhumanity as well of their

(a) *Finæ En. X.* (b) *Æneid. XI. v. 9.* (c) *Herodotus Calliope.*

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own Ancestors, as other Nations; it had formerly been customary for the Conquerors to hinder their Enemies from interring their Dead, till they had paid large Sums for their Ransom; and some Foot-steps of this Practice are found about that time; *Hector's* Body was redeem'd from *Achilles* (a); *Achilles's* was again redeem'd from the *Trojans* for the same Price he had receiv'd for *Hector* (b);

Λαβὼν δ' ταῦτα τ' παρὰ σμῆνός δ' ἄνος
Σχεδρῶν τάλαντ' ἑπτάνησις ἡγεμνίων,
Αὐτὸς τ' ἀντίποινον ἐκχέας ἴσον,
Πακτάλιον σαρκομοῖσι τηλαυγὴ μύδρον,
Κρατῆρα Βάκχῃ δύσεται.

A Ransom large as that which *Priam* gave,
That Royal *Hector's* mangled Corps might have
The happy Privilege of a decent Grave,
By *Argian* Chiefs shall be repay'd to *Troy*,
And then the slain *Achilles* shall enjoy
That honourable Urn the grateful God
Upon his Mother *Thetis* had bestow'd.

3

H. H.

Nisus is introduc'd by *Virgil*, dissuading his Friend *Euryalus* from accompanying him into Danger, lest, if he were slain, there should be no Person that would recover by Fight, or redeem his Body (c),

Sit, qui me raptum pugna, pretiove redemptum
Mandet humo solita.

Let there be one, who mov'd with pitying Care
Wou'd me redeem made Pris'ner of the War,
Or ransom'd decently my Corps interr.

3

Whence it appears, that Redemption of the Dead was practis'd in those Days, and, if neglected, they were frequently suffer'd to lye unbury'd; which Misfortune happen'd to many of *Homer's* Heroes, as we learn from the very Entrance of the first *Iliad*, where he thus speaks of *Achilles's* Anger,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς αἶψ' ἔπειτα φεν
Ἡρώων, αὐτὰς δ' ἑλώερα τεύχε' κωκυτων,
Οἰωνοῖσι τε πάσι.

And num'rous Crouds of valiant Hero's Ghosts
Sent mournful down unto the *Stygian* Coasts,
Whilst uninter'd on Earth their Bodies lay,
Expos'd to Dogs, and rav'nous Birds a Prey.

(a) *Iliad*. α. (b) *Lycophrenis Cassandra* v. 269 (c) *Æneid*. IX. v. 213.

But

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But this was not so common as in more early Ages, for we find *Achilles* himself celebrating the Funeral of *Eetion* King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia*, and Father of *Andromache*, whom the Poet introduces speaking thus (a);

Ἦτοι γδ πατέρ' ἀμὼν ἀπέκτανε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Επὶ δὲ πόλιν πέρσεν Κιλίκων εὐ ναιετάσσαν,
 Θήσω ὑψίπυλον, καὶ δ' ἔκτανεν Ἠτιώνα,
 Οὐδὲ μιν ἐξενάειξε, σείσασατο γδ τὸ γε θυμῷ,
 Ἀλλ' ἀρα μιν κατέκχε σὼν ἔντεσι δαυδαλοῖσιν,
 Ἦδ' ἐπὶ σήμ' ἔχυσεν.

Then when the Walls of *Thebes* he overthrew,
 His fatal Hand my Royal Father slew,
 He slew *Eetion*, but despoil'd him not,
 Nor in his Hate the Fun'ral Rites forgot;
 Arm'd as he was he sent him whole below,
 And reverenc'd thus the *Manes* of his Foe;
 A Tomb he rais'd.

Mr. Dryden.
 And *Agamemnon* granted the *Trojans* free Leave to perform the Funeral Rites of all their Slain, promising upon Oath to give them no Disturbance (b);

Ἀμφοὶ δὲ νεκροῖσιν κατακείμεν εἴ τι μεγάριον
 Οὐ γὰρ τις φειδῶ νεκρῶν κατατρεφνέσθων
 Γίγεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ θάνασι, πύρρος μελισσόμεν ὄχα,
 Ὀρκία δὲ Ζεὺς ἴσα ἐείγδοπος πόσις Ἡρῆς.

I envy not the Privilege of the Dead,
 I grant, that they upon the Pile be lay'd,
 Let *Jove* be Witness to the Vows I make,
 Nor will I e'er the binding Cov'nant break.

H. H.

Not long before, the *Greeks* were perfect Strangers to this Piece of Humanity, for we are told that *Hercules* was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off their Dead (c); and others report, that the first Treaty made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the Slain, was that of *Theseus* with the *Thebans* to inter the Heroes that lost their Lives in the *Theban War* (d). In succeeding Ages, it was look'd on as the greatest Impiety to deny what they thought a Debt to Nature, and was rarely, or never done to lawful Enemies, except upon extraordinary and unusual Provocations; for it was thought below a generous Temper, and

(a) *Iliad*. ʒ. v. 414. (b) *Iliad* v. v. 408. (c) *Alianus* Var. Hist. lib. XII cap. XXVII. (d) *Plutarchus Theseus*.

unworthy *Grecians* to vent their Malice, when their Enemies were depriv'd of all Power to defend themselves.

The *Athenians* seem to have been careful to Excess and Superstition, in procuring an honourable Interment for the Bodies of their own Soldiers, that had valiantly lost their Lives; insomuch that the ten Admirals, that gain'd that famous Victory over the *Lacedaemonians* in the Sea-fight at *Arginuse*, were put to death chiefly on this Pretence, that they were said not to have taken due Care in gathering the Bodies that floated on the Waves; when yet they alleg'd, that they were hinder'd by a Tempest which might have been dangerous to the whole Fleet, had they not provided for their Safety by a timely Retreat (a): This, no doubt, was one Cause why, after a battle upon the *Corinthian* Territory, *Nicias* the *Athenian* General, finding that two of his Men were left by an Oversight, when they carry'd off the Dead, made an halt, and sent an Herald to the Enemy for leave to carry them off, hereby renouncing all Title to the Victory, which belong'd to him before, and losing the Honour of erecting a *Trophy*; for it was presum'd that he, who ask'd leave to carry off his Dead, could not be Master of the Field (b). After that, *Chabrias*, having put to flight the *Lacedaemonians* at *Naxos*, rather than leave any of his Soldiers, or their Bodies to the Mercy of the Waves, chose to desist from prosecuting his Victory, when he was in a fair way to have destroy'd the Enemies whole Fleet (c).

When they carry'd their Arms into distant Countries, they reduc'd the Bodies of their Dead to Ashes, that those at least might be convey'd to their Relations, and reposit'd in the Tombs of their Ancestors: The first Author of which Custom (they say) was *Hercules*, who having sworn to *Licymnius* to bring back his Son *Argius*, if he would give him leave to accompany him in his Expedition against *Troy*; the young Man dying, he had no other Expedient to make good his Oath, but by delivering his Ashes to his Father (d): However we find it practis'd in the *Trojan* War, where *Nestor* advis'd the *Grecians* to burn all their Dead, and preserve them there till their Return into *Greece* (e);

Αὐτοὶ δ' ἀγέμενοι κυκλήσομεν ἐνθάδε νεκροὺς
 Βυσὶ καὶ ἡμίνοισιν· αἵ τε δὲ κατακόμεν αὐτοῖς
 Τυτθὸν ὄπισθε ναῶν, ὡς καὶ ὅσα παύσιν ἔκαστος
 Οἶκός· ὅταν αὐτὴ νεώμεθα πατεῖδα γαίαν.
 Oxen, and Mules, in solemn Order led,
 To us assembled here shall bring our Dead,
 That we their Bodies near our Ships may burn,
 And save their snowy Bones till we to *Greece* return.

(a) *Xenophon* *Græc. H. St. lib. I.* (b) *Plutarchus* *Nicias*. (c) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. XV. (d) *Homeri Scylliastes* II ad. α'. v. 32. (e) *Iliad*. v. v. 332.

The *Lacedæmonians* thought this an unprofitable Labour, and therefore bury'd their Dead in the Country, where they dy'd; only their Kings they embalm'd with Honey, and convey'd them home, as we learn from *Plutarch* (a), who reports that when *Agessilaus* resign'd his Life at the Haven of *Menelaus*, a desert Shore in *Africa*, the *Spartans* having no Honey to embalm his Body, wrapp'd it in Wax, and so carry'd it to *Lacedæmon*.

The Soldiers all attended at the Funeral Solemnities with their Arms turn'd upside down, it being customary for Mourners in most of their Actions to behave themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual at other Times; in those Places where it was the Fashion to wear long Hair, Mourners were shav'd; and where others shav'd, Mourners wore long Hair: Their Conjecture therefore is frivolous, who imagine, the Soldiers turn'd the Heads of their Shields downwards, lest the Gods, whose Images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the Sight of a Corpse (b); since not the Gods only, but any other Figures were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole Company held them in the same Posture: Besides, not the Shields alone, but their other Arms were pointed downwards: Thus *Evander's Arcadians*, with the rest of *Aeneas's* Soldiers in *Virgil* (c), follow *Pallas's* Herse,

— Tum maesta phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.

Next went the mournful Troop, Captains from *Troy*,
Tyrrhenia, and from pleasant *Arcady*,
With Arms turn'd downward. —

The *Grecian* Princes in *Statius* (d) observe the same Custom;

— versis ducunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugenæ reges. —

The *Grecian* Chiefs the sad Procession led
With Ensigns downwards turn'd. —

Their Tombs were adorn'd with Inscriptions shewing their Names, and sometimes their Parentage, and Exploits, which Honour the *Spartan* Lawgiver granted to none beside Women who dy'd in Child-bed, and Soldiers (e) that lost their Lives in Battle: These were bury'd with green Boughs, and honour'd with an Oration in their Praise: Such of them as had excell'd the rest, and were judg'd complete and perfect Warriours, had a farther Honour of being interr'd in their Red Coats, which were the Soldier's Habit

(a) *Agessilaos*. (b) *Servius* in *Aeneid*, XI. 92. (c) *Loc. cit.* (d) *Thebaid*, vi.
(e) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*.

at *Sparta* (a): Their Arms were likewise fix'd upon their Tombs; whence *Leonidas* the *Spartan* King is introduc'd in the Epigram refusing *Xerxes's* purple Robe, and desiring no other Ornament to beautify his Tomb, than his Buckler;

Πελοῦ Λεωνίδεω κατιδὼν δέμας αὐτοδαικλον
 ἔεξε, ἔχλαινε φάρει πορφυρέω·
 Κηκεύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας ἥρω·
 “Οὐδέχομαι προσδοταίς μισθὸν ὀφειλόμενον,
 “Ἄσπίς μοι τύμβω κόσμος μέγας, ἔρρε τὰ Περσῶν,
 “Ἡξω κ' ἐς αἶθλιον ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος.

Whilst *Xerxes* mov'd with pitying Care beheld
 Th' unhappy *Spartan*, who himself had kill'd;
 The Royal *Persian* with officious Haste
 His purple Robe about the Body cast;
 'Till dying *Leonidas* Silence broke,
 And thus that gen'rous *Spartan* Hero spoke;
 “Forbear, fond Prince, this unbecoming Pride,
 “No *Persian* Pomp shall e'er these Reliques hide,
 “Soft purple Palls are only us'd by those,
 “Who have betray'd their Country to their Foes;
 “My Buckler's all the Ornament I'll have,
 “'Tis that which better shall adorn my Grave
 “Than 'Scutcheon, or a formal Epitaph;
 “My Tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go
 “Like some brave *Spartan* to the Shades below:

H. H.

This Custom was not peculiar to *Sparta*, but practis'd all over *Greece*; where, beside their Arms, it was usual to add the Badge of whatever other Profession they had born. *Elpenor*, appearing in the *Shades* below to *Ulysses*, intreats him to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, and to cast his Arms into the Funeral Pile (b);

Ἀλλὰ με κἀκκῆαι σὺν τεύχεσιν ἄνα μοι δεῖν,
 Σῆμά τε μοι χεῖναι πολὺς ἐπὶ δινὶ θαλάσῃς
 Ἄνδρες δυσήνοιο καὶ ἱερακόμοιοι πυθέεσθαι.
 Ταῦτά κ' ἐμοὶ τελέεσθαι, πῆξαι τὶ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἐρετμῶν,
 Τῷ καὶ ζωὴς ἔρασον, ἔδω μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάροισιν.
 Whatever Arms remain to me when dead,
 Shall with my Corps upon the Pile be laid;
 Then o'er my Grave a lasting Mon'ment rear,
 Which to Posterity my Name shall bear;
 This do, then fix the Oar upon my Tomb,
 With which I us'd to cut the Silver Foam,

H. H.

(d) *Ælian* Var. Hist. lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Odys.* λ'. v. 74.

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Misenus, *Aeneas's* Trumpeter, has both his Arms, Oar, and Trumpet fix'd upon his Grave (a);

*At pius Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

A Tomb of vast extent *Aeneas* rear'd,
Where the dead Corps was decently interr'd,
And on't his Arms, his Oar, and Trumpet fix'd.

It was customary for the *Spartan* Matrons, when there had been a Fight near Home, to examine the Bodies of their dead Sons, and such, as had received more Wounds behind than before, they conveyed away privately, or left them in the common Heap; but those, who had a greater Number of Wounds in their Breasts, they carried away with Joy and Triumph, to be repositied amongst their Ancestors (b): They were carried Home upon their Bucklers; whence that famous Command of the Mother to her Son related in *Plutarch* (c), *ἢ τὰδ, ἢ ἐν τῷ, ἰ. e.* either bring this (meaning his Buckler) home with you, or be brought upon it: To which Custom *Ausonius* alludes (d);

Arma superverberis quid, Thrasybule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your Buckler born,
Brave *Thrasybulus*?

The *Athenians* us'd to place the Bodies of their Dead in Tents three Days before the Funeral, that all Persons might have Opportunity to find out their Relations, and pay their last Respects to them: Upon the fourth Day a Coffin of Cypress was sent from every Tribe, to convey the Bones of their own Relations, after which went a covered Horse in memory of those, whose Bodies could not be found: All these, accompany'd with the whole body of the People, were carried to the publick Burying-place, called *Ceramicus*, and there interr'd: One Oration was spoken in Commendation of them all, and their Monuments adorn'd with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usual about the Tombs of the most honourable Persons. The Oration was pronounc'd by the Fathers of the deceas'd Persons, who had behav'd themselves most valiantly. Thus after the famous Battle of *Marathon*, the Fathers of *Callimachus* and *Cynagirus*, were appointed to make the Funeral Oration (e). And upon the return of the Day, upon which the Solemnity was first held, the same Oration was constantly repeated every Year (f). This was their ordinary Practice at *Athens* (g), but those valiant Men who were slain in the Battle of

(a) *Virgil, Aeneid*, VI. v. 232. (b) *Aelianus Var. Hist.* lib. XII. cap. XXI.
(c) *Apophthegmat.* (d) *Epigram* XXIV. (e) *Polemo in argumenta* τῶν ἑλλήνων
ἐπὶ λόγῳ. (f) *Cicero de Oratore.* (g) *Thucydides* lib. III.

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Marathon, had their Bodies interr'd in the Place where they fell, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderful Victory.

It may be observ'd farther, that in their Lists the Names of the Soldiers deceas'd were mark'd with the Letter θ , being the Initial of *Θάροντες*, i. e. Dead; those of the living with τ , the first in *τηνέμωτοι*, i. e. Preserv'd: Which Custom was afterwards taken up by the *Romans* (a).

C H A P. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to the Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR Booty consisted of Prisoners and Spoils. The Prisoners, that could not ransom themselves, were made Slaves, and employ'd in the Service of their Conquerors, or sold.

The Spoils were distinguish'd by two Names, being either taken from the Dead, and term'd *σῦλλα*, or from the Living, which they call'd *λάφυρα*: They consisted of whatever Moveables belong'd to the Conquer'd, whose whole Right and Title by the Law of Arms, pass'd to the Conquerors (b).

Homer's Heroes no sooner gain a Victory over any of their Rivals, but without farther Delay they seize their Armour; Instances of this are as numerous as their Combats. But however this Practice might be usual among the great Commanders, who rode in Chariots to the Battle, fought by themselves, and encounter'd Men of their own Quality in single Combat; yet inferior Soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such Liberty, but gather'd the Spoils of the Dead, after the Fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then look'd upon to want Discipline. *Nestor* gives the *Grecians* a particular Caution in this Matter (c);

Νέστωρ δ' Ἀργείοισιν ἐκέλευε, μακρόν αὔρας·

ὦ φίλοι ἦρωες Δαναοί, δρεπάοντες ἄρμος,

μή τις νῦν ἄνδρῶν ἐπιβαλλόμενος, μετοπίε

μιμνέτω, ὥς κεν πλεῖστα φέρον ἐπ' ἡνίας ἵκηται,

ἀλλ' ἀνδρας κλειώμεν, ἔπειτα δ' ἢ τὰ ἐκκλη

Νεκρῶς ἀμπεδίων συλῆσιν τεθνεώτας.

Then *Nestor* thus began his sage Advice;

My Friends, and valiant *Greeks*, be timely wise,

(a) *Rufinus* in *Hieronymum*, *Paulus Diaconus* De notis literarum, *Isidorus Hispal.* lib. I. cap. XXIII. (b) *Plato* De Legib. lib. I. (c) *Iliad*. ζ. v. 66.

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Auspicious Sons of Mars, let no Delay,
No Hopes of sordid Booty cause your Stay;
But with united Force rush on the Foe,
Add certain Death to each becoming Blow;
'Twill then be time enough for to prepare
To seize the Booty of the horrid War,
To drag your mangled Foes along the Plain,
When weltring in their Blood they lie all slain.

H. H.

This Method was taken in succeeding Ages; for no sooner were their Battles ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead Carcasses of their Enemies: Only the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to meddle with the Spoils of those they had conquer'd (a); the reason of which Prohibition being demanded of *Cleomenes*, he reply'd, "That it was improper to offer the Spoils of Cowards to the Gods, and unworthy a *Lacedæmonian* to be enrich'd by them (b)": But this seems only a Pretence, since there are several Instances of their dedicating part of their Booty to the Gods; The true Reason perhaps may be collected from the Constitution of their State, whereby an Equality was maintain'd amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very Foundation of their Government than to acquire, or possess large Estates: Wherefore, to prevent their Soldiers from seizing upon the Spoils, they had always three hundred Men appointed to observe their Actions, and to put the Law in execution against Delinquents (c).

The whole Booty was brought to the General, who had the first Choice, divided the Remainder amongst such as had signaliz'd themselves according to their Quality and Merits, and allotted the rest equal Portions; Thus in the *Trojan War*, when the captive Ladies were to be chosen, *Agamemnon* in the first place took *Astynome* *Chryses's* Daughter, next *Achilles* had *Hippodamia's* Daughter to *Brisis*, then *Ajax* chose *Tecmessa*, and so on (d); whence *Achilles* complains of *Agamemnon*, that he had always the best part of the Booty, himself, who sustain'd the Burden of the War, being content with a small Pittance (e):

Οὐ μὲν σοὶ ποτὶ ἴσον ἔχω γέρας, ὀππότε Ἀχαιοὶ
Τρώων ἐκτέρεψα εὐναιόμενον πόλιεθρον.
Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλείον πολυδαίκετος πόλεμοιο
Κεῖρεται ἐμὰ δὲ πῦρ· ἀτὰρ ὡς ποτὶ δασμὸς ἵκηται,
Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλίγον τε, φίλον τε
ἔσχατον ἔχων ὀπιρῆας, ἐπὶ κακῶν πολέμειζον.

Yet when the Greeks some *Trojan* Town invade,
And Distribution of the Spoils is made,

(a) *Alianus* l. b. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. *Laconicis*. (c) *Eustathius* ad *Hod.* 2. v. 66. (d) *Isaas*, *Exetzes* in *Ly. opbronis* *Cassandram* v. 299. (e) *Iliad.* 2. v. 163.

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How small a Part compar'd to thine I bear,
I who have born the Burden of the War,
Nor do you envy me in this the largest Share.
But when the so much wish'd for Time arrives,
That to each *Greek* th' allotted Portion gives,
Laden with Spoils you haste into your Tent,
Whilst I, with fighting quite fatigu'd and spent,
Come to the Navy with a grateful Heart
For that small Pittance they to me impart.

H. H.

And whenever any Booty of extraordinary Value was taken, we find the Soldiers reserving it for a Present to their General, or the Commander of their Party: Instances of this sort are frequent, as in other Writers, so especially in *Homer*; *Ulysses's* Company always honour'd him with the best and choicest Part of what they took. *Herodotus* (a) reports, that after the Victory over *Mardonius*, *Xerxes's* Lieutenant, *Pausanias* the *Spartan*, being at that Time General of all the *Grecian* Forces, was presented with a great Booty of Women, Money, Horses, Camels, &c. over and above what was given to any other: This Practice indeed was so universal, that to be a Commander, and to have the first Share of the Booty, are us'd by the Poets as equivalent Expressions: Whence *Lycophron* (b),

Πολλὰς δ' αἰεὶς, πρωτόλειά δ' Ἑλλάδος
Αἰχμὴν φέροντας, καὶ πορείης ἀγκυράδας
Αἰσαὶ καταξάνουσιν ὑμῶν μοῖραι χεῖρες.

Thy Hands shall mighty Potentates subdue,
And brave Commanders that the Prize first share,
Chiefs too, that so much boast their Pedigree.

But before the Spoils were distributed, they look'd on themselves oblig'd to make an Offering out of them to the Gods, to whose Assistance they were indebted for them all; those separated to this Use, were term'd ἀπερδίνια, either q. ἀπερδίνια ὧς πρὸ αἰνέσαι ἐν μάχῃ πολλὰς, because the War, wherein they were collected, had destroy'd many (c); or, ὥς πρὸ θινός, because after Sea-engagements they were expos'd upon the Shoar (d); or rather, from their being taken ἀπ' ἀκρῆς θινός, from the Top of the Heap; because all the Spoils being collected into one Heap, the First-fruits were offer'd to the Gods (e): In allusion to which Custom, *Megara* in *Euripides*, telling what Choice of Wives she had made for her Sons out of *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, thus expresseth it,

Εγὼ δὲ νύμφας ἠπερδίνιαζ' ὀμίω.

(a) *Calliope*. (b) *Cassandra*, v. 298. (c) *Eustathius* *Odysf.* δ'. (d) *Bulengerus* *Lib. de ipoli* s. (e) *Sophoclis* *Scholiastes* *Trachin*,

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The Gods, to whom this Honour was paid, were not only those, whom they look'd on as having a peculiar Concern in all Affairs of War, such as *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. but several others, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and any to whom they thought themselves oblig'd for Success, those especially that were Protectors of their City, or Country, *ὧν εἰς οὗτοισιν ἡ πόλις ἐκείνη ἐκράτει*.

They had several Methods of consecrating Spoils: Sometimes they collected them into an Heap, and consum'd them with Fire; sometimes they made Presents, which were dedicated and hung up in Temples: So *Pausanias* the *Spartan* is reported to have consecrated out of the *Persian* Spoils a *Tripod* to *Delphian Apollo*, and a Statue of *Brass* seven Cubits long to *Olympian Jupiter* (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their Enemy's Armour, and hang it in Temples; but the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden this Custom; which perhaps may be the meaning of *Cleomenes's* foremention'd Reply; for that they were allow'd to offer their other Spoils appears as from that of *Pausanias*, so from several other Instances. This Custom was very ancient (b), and universally receiv'd, not in *Greece* alone, but most other Countries: Hence *Hector* promises to dedicate his Enemy's Armour in *Apollo's* Temple, if he would vouchsafe him Victory (c);

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγώ τ' ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι εὖχος Ἀπόλλων,
Τέκεα συλήσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἰλίου ἱεῶν,
Καὶ κρεμῶ ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκείνοιο.

If kinder *Phæbus* my Proceedings bless,
And crown my bold Attempt with good Success,
Make *Hector* conquer, whilst his Foe shall bleed,

And give me th' Honour of so brave a Deed,

When I've despoil'd my Foe, his Arms I'll bring,

And there devote them in his Temple. —

Virgil alludes to this Custom in his Description of the Temple, where *Latinus* gave Audience to *Aeneas's* Ambassadors (d);

Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,

Captivi pendent currus, curvaeque secures,

Excrusta caput, & portarum ingentia claustra,

Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.

Axes, and Arms did sacred Posts adorn,

And Chariots from the conquer'd Nations born,

Crests too, and massy Bars of Gates, and Spears,

And Beaks of Ships, and Bucklers, —

(a) *Herodotus* Lib. IX. (b) *Eusebius* *Eccl. h. v. 81.* (c) *Iliad.* loc. cit.

(d) *Aeneid.* VII, v. 183.

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Many other Instances to the same purpose occur in Authors. This Custom seems to have been deriv'd into Greece from the Eastern Nations, where no doubt it was practis'd; what else can be the meaning of *Goliath's* Sword being reposit'd into the Jewish place of Worship (a)?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the Gods Weapons taken from Enemies, but their own likewise, when they retir'd from the Noise of War to a private Life; which seems to have been done, as a grateful Acknowledgement to the Gods, by whose Protection they had been deliver'd from Dangers. *Horace* alludes to this Custom (b);

— — — *Vejanus, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latec additus agro.

Vejanus now consults his private Ease,
Desists from War, and seeks retir'd Peace,
Having hung up his Arms to *Hercules*.

Ovid also speaks to the same purpose (c);

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis armis,
Ponit ad antiquos, quæ tulit, arma Lares;

The batter'd Soldier harra's'd out with Age,
Not able longer in the War t'engage,
Devotes the Arms, which formerly he bore,
To's Household Gods for their assisting Pow'r.

But lest these Arms should furnish Male-contents in sudden Tumults and Insurrections, they seem to have been usually some Way or other render'd unfit for present Service: The Bucklers, for instance, were hung up without Handles; whence a Person in one of the Poets seeing them otherwise, crys out in a Fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν ὅδε πέλματα.

Unhappy Wretch! the Bucklers Handles have;

The Reason may be collected from the fore-going Verses, where another saith,

Οὐδ' ἔχειν, ἅπας φίλεις ἢ δ' ἦμόν, ἐν περὶ νόσας
Ταῦτα εἴαν αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ παλιν ἀνατεθῆναι.

If you sincerely with the publick Good,
You shou'd not suffer any to devote
Bucklers with Handles. — — —

(a) 1 Sam. XXI. 9. (b) Lib. I, Epist. I. v. 4. (c) *Triff.* lib. IV.

As a farther Expression of their Gratitude to the Gods, it was customary to offer solemn Sacrifices, and return publicly Thanks to them. Here it may be observ'd, that the *Lacedamonians* for their greatest Successes by Force of Arms offer'd no more than a Cock to the God of War, but, when they obtain'd a Victory by Stratagem, and without Blood, they sacrific'd an Ox (a); whereby they gave their Generals to understand, that Policy as well as Valour was requir'd in a compleat Warrior, and that those Victories were to be preferr'd, whereby they suffer'd the least Damage: excelling herein the *Roman* Constitution, which rewarded with greater Honours the Victors in open Field, than those who gain'd a Conquest by Policy, which was esteem'd less noble and becoming *Romans*; wherefore those were permitted to enter the City in *Triumph*, but the later were only honour'd with an *Ovation* (b). It may not be improper in this Place to add, that the *Greeks* had a Custom which resembled the *Roman* Triumph, for the Conquerors us'd to make a Procession thro' the Middle of their City, crown'd with Garlands, repeating Hymns and Songs, and brandishing their Spears; the Captives were also led by them, and all their Spoils expos'd to publick View, to do which they call'd *θεατεῖσεν* (c).

Trophies were call'd by the ancient *Athenians* *τεγπαῖα*, by succeeding Ages *τέπαια* (d): They were dedicated to some of the Gods, especially *Jupiter* firm'd *Τεγπαῖος*, and *Τεγπαῖχος* (e), and *Juno*, who shar'd in her Husband's Title, being call'd *Τεγπαῖα* (f); whence *Lycophron* (g),

— Τεγπαῖας μασὸν εὐθνηλὸν θεῖας.

The manner of adorning Trophies was hanging up all sorts of Arms taken from the Enemy, according to *Euripides* (h);

— Τέπαια ἰδρύσται
παντευχίαν ἔχοντα ᾧ πολέμιον.

↓ All sorts of Arms, that from the Foe he took,
He hung about the Trophy which he rais'd.

Hence also *Juvenal* (i) speaking of the *Roman* Triumphal Arches,

Bellorum exuvie, truncis affixa tropæis
Loxica, & frastra de casside buccula pendens,
Et curium remone jugum, villicæque irremis
Aplustre.

(a) *Plutarchus* Instit. Laconic. (b) *Idem* Marcello. (c) *Phavorinus*. (d) *Aristophanis* Scholiastes *Pluto*. (e) *Pausanias* Laconicis, *Putarchus* Parallelis, *Phurnutus*. (f) *Phavorinus*. (g) *Cassandra* v. 1328. (h) *Heractid.* v. 786. (i) *Satir.* X, v. 133.

The Spoils of War brought to *Feretrian Fove*,
 An empty Coat of Armour hung above
 The Conquerour's Chariot, and in Triumph born
 A Streamer from a boarded Gally torn,
 A chap-fall'n Beaver loosely hanging by
 The cloven Helm.

Mr. Dryden.

To these they usually added the Names of the God they were dedicated to, of the Conquerors also, and of those overcome by them, with an Account of all the Spoils, and other remarkable Occurrences in the War; this Inscription was call'd *ἐμψυχον*, or *ἐμψυχια*, and was frequently engrav'd, whence *Lucian* saith, *ἐμψυχον ἐν νικηταῖς*; sometimes written with Ink, whence *Oribyades* the *Lacedæmonian*, just surviving his Victory over the *Argians*, caus'd a Trophy to be erected, upon which, being supported by his Spear, he inscrib'd with his own Blood, instead of Ink, *Διὶ Τροίαν* (a).

The Spoils were hung upon the Trunk of a Tree; the Olive was frequently put to this Use, being the Emblem of Peace, which is one of the Consequents of Victory: Several other Trees also had the same Honour, especially the Oak, as being consecrated to *Jupiter*, who had a peculiar Right to these Respects; there is frequent mention of this in the Poets: *Sidonius* (b),

— — — *quercusque trophæis*
Curva gemit. — — —

The bended Oak beneath the Trophies groans.

Statius describes the same Custom (c);

Quercus erat tenera jamdudum oblita juventa,
Huic laeves galeas, perfossaque vulnere crebro
Inserit arma. — — —

There stood an ancient Oak, whose sprightly Juice
 Decay'd by Age cou'd not like Life infuse
 Thro' ev'ry Part, on this bright Helmets hung,
 And batter'd Arms.

Virgil also concurs herein with them in several Places, and adds farther, that *Æneas's* Trophy was upon a Hill; whence it may seem probable, that it was customary to set them upon eminent Places, to render them more conspicuous: His Words are these (d);

(a) *Plutarchus Parallelis, Stobæus Tit. De Fortuna.* (b) *Panegyric.* (c) *Thebaid.* (d) *Æneid. XI. v. 4.*





*Vota Deum primo victor solvebat Eo;
Ingentem quercum, decisis undique ramis,
Constituit tumulo, fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducit exuvias, tibi, magne, trophaum,
Bellipotens; aptas rorantes sanguine cristas,
Telaque trunca viri, Et his sex thorata petisum
Perfossamque locis, clypeumque ex aere sinistra
Subligas, atque enssem collo suspendit eburnum.*

Soon as the Morn her weaker Beams display'd,
His Vows to Heaven the pious Victor pay'd:
A stately Oak, whose Branches all around
Were first lopt off he plac'd on rising Ground,
With glittering Arms the hallow'd Trunk he grac'd,
The Spoils of King *Mezentius* deceas'd,
Which Trophy, mighty *Arbiter* of War,
The grateful Prince did to thy Honour rear,
He hung his nodding Plume besmear'd with Blood,
And broken Spears upon the leaf-less Wood,
Then round the Stock his much-pierc'd Corlet bound,
The sad Remembrance of each ghastly Wound,
And on the left Side fix'd the brazen Shield,
With which *Mezentius* lost the fatal Field,
Then round his Neck the leathern Belt he cast,
And in't his Iv'ry-hilted Sword he plac'd.

H. H.

In the same manner *Pompey*, having subdu'd the *Spaniards*, erected a Trophy upon the Top of the *Pyrenean Mountains*.

Instead of Trees, succeeding Ages erected Pillars of Stone, or Brass, to continue the Memory of their Victories; to raise these they term'd *ἱεῖρα τεύχεα*, which Expression was likewise apply'd to the Erection of Trees; for if the Place they pitch'd on was void of Trees fit for their purpose, it was usual to supply that Defect by fixing one there, as appears from the fore-mention'd Passage of *Virgil*.

To demolish a Trophy was look'd on as unlawful, and a kind of Sacrilege, because they were all consecrated to some Deity: Nor was it less a Crime to pay Divine Adoration before them, or to repair them, when decay'd, as may be likewise observ'd of the *Roman Triumphal Arches*; This being a means to revive the Memory of forgotten Quarrels, and engage Posterity to revenge the Disgrace of their Ancestors: For the same Reason, those *Grecians*, who first introduc'd the Custom of erecting Pillars for Trophies, incurr'd a severe Censure from the Ages they liv'd in (a).

The *Macedonians* never erected Trophies, oblig'd hereto by a Prescription, observ'd from the Reign of *Caranus*, one of whose Trophies

(a) *Plutarchus Romanis Questionibus.*

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was demolish'd by Wolves (a); which was the Reason, that *Alexander the Great*, however vain-glorious in other Instances, never rais'd a Trophy: As for those erected by the *Macedonians* of succeeding Ages in their Wars with the *Romans*, they were inconsistent with the ancient Custom of their Country. In some Ages after this, they seem to have been wholly laid aside.

Yet, they were not still wanting to raise Monuments to preserve the Memory of their Victories, and to testify their Gratitude to the Gods; some of which are likewise mention'd in Authors before the Disuse of Trophies. Sometimes Statues were erected to the Gods, especially to *Jupiter*, as appears from that which *Pausanias* dedicated out of the *Persian* Spoils (b), and several others; There is frequent mention of this Custom in *Euripides* (c),

Again, ——— Δῖος τεύχεσσι καὶ δῶρα βέβηται.

———— Τεύχεσσι Ζηνὸς ἐφ' ὀφθαλμοῖς βέβηται.

Several other Instances may be produc'd: Sometimes the same God was honour'd with a Temple on such accounts, as appears from the Story of the *Dorians*, who, having overcome the *Achaens*, rais'd a Temple to *Jupiter Tegeus* (d).

Sometimes they erected Towers, which they adorn'd with the Spoils of their Enemies; which was likewise a *Roman* Custom, and practis'd by *Fabius Maximus*, and *Domitius Aenobarbus* after the Victory over the *Allobroges* (e).

It was also customary to raise Altars to the Gods; an Instance whereof we have in *Alexander*, who, returning from his *Indian* Expedition, erected Altars in Height scarce inferior to the most lofty Towers, and in Breadth exceeding them (f).

C H A P. XIII.

Of their Military Punishments, and Rewards, with their manner of conveying Intelligence.

THE *Grecians* had no constant Method of correcting their Soldiers, but left that to the Discretion of their Commanders; only in some few Cases the Laws made Provision.

Αυτομόχοι, Runagates, suffer'd Death.

Ἀρετὰ τοῖς, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars, and such as quitted their Ranks, by one of *Charondas's* Laws, were oblig'd to

(a) *Pausanias* p. 315. (b) *Herodotus* lib. IX. (c) *Phaniff.* (d) *Pausanias* *Laconic.* (e) *Lucius Florus* lib. III. cap. II. (f) *Avellanus* *Exped. Alex.* lib. V.

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fit three Days in the publick Forum in Woman's Apparel (a). At Athens as *εἰσδύοι*, such as refus'd to serve in the Wars; *λεητοράκια*, they who deserted their Ranks; and *δαιδός*, Cowards, were neither permitted to wear Garlands, nor to enter the *ἱερὰ ἑθνηστήρια*, publick Temples: And were farther oblig'd by the *Undecimviri* to appear in the Court call'd *Helias*, where a Fine, or other Punishment was inflicted according to their Demerit. If a Fine was inflicted, the Criminal was kept in Bonds, till he made Payment (b). To these are to be reckon'd *ῥοπαλίδες*, they who lost their Bucklers, which was accounted a Token of extreme Cowardice. Hence a Law came to be enacted, that whoever should object this Crime to any Person undeserving, should be fin'd (c). But of all others the *Lacedaemonians* inflicted the heaviest Punishments on all such Offenders; for their Laws oblig'd them either to conquer, or to die upon the Place; and such as quitted their Bucklers, laid under as great Disgrace, as if they had forsaken their Ranks. Runagates were not only depriv'd of all Honours, but it was likewise a Disgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met them in the Streets, had Liberty to beat them, nor was it permitted them to resist in their own Defence; and to make them more remarkable, whenever they went abroad, they were oblig'd to wear a nasty Habit, their Gowns were patch'd with divers Colours, and their Beards half shav'd, half unshav'd (d). The Scandal was likewise extended to their whole Family; and therefore their Mothers frequently aton'd for their Crime, by stabbing them at their first meeting; which was a common Practice, and frequently alluded to in the Greek Epigrams, in one of which a *Spartan* Matron, having run her Son thro', thus insults over him,

Εἶπες κακὸν εὐτενυμα, δὶδ' οὐδὲν. ἔ δὲ διὰ μῖσος
Εὐεργάτας δαίαις μὲν ἐλδοίῃσι βίοις
Ἀχρεῖον σκυδαυρυμα, κακὴ μὲν εἴς, ἔπες πρὸς δάσαν,
Εἶπες, τὸ μὴ Σπάρταν εἶλον, εὐ' ἔπρεον.

Be gone, degenerate Offspring, quit this Light,
Euratas is concern'd at thy loath'd Sight;
For see he stops his Course, ashamed to glide
By that polluted Coast, where you abide;
Hence then, unprofitable Wretch, speed to the Dead,
And hide in Hell thy ignominious Head;
Base dastard Soul, unworthy to appear
On *Spartan* Ground; I never did thee bear.

H. H.

Several others may be produc'd to the same purpose; and where the same Fate besel those that lost their Bucklers. Now the Reason being demanded of *Demaratus*, why they punish'd so severely those

(a) *Diodorus Siculus*. (b) *Aeschines in Ctesiphontem*, *Demosthenes in Timocratem*. (c) *Lyfias Orat. 4. in Theomnestum* (d) *Plutarchus Agaglav.*

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Ἔρπε, κακὸν στένμα, διὰ σκότος. ὦ δαρμῖος
Εὐστάς δειλὰς μὴδ' ἐλάρσιος ῥέος
Ἀχρεῖον σκυδαῦμα, κακὴ μὲν, ἔρπε ποδ' ἄσπας,
Ἔρπε, πὶ μὴ Σπάρτας ἄξιον, εἰς ἔταρον.

Be gone, degenerate Offspring, quit this Light,
Eurastis concern'd at thy loath'd Sight;
For see he stops his Course, asham'd to glide
By that polluted Coast, where you abide;
Hence then, unprofitable Wretch, speed to the Dead,
And hide in Hell thy ignominious Head;
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H. H.

Several others may be produc'd to the same purpose; and where the same Fate beset those that lost their Bucklers. Now the Reason being demanded of Demaratus, why they punish'd so severely those

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who quitted their Bucklers, when the Loss of their Helmet, or Coat of Mail, was not look'd on to be so scandalous; he reply'd, *That these were only design'd for the Defence of single Persons, whereas Bucklers were serviceable to the whole Battalia.* Archilochus the Poet was banish'd from *Sparta*, for publishing the following Epigram, wherein he glories in the loss of his Buckler (a):

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σάων τις ἀγάζεται, ἢν φειθέμενος,
Εὐρὺς ἀμώμικτον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἐθέλων.

Ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
Ἐρρέτω· ἐξαυθις κήσομαι ἑ κακίῳ.

To pawn their Arms was also accounted a Crime; and seems to have been forbidden by a Law at *Athens*, as the Greek Scholiast hath observ'd in his Explication of the following Passage of *Aristophanes* (b):

Ποῖαν γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα, ποῖαν ἀσπίδα,
Οὐκ ἐνέχουσιν τίθῃσιν ἢ μιαιφότητι;

Where the Poet describes the Misfortunes, to which Men are expos'd by Poverty. Among the *Romans* any Soldier, who pawn'd his Shoulder-piece, or any other of the less considerable Parts of his Armour, was corrected with Stripes: But such as pawn'd their Helmet, Buckler, Coat of Mail, or Sword, were punish'd as Deserters (c).

Beside the Rewards of Valour already mention'd in the fore-going Chapters, there were several others: The private Soldiers were put into Office, and the subordinate Officers were honour'd with greater Commands. It was likewise customary for the General to reward those that signaliz'd themselves, with large Presents; Whence *Telamon*, being the first that gain'd the Top of *Troy's* Walls, when it was besieg'd by *Hercules*, had the Honour to have *Hesione* the King's Daughter for his Captive: *Iphesus* was presented by the same Hero with *Antiope* the *Amazonian* Queen, for his Service in the Expedition against the *Amazons*. The Poets frequently introduce Commanders encouraging their Soldiers with Promises of this Nature: Thus *Agamemnon* animates *Teucer* to behave himself courageously, by assuring him of a considerable Reward, when the City should be taken (d);

Πρῶτῳ τοι μετ' ἐμὲ πρὸς ἑλίων ἐν χεὶρὶ θῆσω,
Ἡ τρίποδ' ἢ δὴ δύω ἱππὺς αὐταῖσιν ὀχλοῖσιν,
Ἡ γυναιχ' ἢ κέν τοι ὄμδν λείχος εἰσναβαίνοι.

Next after mine, yours is the best Reward,
A Tripod, or a Chariot stands prepar'd

(a) *Strabo Geograph. lib. XII. Plutarchus Institut. Lacon. p. 239. Edit. Paris.*
(b) *Plauti Act. II. Scen. IV.* (c) *Paulus libro singulari de pœnis militum.* (d) *Iliad. 6. v. 289.*

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For your Acceptance; else some captive Maid
Shall big with Charms ascend your joyous Bed.

H. H.

Ascanius in Virgil makes no less Promises to Nisus (a);

*Bina dabo argento perfecta, atque aspera signis
Pocula, devicta Genitor qua cepit Arisba,
Et tripodas geminos; auri duo magna talenta;
Cratera antiquum, quem dat Sidonia Dido:
Si vero capere Italiam, sceptrisque potiri
Contigerit victori, & prada ducere sortem;
Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
Aureus, ipsum illum clypeum, cristasque rubentes
Excipiam sorti, jam nunc tua premia, Nise;
Præterea bis sex genitor lectissima matrum
Corpora, captivosque dabit, suaque omnibus arma;
Insuper id campi quod rex habet ipse Latinus.*

Your common Gift shall two large Goblets be
Of Silver wrought with curious Imagery,
And high emboss'd, which, when old Priam reign'd,
My conqu'ring Sire at sack'd Arisba gain'd;
And more, two Tripods cast in Antick Mold,
With two great Talents of the finest Gold,
Beside, a costly Bowl engrav'd with Art,
Which Dido gave, when first she gave her Heart:
But if in conquer'd Italy we reign,
When Spoils by Lot the Victor shall obtain,
Thou saw'st the Courser by proud Turnus prest,
That, Nisus, and his Arms, and nodding Crest,
And Shield from chance exempt shall be thy Share;
Twelve lab'ring Slaves, twelve Hand-maids young and fair,
All clad with rich Attire, and train'd with Care,
And last, a Latian Field with fruitful Plains,
And a large Portion of the King's Domains.

Mr. Dryden.

Several other Promises they encourag'd them with, according to every Man's Temper, or Condition: Wherefore *Ascanius* thus proceeds to *Euryalus*, *Nisus's* Companion in Danger;

*Te vero, mea quem spatii propioribus ætas
Insequitur, venerande puer, jam pectore toto
Accipio, & comitem casus complector in omnes;
Nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus,
Seu pacem, seu bella geram, tibi maxima rerum,
Verborumque fides.*

(a) *Æneid*, IX, 263.

But thou, whose Years are more to mine ally'd,
 No Fate my vow'd Affection shall divide
 From thee, Heroick Youth; be wholly mine,
 Take full Possession, all my Soul is thine;
 One Faith, one Fame, one Fate shall both attend
 My Life's Companion, and my Bosom Friend,
 My Peace shall be committed to thy Care
 And to thy Conduct my Concerns in War.

Mr. Dryden.

Sometimes Crowns were presented, and inscrib'd with the Person's Name, and Actions, that had merited them, as appears from the Inscription upon the Crown presented by the *Athenians* to *Conon*,
 Κόνων ἑὸν ἑ ναυμαχίας ἑ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίαν.

Others were honour'd with Leave to raise Pillars, or erect Statues to the Gods, with Inscriptions declaring their Victories; which *Plutarch* supposeth to have been a Grant rarely yielded to the greatest Commanders: *Cimon* indeed was favour'd therewith, but *Miltiades*, and *Themistocles* could never obtain the like; nay, when *Miltiades* only desir'd a Crown of Olive, one *Sothares* stood up in the midst of the Assembly, and reply'd, when thou shalt conquer alone, *Miltiades*, thou shalt triumph so too; which Words were so agreeable to the Populace, that his Suit was rejected. The Reason why *Cimon* was more respected than the rest, our Author (a) thinks, was because under other Commanders they stood upon the Defensive; but by his Conduct they not only repuls'd their Enemies, but invaded them in their own Country. But perhaps a more true and real Account may be taken from the Change of Times; for the primitive Ages seem not to have been so liberal in the distribution of Rewards, as those that succeeded; for later Generations degenerating from their Ancestors, and producing fewer Instances of Magnanimity and true Valour, the Way to Honour became easier, and Men of common Performances without Difficulty obtain'd Rewards, which before were only paid to Persons of the first Rank for Virtue, and Courage (b).

Another Honour conferr'd at *Athens* upon the Valiant, was to have their Arms plac'd in the Cittadel, and to be call'd *Cecropidae*, Citizens of the true old Blood; to which Custom the Poet alludes,

Οὐ καλλινίκης Κενεπίδας ἔσθ' ἐγώ.

Some were presented with a *panoplia*, or compleat Suit of Armour; as we find of *Alcibiades*, when he was very young, and return'd from the Expedition against *Potidaea* (c).

(a) *Plutarchus Cimon.* (b) *Aschlaes in Ctesiphontem.* (c) *Plutarchus Alcibiades.*

Chap. XIII. Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 119

Others were complimented with Songs of Triumph, the first of which were compos'd in Honour of *Lyfander* the *Spartan* General (a).

They who lost any of their Limbs in the War, whom they call'd *adusdos*, were maintain'd at the publick Expence, provided they had not an Estate of three *Attick* Pounds yearly. On which account they were examin'd by the Senate of Five Hundred. Their Allowance was an *Obolus*, by the Day. Some affirm, they had two *Oboli* every Day. Others relate, that they receiv'd nine *Drachma*, that is, Fifty Four *Oboli* every Month. And it is probable, that their Maintainance was rais'd or diminish'd, according to the Exigency of Affairs, as hath elsewhere been observ'd concerning the Military Stipend. This Custom of maintaining disabled Soldiers was introduc'd by *Solon*, who is said to have given an Allowance to one *Thersippus*: Afterwards it was establish'd by a Law during the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (b).

Many other Honours were paid to such as deserv'd well of their Country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the Care of the Children of such as valiantly sacrific'd their Lives for the Glory, and Preservation of the *Athenian* Common-wealth (c): They were carefully educated at the publick Charge, till they came to Maturity, and then presented with a compleat Suit of Armour, and brought forth before the People, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them; "That hitherto in Remembrance of their Fathers Merits the Common-wealth had educated these young Men, but now dismiss'd them so arm'd, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers Examples". For their farther Encouragement, they had the Honour of *νεοεια*, or having the first Seats at Shews, and all publick Meetings.

The Laws of *Solon* made a farther Provision for the Parents of those who died in the Wars. It being extremely reasonable, that they should be maintain'd at the publick Expence, who had lost their Children, the Comfort and Support of their declining Age, in the Service of the Publick (d).

It may not be improper to add something concerning their way of sending Intelligence: This was done several ways, and by several sorts of Messengers; such were their *ἡμεροδρομοί*, who were lightly arm'd with Darts, Hand-granadoes, or Bows and Arrows (e); one of these was *Phidippides* famous in the Story of *Miltiades* for his Vision of *Pan* (f).

But the Contrivance of all others the most celebrated for close Conveyance of Intelligence, was the *Lacedaemonian* *συντάλα*, which was a white Roll of Parchment, wrapp'd about a black Stick; it was about four Cubits in length (g), and so call'd from *σύνταλα*, i. e. Skin. The Manner and Use of it was thus; when the Magistrates

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*. (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone*, *Lyfias* *αγοι* *αδυστου*, *Hesychius*, *Harporastion*, *Suidas* v. *Αδυστου*. (c) *Aeschines* in *Ctesiphontium*. (d) *Plato* *Menezend*, *Dlogenes* *Lartius* *Silone*. (e) *Suidas*. (f) *Cornelius* *Nepos* *Miltiade*. (g) *Pindari* *Scholiasse* *Olymp. Od. VI*.

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gave Commission to any General, or Admirat, they took two round Pieces of Wood exactly equal to one another; one of these they kept, the other was deliver'd to the Commander, to whom when they had any thing of Moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow Scrowl of Parchment, and rolling it about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it; then, taking it off, dispatch'd it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrapp'd up, were confusedly disjoyn'd, and unintelligible, appear'd very plain (a).

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful Arts, and admirable Inventions, which are the very Support of Mankind, and supply them with all the Necessaries, and Conveniences of Life, have at first been the Productions of some lucky Chance, or from slight and contemptible Beginnings have been by long Experience, curious Observations, and various Improvements matur'd, and brought to Perfection: Instances of this kind are every where frequent, and obvious, but none can be produc'd more remarkable than in the Art of Navigation, which, tho' now arriv'd to a Pitch of Perfection beyond most other Arts by those successful Additions it has receiv'd from almost every Age of the World, was in the Beginning so mean and imperfect, that the Pleasure, or Advantage of those, who first apply'd themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those, who adventur'd to commit themselves to the liquid Element, made their first Essays in shallow Waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable Distance from the Shoar; but, being embolden'd by frequent Tryals, proceeded farther by degrees, till at length they took Courage, and launch'd forth into the main Ocean; To this purpose *Claudian* (b);

Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,

Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,

Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis;

Litora securo tramite summa legens;

Mox longos sentire sinus, & relinquere terras,

Et leni caput pandere vela Notis!

Ast ubi paullatim praeceps audacia crevit,

Coroque languentem dedidicere metum,

(a) *Plutarchus Lysandro, Aristophanis Scholiastes in Avibus, A. Gellius, &c.*
(b) *Prælat. in Rapt. Proserpinae.*

Chap. XIV. Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 121

*Jam vagus irrupit pelago, calumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with Vessels cleav'd the Deep,
And did with uncouth Oars the Water sweep,
His first Attempt on gentle Streams he made,
And near the Shoar affrighted always stay'd;
He launch'd out farther next, and left the Land,
And then erected Sails began to stand,
Till by degrees, when Man undaunted grew,
Forgetting all those Fears before he knew,
He rush'd into the Main, and harmless bore,
Guided by Stars, the Storms that loudly roar
In the *Ægean*, and *Ionian Seas*. —

E. D.

To whom the World is oblig'd for the Invention of Ships, is, like all Things of such Antiquity, uncertain; there are divers Persons, who seem to make equal Pretensions to this Honour; such are *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Janus*, *Atlas*, *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Danaus*, *Erybraus*, &c. but by common Fame it is given to *Minerva*, the happy Mother of all Arts, and Sciences: Some, who, leaving these antiquated Fables of the Poets, pretend to something more of Certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the Inhabitants of some of those Places, that lye upon the Sea-coasts, and are by Nature design'd, as it were, for harbouring Ships, such as the *Æginensians*, *Phœnicians* (a) &c. The Reason of this Disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different Places, where Navigation was first practis'd, (for it was never peculiar to any one People, and from them communicated to the rest of the World, but found out in Countries far distant from one another) and in part from the various sorts of Ships, some of which, being first built by the Persons above-mention'd, have intitled them to the whole Invention.

The first Ships were built without Art, or Contrivance, and had neither Strength nor Durableness, Beauty nor Ornament; but consisted only of Planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the Water (b): In some Places they were nothing else, but Hulks of Trees made hollow, which were call'd *πλοῖα μοροῦλα*, as consisting only of one Piece of Timber; of these we find mention in *Virgil* (c).

*Tunc alnos sursum primum cense cavatas,
Navis tum stellis numeros, & nomina fecit,*

Then hollow Alders first on Rivers swam,
Then to the Stars both Names, and Numbers, came
Impos'd by Mariners. —

(a) *Plin* l. v. c. XII. *Strabo* l. XVI. *Mela* l. l. c. XII. (b) *Maximus Tyr.* Dissert. XL. *Idorns*. (c) *Georgic*. lib. I. v. 136.

In later Ages also they were made use of at some Places, being the same with those call'd *οκάρον* in the strict, and most proper Acceptation of that Word (a), from *οκάρισταί*, as made by hollowing, and, as it were, digging in a Tree. Nor was Wood alone apply'd to this Use, but any other Materials that float upon the Water without sinking, such as the *Egyptian Reed Papyrus*, or (to mention no more) Leather, of which the primitive Ships were frequently compos'd, and call'd *πλοῖα ξύδεννα*, or *ξύδεννα*, these were sometimes begirt with Wickers, and frequently us'd in that manner upon the Rivers of *Aethiopia*, *Egypt*, and *Sabean Arabia* even in later Times; but in the first of them we find no mention of any Thing but Leather, or Hides sew'd together: In a Ship of this sort *Dardanus* secur'd his Flight to the Country afterwards call'd *Troas*, when by a terrible Deluge he was forc'd to leave *Samothrace*, his former Place of Residence (b). *Charon's Infernal Boat* was of the same Composition, according to *Virgil* (c),

*Gemit sub pondere cymba
Suttilis, & mulam accepti rimosa paludem.*

Under the Weight the Boat of Leather groan'd,
And leaky grown, th' impetuous Water found
An easy Passage thro'.

When Ships were brought to a little more Perfection, and encreas'd in Bigness, the Sight of them struck the ignorant People with Terror and Amazement; for it was no small Surprise to behold great floating Castles of unusual Forms, full of living Men, and with Wings (as it were) expanded flying upon the Sea (d). What else could have given Occasion to the Fiction of *Perseus's Flight* to the *Gorgons*, who, as *Aristophanes* (e) expressly tells us, was carry'd in a Ship,

Περσεύς πλοῖοις Ἀργεὺς ναυσὸν ἔνι Τροίᾳς Ἰσχυρὸν ἔκαστος.

What other Original could there be for the famous Story of *Tripodismus*, who was feign'd to ride upon a wing'd Dragon, only because in a time of Dearth at *Athens*, he sail'd to more fruitful Countries to supply the Necessities of his People; or to the Fable of the wing'd Horse *Pegasus*, who, as several *Mythologists* (f) report, was nothing but a Ship of that Name with Sails, and for that reason feign'd to be the Offspring of *Neptune* the Emperor of the Sea (g)? Nor was there any other Ground for the Stories of *Gryffons*, or of Ships transform'd into Birds, and Fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient Poets,

(a) *Polyænus* lib. V. (b) *Lycophron's Cassandr.* ejusque Scholæstæ v. 75. (c) *Æneid.* VI. 414. (d) *Apollonius*, ejusque Scholæstæ. (e) *Thesmoph.* (f) *Pausanias*, *Artemidorus*. (g) *Vossius* *Idol.* lib. III. cap. XLIX.

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So acceptable to the first Ages of the World were Inventions of this Nature, that whoever made any Improvements in the Art of Navigation, built new Ships of Forms better fitted for Strength, or Swiftneſs than thoſe before us'd, render'd the old more commodious by any additional Contrivance, or discover'd Countries untrac'd by former Travellers, were thought worthy of the greateſt Honours, and (like other common Benefactors to Mankind) aſcrib'd into the Number of the deify'd Heroes, they had their Inventions alſo conſecrated, and fix'd in the Heavens: Hence we have the Signs of *Aries*, and *Taurus*, which were nothing, but two Ships, the former transported *Phryxus* from *Greece* to *Colchos*, the later *Europa* out of *Phenicia* into *Crete*; *Argo* likewiſe, *Pegasus*, and *Perſeus's* Whale were new ſorts of Ships, which, being had in great Admiration by the rude and ignorant Mortals of thoſe Times, were in Memory of their Inventors tranſlated amongſt the Stars, and metamorphos'd into Conſtellations by the Poets of thoſe, or the ſucceeding Ages. Thus much concerning the Invention of Ships.

At their firſt Appearance in the World, all Ships, for whatever Uſe design'd, were of the ſame Form; but the various Ends of Navigation, ſome of which were better answer'd by one Form, ſome by another, ſoon gave occaſion to fit out Ships, not in Bigneſs only, but in the manner of their Conſtruction, and Equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a diſtinct Enumeration of every little Alteration, which would be endleſs, they were chiefly of three ſorts, Ships of *Burden*, of *War*, and of *Paſſage*. Ships of *Paſſage* were diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Names taken uſually from their Carriages; thoſe that ſerv'd for the Transportation of Men, being call'd by the general Names of *πλοια*, and *ἐμκάδες*, or, when fill'd with arm'd Men, by the particular Titles of *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*, and *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*; thoſe, in which Horſes were transported, were nam'd *ἵππων*, *ἵππων*, and *Hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of *Burden* were call'd *ἐλκεδες*, *φορτιστοί*, and *πλοια*, to diſtinguiſh them from Ships of War, which were properly term'd *ἔμψα*: They were uſually of an orbicular Form, having large and capacious Bellies, to contain the greater Quantity of Victuals, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, with which they were laden; whence they are ſometimes call'd *εὐφύλας*, as, on the contrary, Ships of War we find nam'd *μικραὶ* (a), being extended to a greater Length than the former, wherein they agreed in part with the Transport-veſſels, which were of a Form betwixt the Ships of War, and Burden, being exceeded by the later in Capacitouſneſs, by the former in Length. There was likewiſe another Difference amongſt theſe Ships, for Men of War, tho' not wholly deſtitute of Sails, were chiefly row'd with Oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any Advantage, and approach the Enemy on his weakeſt ſide, whereas Veſſels govern'd by Sails, being left to the Mercy of the Winds, could not be manag'd by ſo ſteady a Conduct; hence

(a) *Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem.*

the Ships of War are usually styl'd *ἐμικλῆραι*, and *κάρηνη*. Ships of Burden were commonly govern'd with Sails, and those of Transport often tow'd with Cords, not but that in both these all the three ways of Government, viz. by Sail, Oar, and Cords, were upon occasion made use of.

Ships of War are said to have been first rigg'd out by *Peribolus*, or *Samyres*, as others by *Semiramis*, but according to some (a) by *Agamemnon*. They were farther distinguish'd from other sorts of Ships by various Engines, and Accessions of Building, some to defend their own Soldiers, others to annoy Enemies, an Account of which shall be inserted in the following Chapters; and from one another in later Ages by several Orders, or Banks of Oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, plac'd upon the same Level in different Parts of the Ship; nor yet, according to others, directly, and perpendicularly above one another's Heads; but their Seats being fix'd one at the Back of another ascended gradually in the manner of Stairs. The most usual Number of these Banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent mention of *τρίημις*, *τετράημις*, and *πεντήημις*, i. e. trireme, quadrireme, and quinquireme Gallies, which exceeded one another by a Bank of Oars, and consequently were built more high, and row'd with greater Strength. In the primitive Times, the long Ships had only one Bank of Oars, whence they are sometimes term'd *μονόημις*, and *οὐρανίη* from the Name of a single Horse, and therefore, when we find them call'd *πεντηκόντορες*, and upwards as far as *ἑξακότορες*, we are not to suppose they were row'd with fifty, or an hundred Banks, but only with so many Oars: One as these was the Ship *Argo*, which was row'd with fifty Oars, being the first of the long Ships, and invented by *Jason*, whereas till that Time all sorts of Vessels had been of a Form more inclining to Oval; Others (b) carry the Invention of long Ships something higher, referring it to *Danaus*, who, they tell us, sail'd from *Egypt* into *Greece* in a Ship of fifty Oars; and however *Jason* should be allow'd to have introduc'd them into *Greece*, yet he cannot be thought their first Contriver, but rather imitated the *Egyptian*, or *African* Model, the later of which was some Time before compos'd by *Atilus*, and much us'd in those Parts. The first, that us'd a double Bank of Oars, were the *Erythræans* (c); which was farther enlarg'd by *Aminocles* of *Corimb* with the Accession of a third, as *Herodorus*, *Thucydides*, and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* report; but *Clemens* of *Alexandria* (d) will have this Invention to belong to the *Sidonians*; To these *Aristotle* a *Carthaginian* added a fourth, *Nesibion* of *Salamis* (according to *Pliny*) or *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* (according to *Diodorus*) a fifth, *Xenagoras* the *Syracusan* a sixth; *Nesigigon* increas'd the Number to ten, *Alexander* the Great to twelve, *Ptolemy Soter* to fifteen, *Philip* Father to *Perseus* had a Ship of sixteen Banks (e), then (it being easy to make Additions, the Method of erecting one Bank above another once found out) *Demetrius* the Son

(a) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. VII. cap. ult.* (b) *Apollodorus Biblioth. lib. II.* (c) *Plinius.* (d) *Sicromat lib. I.* (e) *Polybius in Fragment. Sc. Livius.*

Quingentesima Pylae Facies Interior à Lætere Sinistra.

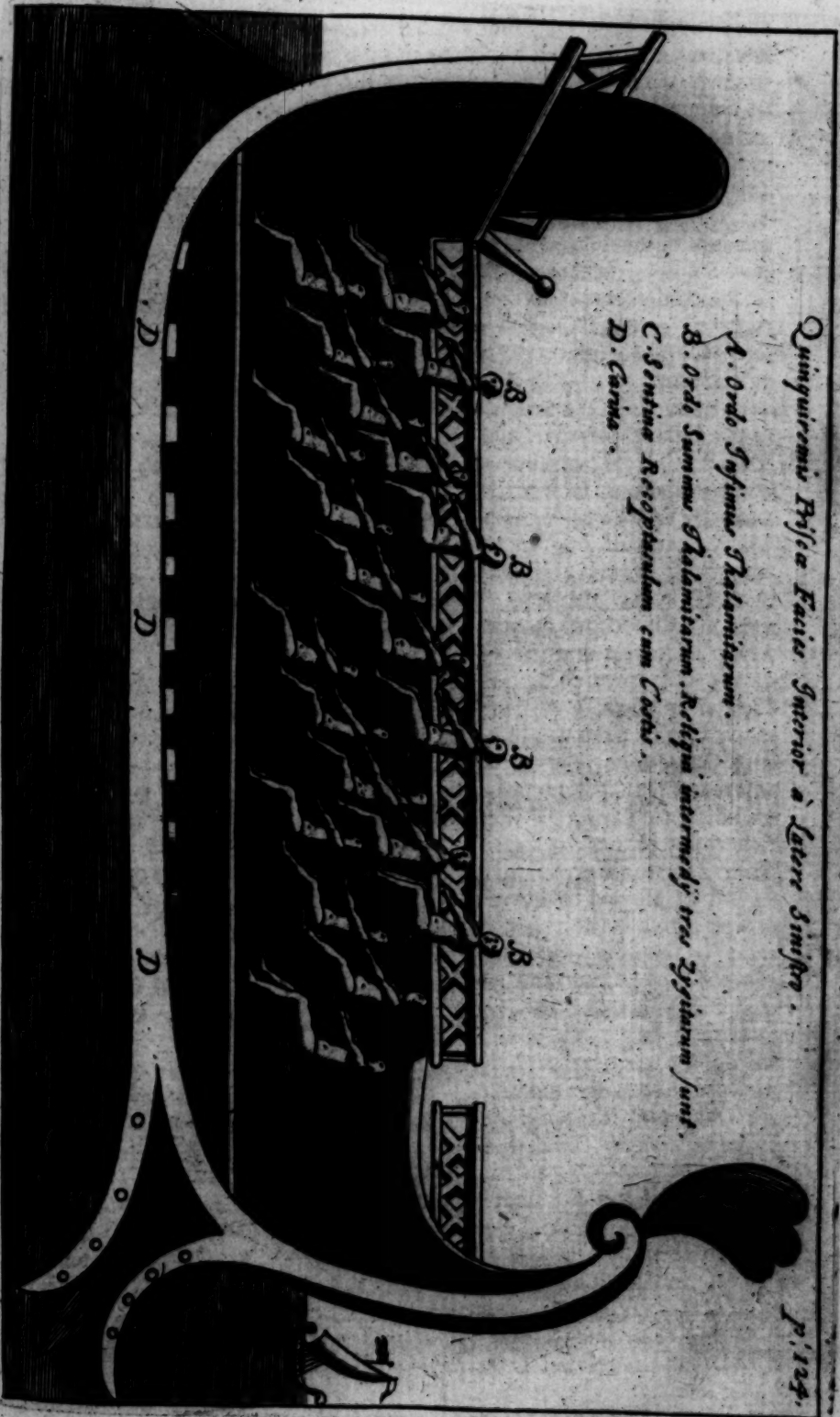
p. 124.

A. Ordo Supremus Chalcidiarum.

B. Ordo Summus Chalcidiarum. Reliqui intermedij tres Zygularum sunt.

C. Sentina Retropharum cum Cæcis.

D. Carina.

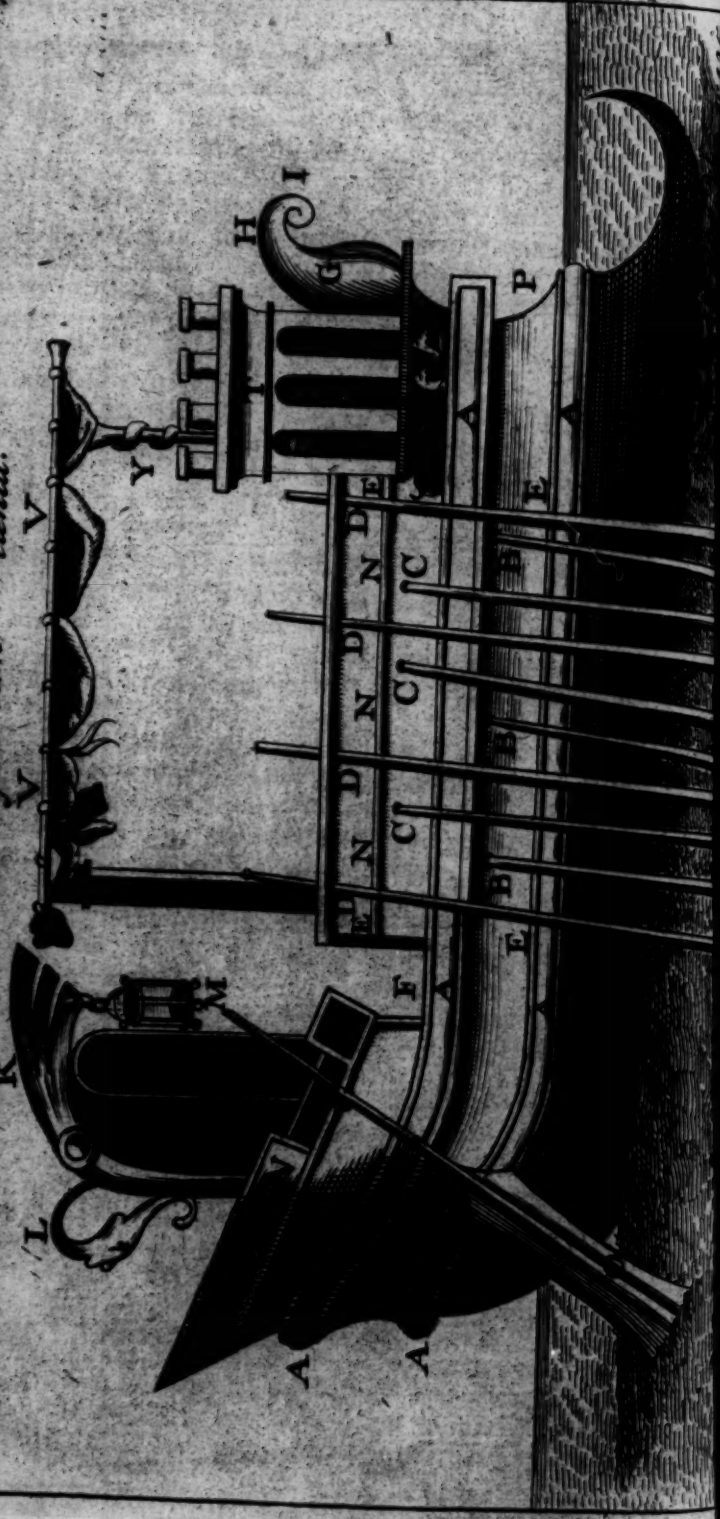






TRIREMIS PRISCA EFFIGIES.

A. Unacaula, vel Sponde B. Thalamus. C. Zuga. D. Thranus. E. Totum Spacium his litteris inclusum Græcis est ἑξωνορ. F. Parodus, vel agear. G. Stobus. H. Acrostolij locus, Nam ipsum abest. I. Oculus, vel scutulum. K. Aphistre. L. Anserculus. M. Lucerna, in qua faces, seu lumina nocturna. N. Peritoneum. O. Gubernaculum Dextrum, Sinistrum, non conspicitur. P. Parasemi locus, ipsum abest. Q. Rostrum. R. Parexiresia. S. Tutela. T. Turris. V. velum Complicatum cum antenna. X. Dieta. Y. Stylus cum tania.



Chap. XV. Of the Military Affairs of Greece. 125

of *Antigonus* built a Ship of thirty Banks, and *Ptolemy Philopator*, out of a vain-glorious Humour of outdoing all the World besides, farther enlarg'd the Number to forty (a), which (all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) rais'd the Ship to that prodigious Bigness, that it appear'd at a Distance like a floating Mountain, or Island, and upon a near View seem'd like an huge Castle upon the Floods; it contain'd four thousand Rowers, four hundred Mariners employ'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Soldiers. But this, and such like Fabricks serv'd only for Shew, and Ostentation, being by their great Bulk render'd unweildy, and unfit for Use; *Athenaeus* tells us the common Names, they were known by, were *Cyclades*, or *Aetnae*, i. e. Islands, or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many Materials, as would have been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty *Triremes*.

Beside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half Banks of Oars; such as *ἡμιολία* or *ἡμιολος*, which seems to have been betwixt an *Unireme*, and *Bireme*, consisting of a Bank, and an half: likewise *τεμνημιολία*, betwixt a *Bireme*, and *Trireme*, having two Banks and an half: These, tho' perhaps built in other Respects after the Model of the long Ships, or Men of War, are seldom comprehended under that Name, and sometimes mention'd in Opposition to them. Several other Ships are mention'd by Authors, which differ'd from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular Uses, or certain Seas, employ'd upon urgent Necessities in naval Fights, but more commonly, as *ὑπηρέτικα*, *Tenders*, and victualling Ships, to supply the main Fleet with Provisions, and sometimes built for Expedition, to carry Expresses, and observe the Enemy's Motions, without Danger of being seiz'd by the heavier, and arm'd Vessels. These were distinguish'd from the former by the manner of their Construction, and Equipment, being in part like the Men of War, partly resembling the Ships of Burden, and in some Things differing from both, as the various Exigencies they serv'd in, seem'd to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different sorts of Ships us'd amongst the ancient *Grecians*, I shall in the next Place endeavour to describe the principal Parts, whereof they consisted, the Ignorance of which has occasion'd many Mistakes, and much Confusion in those who have convers'd with Authors of Antiquity. Herein I

(a) *Plutarchus Demostrio*, *Athenaeus* lib. V.

shall chiefly follow the Account of *Scheffer*, who hath so copiously treated on this Subject, and with such Industry, and Learning collected whatever is necessary to its Illustration, that very little Room is left for farther Enlargement.

Now the principal Parts, of which Ships consisted, were three, viz. the *Belly*, the *Prow*, and the *Stern*: These were again compos'd of other smaller Parts, which shall briefly be describ'd in their Order.

1. In the *Belly*, or middle Part, of the Ship there was *τρόπις*, *carina*, or the *Keel*, which was compos'd of Wood, and therefore from its Strength and Firmness call'd *σειήν*: it was plac'd at the Bottom of the Ship, being design'd to cut, and glide thro' the Waves (a), and therefore was not broad, but narrow, and sharp; whence it may be perceiv'd that not all Ships, but only the *μικρά*, whose Bellies were strait, and of a small Circumference, were provided with Keels, the rest having usually flat Bottoms (b). Round the Keel were plac'd Pieces of Wood to save it from receiving Damage, when the Ship was first launch'd into the Water, or bulg'd against Rocks; these were call'd *χελύσματα*, in *Latin* *cunei* according to *Ovid* (c),

Fœnque labant cunei, spoliataque tegmine cera

Rima patet.

The Wedges break, and, loosing all its Wax,

A Hole lets in the Water.

Next to the Keel was *θάλλις* (d), within which was contain'd the *ἀντλία*, or Pump, thro' which Water was convey'd out of the Ship (e).

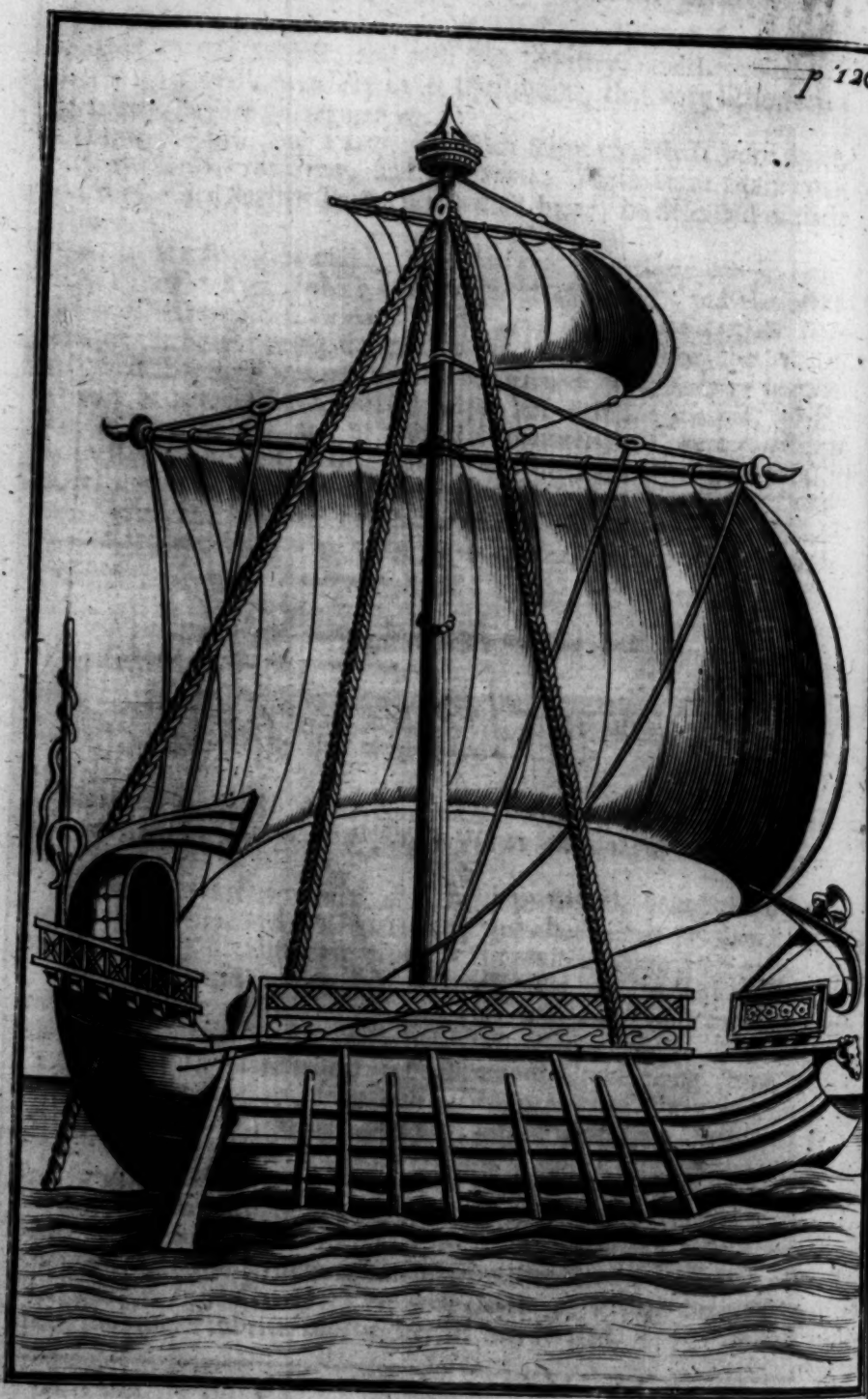
After this was *δευτέρα τρόπις*, or second Keel, being plac'd beneath the Pump, and call'd *λίθιον*, *χαλκίωιν*, *κλετοπόδιον* (f); By some it is falsely suppos'd to be the same with *θάλλις*.

Above the Pump was an hollow Place, call'd by *Herodotus* *κοίλη τῆς νῆος*, by *Pollux* *κύτος*, and *γάστρα*, (because large, and capacious, after the Form of a Vessel, or Belly) by the *Latins* *testudo*. This was surrounded with Ribs, which were Pieces of Wood rising from the Keel upwards, and call'd by *Hesychius* *νομῆς*, by others *ἐσκόλια* (the Belly of the Ship being contain'd within them) in *Latin* *costæ*: Upon these were plac'd certain Planks, which *Aristophanes* calls *ἐντερωνίδας*, or *ἐντερωνίδα*.

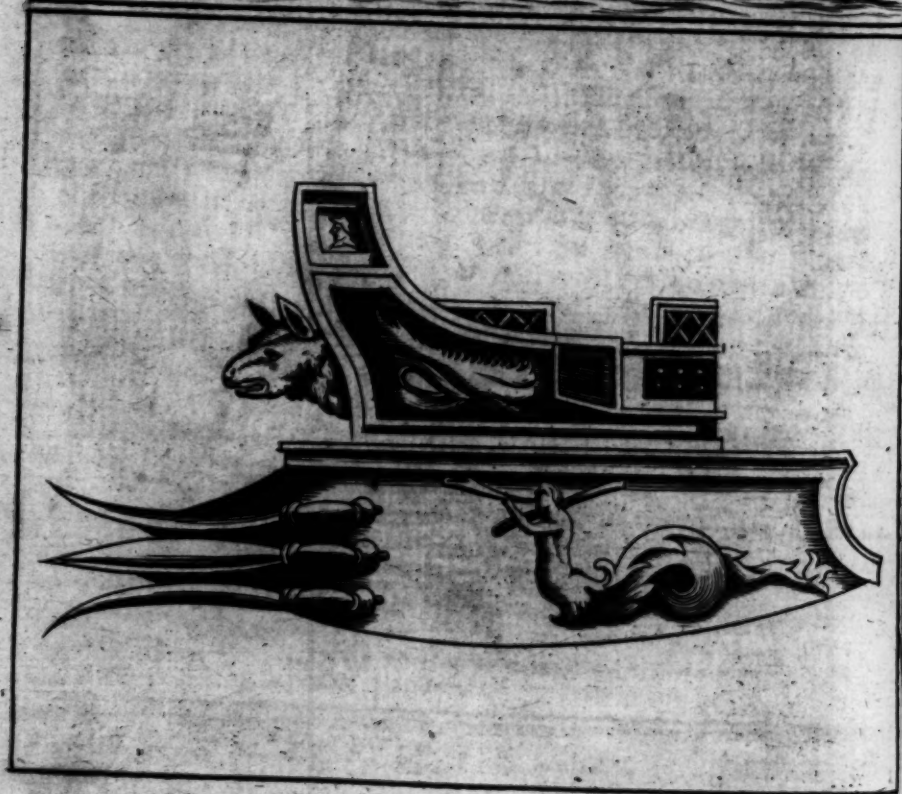
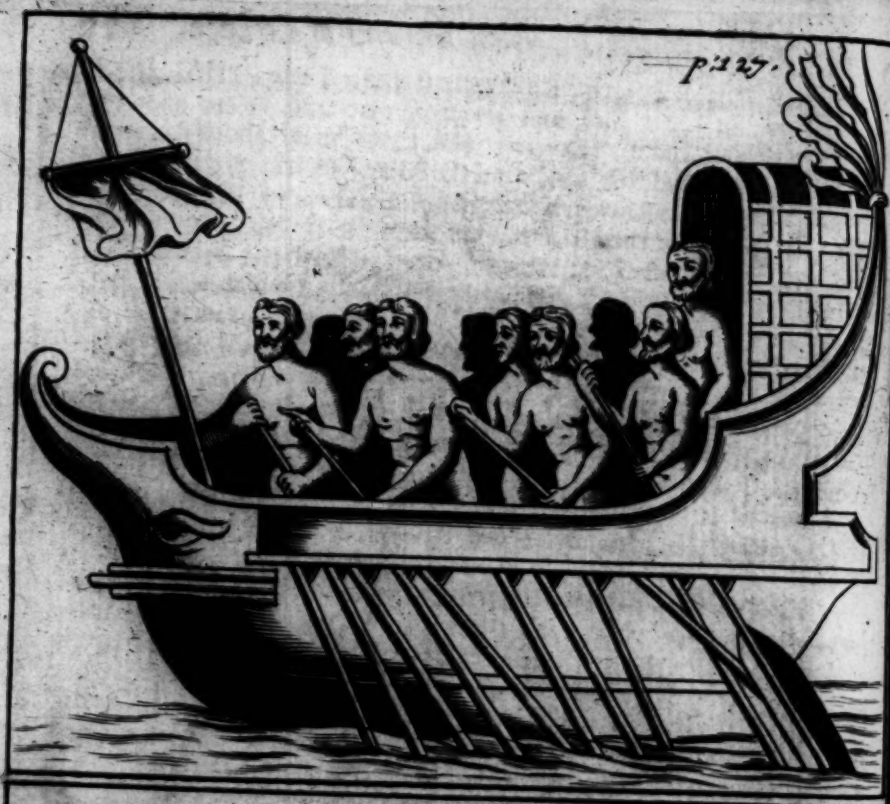
Hence proceed we to the *πλαυρά*, *lateræ*, or Sides of the Ship, which encompass'd all the former Parts on both Hands; These were compos'd of large Rafter extended from Prow to Stern, and call'd *ὑποζώματα* (g), *ζωστῆρες* (h) and *ζωμιάματα* (i), because by them the whole Fabrick was begirt, or surrounded.

(a) *Homeri Schol. iass. Odysf. μ.* (b) *Isidor. lib. XIX. cap. I.* (c) *Metam. XI. v. 516.* (d) *Pollux.* (e) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Plato De Repub. l. X.* (h) *Heliodorus Æthiopica.* (i) *Aristophanes Equitibus.*









In both these Sides, the Rowers had their Places, call'd *τοῖχοι*, and *ἐσθλα*, in Latin, *fori*, and *transra*, plac'd above one another: The lowest was call'd *ἐσθλα*, and those that labour'd therein *ἐσθλαῖοι*: The middle *ζυγὰ*, and the Men *ζυγῖοι*; the uppermost *δεσφοί*, whence the Rowers were term'd *δεσφῖται* (a). In these were Spaces, thro' which the Rowers put their Oars; these were sometimes one continu'd Vacuity from one end to the other, call'd *ῥαβδος*; but more usually distinct Holes, each of which was design'd for a single Oar; these were stil'd *ῥαβδοῖς*, *ῥαβδοῖς*, as also *ὀφθαλμοί*, because not unlike the Eyes of living Creatures: All of them were by a more general Name term'd *ἐγκυρὰ*, from containing the Oars (b); but *ἐγκυρὰ* seems to have been another Thing, signifying the Spaces between the Banks of Oars on each Side, where the Passengers seem to have been plac'd: On the Top of all these was a Passage, or Place to walk inly call'd *παρὰ*, and *παρὰ*, as joyning to the *δεσφοί*, or uppermost Bank of Oars.

2. *Πρόρα*, the Prow, or Fore-deck, whence it is sometimes call'd *μῆτωρον*, the Fore-head, and commonly distinguish'd by other metaphorical Titles taken from human Faces. In some Ships there is mention of two Prows, as likewise of two Sterns; thus was *Danaus's* Ship adorn'd by *Minerva*, when he fled from *Aegypt*. It was customary to beautify the Prow with Gold, and various sorts of Paint and Colours: In the primitive Times red was most in Use, whence *Homer's* Ships were commonly dignify'd with the Titles of *ῥυττοπάρης*, and *ῥυττοπάρης*, or Red-fac'd: The Blew likewise, or Sky-colour was frequently made use of, as bearing a near Resemblance to the Colour of the Sea, whence we find Ships call'd by *Homer* *κυανοπάρης*, by *Aristophanes* *κυανοπάρης*. Several other Colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnish'd over with them; but very often anneal'd by Wax melted in the Fire, so as neither the Sun, Winds, or Water were able to deface them. The Art of doing this was call'd, from the Wax, *ἀνεστιά*, from the Fire *ἔσκαρσις*, it is describ'd by *Viruvius* (c), and mention'd in *Ovid* (d).

Picta coloribus uestis

Cervicem matrem concava puppis habet.

The painted Ship with melted Wax anneal'd
Had *Tothys* for its Deity.

In these Colours the various Forms of Gods, Animals, Plants, &c. were usually describ'd, which were often added as Ornaments to other Parts also of the Ships, as plainly appears from the ancient Monuments presented to the World by *Byssus*.

(a) Pollux. (b) Athenaeus lib. V. (c) Lib. VII. cap. IX. (d) Fastorum lib. IV.

The Sides of the Prow were term'd *πτερά*, or Wings; and *παια* according to *Scheffer*, or rather *παρια*, for since the Prow is commonly compar'd to an human Face; it will naturally follow that its Sides should be call'd Cheeks. The Top of these, as likewise of the Stern, was call'd *παραξερσία* (a), because void of Rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη*, the Hind-deck, or Stern; sometimes call'd *ἄρα*, the Tail, because the hindmost part of the Ship: It was of a Figure more enclining to round than the Prow, the Extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the Waters; it was also built higher than the Prow, and was the Place, where the Pilot sat to steer: The Bow of it was call'd *ἐπισείων*, the Planks, of which that was compos'd, *τὰ πετύνεια*. There was another Place something below the Top call'd *ἀσάνδιον*, the interior part of which was term'd *ἐνδύμιον*.

Some other Things there are in the Prow and Stern, that deserve our Notice; as those Ornaments, wherewith the Extremities of the Ship were beautify'd, commonly call'd in general *ἀκρόνια* (b), or *νῶν κορυμβίαις* (c), in *Latin*, *corymbi*, which Name is taken from the *Greek* *κόρυμβος* us'd in *Homer*,

νῶν ἀκρόβην ἄκρα κόρυμβας

Tho' this Word in *Greek* is not, as in the *Latin*, apply'd to the Ornaments of both Ends, but only those of the Prow (d): These are likewise call'd *ἀκροβόλια*, because plac'd at the Extremity of the *σόλος*, which was a long Plank at the Head of the Prow, and therefore sometimes term'd *πεικεφαλαία* (e); the Form of them sometimes resembled Helmets, sometimes living Creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round Compass, whence they are so commonly nam'd *corymba*, and *corona*.

To the *ἀκροβόλια* in the Prow answer'd the *ἄραστα* in the Stern, which were often of an orbicular Figure, or fashion'd like Wings, to which a little Shield, call'd *ἀπιδέον*, or *ἀπιδίσκη*, was frequently affix'd: Sometimes a piece of Wood was erected, whereon Ribbands of divers Colours were hung, and serv'd instead of a Flag (f) to distinguish the Ship, and of a Weather-cock to signify the Quarters of the Wind.

Χλωίσκος was so call'd from *χλω*, a Goose, whose Figure it resembled, because Geese were look'd on as fortunate Omens to Mariners, for that they swim on the Top of the Waters, and sink not. This Ornament, according to some, was fix'd at the Bottom of the Prow, where it was joyn'd to the foremost part of the Keel; and was the part, to which Anchors were fasten'd, when cast into the Sea: But others carry it to the other End of the Ship, and fix it upon the Extremity of the Stern (g).

Παράσημον was the Flag, whereby Ships were distinguish'd from one another: It was plac'd in the Prow, just below the *σόλος*, being

(a) *Thucydides* Schollastes. (b) *Suidas*. (c) *Homerus*. (d) *Etymologici* Αὐτορ. (e) *Pollux*. (f) *Pollux*, *Eustathius*. (g) *Etymologici* Αὐτορ.

sometimes

Sometimes carv'd, and frequently painted, whence it is in *Latin* term'd *pictura*, representing the Form of a Mountain, a Tree, a Flower, or any other Thing: wherein it was distinguish'd from what was call'd *tutela*, or the Safeguard, of the Ship, which always represented some of the Gods, to whose Care and Protection the Ship was recommended; for which reason it was held sacred, and had the Privilege of being a Refuge, and Sanctuary to such as fled to it; Prayers also, and Sacrifices were offer'd, and Oaths confirm'd before it, as the Mansion of the Tutelar, and presiding Deity of the Ship; Now and then we find it taken for the *Σελήνη* (a), and perhaps some few Times the Images of Gods might be represented upon the Flags: By some it is plac'd also in the Prow (b), but by most Authors of Credit assign'd to the Stern: Thus *Ovid*, (to omit more Instances) in his Epistle of *Paris*, *Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Deos.*

Accipit & pictos puppis adunca Deos.

The Stern with painted Deities richly shines.

Farther, the *tutela*, and *Σελήνη* are frequently distinguish'd in express Words, that being always signify'd by the Image of a God; this usually of some Creature, or feign'd Representation: Hence the same Author (c), *Est mihi, si que, precor, flava tutela Minervæ;*

Navis & a picta casside nomen habet.

Navis & a picta casside nomen habet.

Minervæ is the Goddess I adore,

And may she grant the Blessings I implore;

The Ship's Name a painted Helmet gives.

Where the tutelar Deity was *Minervæ*, the *Σελήνη* an Helmet. In like manner, the Ship, wherein *Europa* was convey'd from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*, had a Bull for its Flag, and *Jupiter* for its tutelar Deity; which gave Occasion to the Fable of her being ravish'd by that God in the Shape of a Bull. It was customary for the Ancients to commit their Ships to the Protection of those Deities, whom they thought most concerned for their Safety, or to whom they bore any sort of Relation, or Affection: Thus we learn from *Euripides* (d), that *Ileus*'s whole Fleet, consisting of sixty Sail, was under the Care of *Minervæ* the Protectress of *Attica*; *Achilles*'s Navy was committed to the *Nereids*, or Sea-nymphs, because of the Relation he had to them on the Account of his Mother *Thetis*, who was one of their Number; and (to mention no more) the *Ægean* Ships had for their tutelar God *Cadmus* represented with a Dragon in his Hand, because he was the Found-

(a) *Laërtius* lib. I. cap. I. *S. ruius*. *Æneid*. V. *Glossæ veteres*. (b) *Procopius* in *Esà* cap. XII. *Cyrillus* in *catena* ad eundem prophetam. (c) *Do Trillibus*. (d) *Iphigenia*.

der of *Thebes*, the principal City in *Boeotia*. Nor were whole Fleets only, but single Ships recommended to certain Deities, which the Ancients usually chose out of the Number of those, who were reputed the Protectors of their Country, or Family, or presided over the Business they were going about; thus Merchants committed themselves, and their Ships to the Care of *Mercury*, Soldiers to *Mars*, and Lovers to *Venus* and *Cupid*; so *Paris* tells his Mistress in *Ovid*,

*Qua tamen ipse vehor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea pilla sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little *Cupid* on my Ship.

On the Prow of the Ship, about the *ἑλμας*, was plac'd a round Piece of Wood called *πρυξίς*, and sometimes *ὀφθαλμός*, the Eye of the Ship, because fix'd in its Fore-deck (a); on this was inscrib'd the Name of the Ship, which was usually taken from the Flag, as appears in the fore-mentioned Passage of *Ovid*, where he tells us his Ship received its Name from the Helmet painted upon it; hence comes the frequent mention of Ships called *Pegasus*, *Seylle*, *Bulls*, *Rams*, *Tigers*, &c. which the Poets took Liberty to represent as living Creatures, that transported their Riders from one Country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other Ground for those known Fictions of *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse of *Bellerophon*, or the Ram, that is reported to have carried *Phryxus* to *Colchus*, with several others, that occur every where in the Poets.

The whole Fabrick being completed, it was fortified with Pitch to secure the Wood from the Waters: whence it comes that *Homer's* Ships are every where mention'd with the Epithet of *μέλαιραι*, or Black. The first that made use of Pitch, were the Inhabitants of *Phaacia* (b), call'd afterwards *Corfica*. Sometimes Wax, was employ'd in the same Use, whence *Ovid* (c)

Cerulea ceratas accipit unda rates.

The azure Sea receives the waxy Ships.

Now and then it was apply'd with a Mixture of Rosin, or other Materials fit for the same Purpose; whence the Colour of Ships was not always the same, and the Epithets ascrib'd to them in the Poets are various.

After all, the Ship being bedeck'd with Garlands, and Flowers, the Mariners also adorn'd with Crowns, she was launch'd into the Sea with loud Acclamations, and other Expressions of Mirth, and

(a) *Pollux*, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius Scholasticus* *Argon.* lib. I. v. 1089 (b) *Strabo* v. *Navexia*. (c) *Epist.* *Senon.* v. 42.

Joy (a); and, being purify'd by a Priest with a lighted Torch, an Egg, and Brimstone (b), or after some other manner, was consecrated to the God, whose Image she bore.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments requir'd in Navigation.

THE Instruments us'd in Navigation were of divers sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of Navigation, or only some Form of it, as that by Sails, by Oars, &c. The Chief of the former sort were as follow:

Ῥῆμα, *gubernaculum*, the Rudder, plac'd in the hindmost Deck, whereby the Pilot directed the Course of the Ship. The smaller sort of Ships had only one Rudder, but those of greater Bulk, as often as Occasion requir'd, had more, insomuch that sometimes we read of four Rudders in one Vessel; The Places of these are uncertain, being perhaps not always the same; but it seems probable, that, when there were only two Rudders, one was fix'd to the Fore-deck, the other to the hindmost; whence we read of *ῆμα ἀμφὶ πρυμνοῖς*, or Ships with two Sterns; when there were four Rudders, one seems to have been fix'd to each Side of the Vessel.

Ἀγκυρα, an Anchor, the first Invention of which some ascribe to the *Tyrrhenians* (c); others to *Midias*, the Son of *Gordius*, whose Anchor, *Pausanias* tells us was preserv'd in one of *Jupiter's* Temples till his Days: Since there were divers sorts of Anchors, it is not improbable that both these may justly lay claim to part of the Invention. The most ancient Anchors are said to have been of Stone (d), and sometimes of Wood, to which a great Quantity of Lead was usually fix'd: In some Places Baskets full of Stones (e), and Sacks fill'd with Sand were employ'd to the same Use: All these were let down by Cords into the Sea, and by their Weight stay'd the Course of the Ship. Afterwards Anchors were compos'd of Iron, and furnish'd with Teeth, which, being fasten'd to the bottom of the Sea, preserv'd the Vessel immoveable; whence *ἄδοντες*, and *dentes* are frequently taken for Anchors in the Greek, and Latin Poets. At first there was only one Tooth, whence Anchors were call'd *ἑντομοί* (f); but in a short Time a second was added by *Eupalamus* (g), or *Anacharsis* the *Scythian* Philosopher (h): The *Scholias*t upon *Apollonius* (i) confidently affirms, that this sort of Anchors was us'd by the *Argonauts*, yet herein he seems to deserve no great Credit,

(a) *Athenaeus* lib. V. (b) *Apuleius* *Afric.* lib. XI. (c) *Plin.* lib. VIII. cap. vii. (d) *Apollonius* *Argonaut.* *Arrianus* in *Periplo Ponti Euxini*. (e) *Josephus*, & *Suidas* v. *ἄγκυρα*. (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Plin.* lib. VII. cap. ult. (h) *Strabo* lib. X. ex *Ephoro*. (i) *Argon.* lib. 12. 71.

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for that he runs contrary to the Testimonies of other Writers, and his own Author *Apollonius* makes mention of none but those of Stone. The Anchors with two Teeth were call'd *ἀμφίβολοι*, or *ἀμφίσομοι*, and from ancient Monuments appear to have been much what the same with those us'd in our Days; only the transverse piece of Wood upon their Handles is wanting in all of them. Every Ship had several Anchors, one of which, surpassing all the rest in Bigness, and Strength, was peculiarly term'd *ἱερόν*, in *Latin sacra*, and was never us'd, but in extreme Danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially apply'd to such as are forc'd to their last Refuge.

Ἐρμα, *δεμίλιος*, *ἔεισμα*, *saburra*, Ballast, wherewith Ships were pois'd, whence it is call'd *ἀσφάλισμά πλοίου*; It was usually of Sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous Matter: *Diomedes*, in his Voyage from *Troy*, is said to have employ'd the Stones of that City's Walls to this Use (a). It is sometimes call'd *κεφάλον*, and *κέφαλον* (b).

Βόλις, call'd by *Herodotus* *καταπειρητήν* (c), by *Lucilius* *catapirantes* (d), was an Instrument, wherewith they sounded the Depth of the Sea, and discover'd whether the Bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of Quick-sands, or other Obstructions. It was commonly of Lead, or Brass, or other ponderous Metal, and let down by a Chain into the Deep (e).

Κορτοί, call'd by *Sophocles* *πλήκλα* (f), in *Latin conti*, long Poles, us'd to sound the Depth of shallower Waters, to thrust the Ship from Rocks and Shelves, and to force her forwards in Fords and Shallows where the Waters had not Strength enough to carry her.

Ἀποβάθραι, *ἐπβάθραι*, or *κλίμακες* were little Bridges, or Stairs joyning the Land to Ships, or one Ship to another.

Ἀντλίον, *ἀντλον*, in *Latin haustrum*, *sollema*, or *collena*, &c. a Swipe, or Engine to draw up Water.

To some of the above-mention'd Instruments certain Ropes were requir'd, and distinguish'd according to their several Uses; as

Πείσματα, *ancoralia*, or *ancorarii*, the Cables, wherewith Anchors were cast into the Sea, call'd sometimes *καμῖλοι* (g), or *καμῖλοι* (h): Whence in the Place of St. *Matthæw*, where *Christ*, speaking of the Difficulty of a rich Man's entering into Heaven, tells his Disciples, it is harder than for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle, *Theophylact*, and some others interpret the Word *καμῖλος*, not of the Animal call'd a Camel, but a Cable (i).

Ρόματα, *ὄλκοι*, or *σπείρας*, *paroscones*, *remulci*, Ropes, by which Ships were tow'd.

Ἀπόγεια, *ἐπίγεια*, *πείσματα*, *πρυμνήσια*, *retinacula*, Cords, wherewith Ships were ty'd to the Shoar. In most Harbours Stones were erected for this purpose, being bor'd thro' like Rings, and thence call'd *δακτύλιοι*, to these the Cords, cast out of the Stern, were bound: This Custom was always observ'd; when Ships came

(a) *Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 618.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Euterpe.* (d) *Lib XIX. cap. IV.* (e) *Glossæ in Act. apost. cap. XXVII.* (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Ar. Rophaia S. scholastes.* (h) *Phavorinus.* (i) *Matthæi Evangel. cap. XIX.*

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into Port; and therefore, when they put to Sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their Cords; Instances of this are every where frequent, but I shall only give you one out of *Ovid* (a), who speaks thus of *Aeneas's* Followers,

*Aeneadae gaudent, caesoque in litoris tauro,
Torræ coronatæ solvunt retinacula navis.*

(A Bull the joyful Trojans sacrific'd
Upon the Shoar, then loos'd the Rope that ty'd
The Ship all crown'd with Garlands.——

The End of doing this was, that the Ships might be secur'd from the Violence of the Winds, and Waves; for which Reason, in those commodious Harbours, that lay not expos'd to them, Ships remain'd loose, and untty'd; whence *Homer* (b),

Εν δὲ λιμνῷ εὐορμος, ἵν' ἔχρ' αὖ πείσματός ἐστιν.

So still the Port, there was no need of Ropes.

I proceed to the Instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of Navigation; where I shall first treat of those requir'd in Rowing, which were as follow:

Κῆραι, *remi*, Oars, so call'd from one *Copas*, by whom 'tis said they were first invented. *Πάτρη*, in Latin *palmula*, or *Tonsa*, was the Blade, or broad Part of the Oar; which was usually cover'd with Brass, that it might with greater Strength and Force repel the Waves, and endure the longer. There were several Banks of Oars plac'd gradually above one another; the Oars of the lowest Bank were shorter than the rest, and call'd *θαλάμια*, or *thalassidia*: Those of the middle Banks were term'd *ζυγία*: Those of the uppermost *θραυτιναί*, and *θραυτινίδες*, and were the longest, being at the greatest Distance from the Water; wherefore, that the Rowers might be the better able to wield, and manage them, it was customary to put Lead upon their Handles (c), lest the Bottom should out-poise the Top.

Σκαλμοί were round pieces of Wood, whereon the Rowers hung their Oars, when they rested from their Labours: Hence *ναὺς τρισκαλμος*, i. e. a Ship with three Rows of *scalmi*, or a Trireme.

Τέτραι, *τροπῶντες*, *strophæ*, or *strappi*, were leathern Thongs (d), wherewith the Oars were hung upon the *scalmi*; those also, with which the Rudder was bound. Leather, and Skins of Beasts were apply'd also to several other Uses; as to cover the *scalmi*, and the Holes, thro' which the Oars were put forth, to preserve them from being worn (e). There were Skins under the Rowers, call'd *ὕπνη*.

(a) *Metam.* lib. XV. v. 695. (b) *Odys.* l. v. 136. Vide Annotationes nostras in *Lycophronis Cassand.* v. 20. (c) *Athenæus* lib. V. (d) *Etymologicæ* Auctor: *Homeri Scholiast.* *Odys.* f. (e) *Suidas* v. *ὑπὸ* *πῆ*.

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ῥεῖσια, and sometimes ὑπαγκώνια, or ὑποπύγια ἤ ῥεῖσσι, from saving the Elbows, or Breeches of the Rowers.

Ἐδάλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, in Latin, *transira*, and *juga*, were the Seats of the Rowers.

The Instruments us'd in Sailing were as follow :

Ἰσία, φάσωνες, ἀρμυρία, *vela*, Sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by *Dadalus*, and to have given Original to the Fable of his using Wings: Others refer this Invention to *Icarus*, making *Dadalus* the Contriver of Masts and Sail-yards (a): At first, there was only one Sail in a Ship, but afterwards a greater Number was found convenient, the Names of which were these:

Ἀρτέμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the Top-sail, which hung on the Top of the Mast.

Ἀλάτια, the great Sails (b).

Δόλων, the Trinket, or small Sail in the Fore-deck (c): Others make ἀνάτιον, and δόλων the same.

Ἐπίδεσμος, the Misen-sail, which was larger than the former, and hung in the Hind-deck (d).

Sails were commonly of Linen, sometimes of any other Materials fit for receiving, and repelling the Winds: In *Dio* (e) we have mention of leathern Sails; it was likewise usual for want of other Sails to hang up their Garments; whence came the Fable of *Hercules*, who is feign'd to have sail'd with the Back of a *Lyon*, because he us'd no other Sail, but his Garment, which was a *Lyon's Skin* (f).

Κεραῖαι, κέρατα, *antenna*, the Sail-yards, pieces of Wood fix'd upon the Mast, to which the Sails were ty'd (g): The Name signifies an *Horn*, whence its Extremities are call'd ἀκροκέρατα, its Arms inclining to an orbicular Figure are term'd ἀγκύλαι. The Latin Poet hath us'd *cornua* in the same Sense (h),

— *Veloque superba capaci*
Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, & cornibus omnes
Colligeret flatus. —

Other Parts it had close to the Mast call'd ἀμβολα, and σμβολα, being those, by which it was mov'd.

Ἰσός, *malus*, the Mast. Every Ship had several Masts, but we are told by *Aristotle*, that at first there was only one Mast, which being fix'd in the Middle of the Ship, the Hole, into which the Foot of it was inserted, was nam'd μεσόδμη (i), in Latin *modius*. When they landed, the Mast was taken down, as appears every where in *Homer*, and plac'd on a Thing call'd ἰσοδόκη, which, according to *Suidas*, was a Case, wherein the Mast was reposit; but *Eustathius* will have it to be nothing, but a piece of Wood, against which it was rear'd. The Parts of the Mast were these: Πτέρη, or the Foot. Ἀνός, or, according to *Arbenezus*, λινός, or τεύχληθ, to which the Sail

(a) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. LVI.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Suidas v. δόλων, Isidorus.* (d) *Hesychius, Isidorus.* (e) *Lib. XXXIX.* (f) *Servius Æn. VIII.* (g) *Homeri Scholiastes Iliad. c.* (h) *Silius Italicus lib. XIV.* (i) *Homeri Scholiastes Odysf. c.*

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was fix'd. Καρχήσιον, the Pulley, by which the Ropes were turn'd round. Θωρηκίον, built in the manner of a Turret, for Soldiers to stand upon, and cast Darts: Above this was a piece of Wood call'd ἱκέλον, the Extremity of which was term'd ἡλακάρη, on which hung a Ribband call'd, from its continual Motion, ἐπισείων, turning round with the Wind.

The Names of the Ropes requir'd to the Use of the above-mention'd Parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by Scheffer:

Ἐπίτοιοι were the Ropes call'd in *Latin* *anquina*, wherewith the Sail-yards were bound to the Main-Mast (a): Others will have them to be the same with the *Latin* *rudentes*, which were those that govern'd the Sail-yards, so as one Part of the Sails might be hois'd, the other lower'd (b), according to the Pleasure of the Pilot. Others will have the Cord, wherewith the Sail-yards were ty'd to the Mast, to be term'd κάλων, *ceruchus*, *anchonis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were contracted, or dilated ὑπέρει (c), in *Latin* *opifera* (d).

Πόδες, in *Latin* *pedes*, were Cords at the Corners of the Sails (e), whereby they were manag'd as Occasion requir'd. Πρόποδες were small Cords below the *pedes*, which were so contriv'd, as to be loos'd, and contracted by them: The Use of both these was in taking the Winds, for by them the Sails were contracted, dilated, or chang'd from one Side to another, as there was Occasion.

Μεσσελαί were those, whereby the Mast was erected, or let down (f); others will have them to belong to the Sails.

Πρότοιοι were Cords, which, passing thro' a Pulley at the Top of the Mast, were ty'd on one Side to the Prow, on the other to the Stern, to keep the Mast fix'd and immoveable.

The Materials, of which these and other Cords were compos'd, were at first seldom any thing, but leathern Thongs; afterwards they us'd Hemp, Flax, Broom, Palm-leaves, Philyry, the Bark of Trees, as the Cherry, Teil-tree, Vine, Maple, Carpine, &c.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto deliver'd concerning the Parts and Construction of Ships, has been spoken in general without Respect to any particular sort of them; it remains therefore, that in the next Place I give you a brief Account of what was farther necessary to equip a Man of War.

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, was a Beak of Wood, fortify'd with Brass, whence it is call'd χαλκωμα νεῶν in *Diodorus* (g), and Ships have

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Phavorinus*. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Isidorus*. (e) *Aristophan's* *Schol. Equ. 1. Act. 1. Scen. 1.* *Apollonii Scholiastes*. *Vide meum.* & *Miursi* comment, in *Lycophronis* *Cassandr.* v. 1019. (f) *Apollonii Scholiastes*, (g) *Lib. XX.*

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sometimes the Epithet of χαλκέμπολοι: One, or more of these was always fasten'd to the Prow to annoy the Enemy's Ships, and the whole Prow was sometimes cover'd with Brass to guard it from Rocks and Assaults. The Person that first us'd these Beaks is said to have been one *Piscus* an *Italian* (a); for it will not be allow'd that the primitive *Greeks* had any Knowledge of them, since no such Thing is mention'd in *Homer*, which could scarce have happen'd, had they been invented at the Time of the *Trojan War*: Yet *Æschylus* (b) gives *Nestor's Ship* the Epithet of δεικέμπολον, or arm'd with ten Beaks, and *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* speaks of Brazen Beaks,

Μή μοι χαλκέμπολον
Πρύμνας ἄδ' Αὐλῆς δεξιάς
Τύσδ' εἰς ὄρμης. —

O! that these Ships with brazen Beaks
Had never enter'd *Aulis* Ports.

But it may justly be question'd, whether these Poets do not take their Description from the Practice of their own Times, a Thing frequent enough with Men of that Profession. These Beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and plac'd so low as to pierce the Enemy's Ships under Water; this was an Invention of one *Aristo* a *Corimbian*, who communicated it to the *Syracusians* in their War with the *Athenians*, against whom it prov'd a considerable Advantage, for by these new Beaks several of the *Athenian* Men of War were overturn'd, or torn in Pieces at the first Shock (c). Above the Beak was another Instrument call'd περιμπολῖς, and it appears from ancient Medals, that the Beaks themselves were usually adorn'd with various Figures of Animals, &c.

Ἐπωτίδες were pieces of Wood plac'd on each side of the Prow (d) to guard it from the Enemy's Beaks: Because Prows are usually compar'd to Faces, these were thought to resemble *Ears*, whence their Name seems to have been deriv'd: For those are mistaken, that would have them belong to the Hind-deck (e).

Καταστώματα, σανιδώματα, or Hatches, sometimes call'd καταφράγματα, whence we meet with νῆες πεφρασμέναι, κατάρρακτοι, and κείε, cover'd Ships, or Men of War; which are frequently oppos'd to Ships of Passage, or Burden, which were ἀφρακτοι, and ἀρετα, uncover'd, or without Hatches: This Covering was of Wood, and erected on purpose for the Soldiers; that they, standing as it were upon an Eminence, might level their missive Weapons with greater Force and Certainty against their Enemies. In the primitive Ages, particularly about the Time of the *Trojan War*, we are told by *Thucydides*, that the Soldiers us'd only to fight upon the foremost, and hindermost Decks (f), and therefore whenever we find *Homer*

(a) *Plin.* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (b) *Mugurdion.* (c) *Diodorus Siculus.* lib. XIII. editis *Schæsthes* lib. VII. (e) *Etymologicæ* Auctor. (f) *Lib. I.*

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speak of *ἱκέτα νῆος*, which his *Scholiasts* interpret Hatches, we are only to understand him of these Parts, which alone us'd to be cover'd in those Days. Thus he tells us of *Ajax* defending the *Grecian* Ships against the Attack of the *Trojans* (a),

— νηὼν ἱκέτ' ἐπ' ὄχετο μακρὰ βίβ' ἀδαν.

He march'd upon the Hatches with long Strides.

And of *Ulysses* preparing himself for the Encounter with *Scylla* he speaks thus (b),

— εἰς ἱκέτα νῆος ἔβηνε

Πρώτης.

Upon the Hatches of the foremost Deck

He went.

The other Parts of the Ship are said to have been first cover'd by the *Thasians* (c).

Beside the Coverings of Ships already mention'd, and call'd *καταφεύγματα*, there were other Coverings to guard the Soldiers from their Enemies, call'd *ἀσπιδόματα*, *ἀσπιδόματα*, *ἀσπιδόματα*, *ἀσπιδόματα*, in Latin *plutei*, and sometimes *propugnacula*: These were commonly Hides, or such like Materials, hung on both sides of the Ship, as well to hinder the Waves from falling into it, as to receive the Darts cast from the adverse Ships, that under these, as Walls on both sides, the Soldiers might without Danger annoy their Enemies.

Δελφίν, a certain Machine, which, being usually a Part of these Ships, cannot be omitted in this Place: It was a vast and massy piece of Lead, or Iron, cast into the Form of a *Dolphin*, and hung with Cords and Pulleys to the Sail-yards, or Mast, which, being thrown with great Violence into the adverse Ships, either penetrated them, and so open'd a Passage for the rising Floods, or by its Weight and Force sunk them to the Bottom of the Sea (d).

Another Difference betwixt Men of War and other Ships was, that the former commonly had an *Helmet* engraven on the Top of their Masts (e).

(a) *Iiad.* 6. (b) *Odys.* μ'. (c) *Plin.* lib. VII cap. LVII. (d) *Aristophanis Scholiastes*, *Suidas*. (e) *Gyrardus de Navigat.* cap. XII.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Mariners, and Soldiers.

WE are told by *Thucydides*, that amongst the Ancients there were no different Ranks of Sea-men, but the same Persons were employ'd in those Duties, which were in later Ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several Names of Rowers, Mariners, and Soldiers; whereas at first all these were the same Men, who laid down their Arms to labour at the Oar, and perform what was farther necessary to the Government of their Ships, but, as oft as Occasion requir'd, resum'd them to assault their Enemies: This appears every where in *Homer*, out of whom I shall observe this one Instance,

ἐρέται δ' ἐν ἑκάστῃ πεντήκοντα
 ἑμβέβασαν πῶλον εὐ εἰδότες.

Each Ship had fifty Rowers, that were skill'd
 Well in the shooting Art.

These were term'd *αὐτερέται* (a). This was the Practice of those Times, wherein no great Care was taken, no extraordinary Preparations made for equipping Men of War, but the same Vessels were thought sufficient for Transportation and Fight: Afterwards, when the Art of Naval War began to be improv'd, it was presently understood, that any one of the fore-mention'd Occupations was enough to require the whole Time, and Application of the Persons employ'd therein; whence it became customary to furnish their Ships of War with the three following sorts of Men:

Ερέται, *κωπηλάται*, call'd by *Polybius* (b) *οἱ ὑπάρχοντες*, and by the same Author (c), with *Xenophon* (d) *τὰ πληρώματα*, tho' we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Thucydides*, that this is a Name of very large Extent, comprehending not only those that row'd, but all other Persons in the Ship, and sometimes apply'd to any Thing else contain'd therein. When Ships had several Banks of Oars, the uppermost Rowers were call'd *δρανῖται*, and their Bank *δράνος* (e): The lowest *θαλάμιοι*, *θαλαμίται*, and *θαλάμιας*, and their Bank *θάλαμος*: Those in the Middle *ζυγῖται*, and *μεσοζύγιοι*, and all their Banks, how many soever in Number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a distinct Oar, for except in Cases of Necessity one Oar was never manag'd by above one Person, as *Scheffer* hath prov'd at large; Yet their

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* lib. I. cap. IX. *Thucydides*. (b) *Histor.* lib. X. (c) *Lib.* I. (d) *Histor.* lib. I. (e) *Pollux*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes*, *Suidas*, *Etymologicæ* *Auctor*.

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Labour, and Pay were not the same: for such as were plac'd in the uppermost Banks, by reason of their Distance from the Water, and the Length of their Oars, underwent more Toil and Labour, than those in the inferior Banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater Wages. The Rowers in Ships of Burden were call'd *σεργυλοναῦται* (a), those in Triremes *τεμάρται*, and the rest seem to have had different Appellations from the Names of the Ships they labour'd in. Those, that were foremost in their respective Banks, and sat nearest the Prow, were call'd *πρόκωροι*; and, on the other side, those, who were plac'd next the Stern, were term'd *ἐπίκωροι*, as being behind their Fellows. Their Work was esteem'd one of the worst and most wretched Drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious Malefactors were frequently condemn'd to it; For, beside their incessant Toil in Rowing, their very Rest was uneasy, there being no Place to repose their weary'd Bodies, beside the Seats, whereon they had labour'd all the Day; therefore, whenever the Poets speak of their ceasing from Labour, there is mention of their lying down upon them; Thus *Seneca* (b),

— *credita est vento ratis,*
Fususque transtris miles. —

Unto the Wind the Ship was left,
The Soldiers lay along the Seats,

To the same purpose *Virgil* (c),

— *placida laxarant membra quieto*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nauta.

And now along their Seats the Rowers laid
Had eas'd their weary'd Limbs with Sleep.

The rest of the Ship's Crew usually took their Rest in the same manner, only the Masters (d), or Persons of Quality were permitted to have Cloaths spread under them; so we read of *Ulysses* in *Homer* (e),

Καὶ δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ῥέεσσαν ῥινός τε, λίνοντα
ἦνδ' ἐπ' ἱκεῖσιν γλαφυρῆς (ἵνα νήγρετο εὖδῃ)
Ἰρόμυτος, αὖ δ' αὖτὸς ἐκίστατο, κατέλειπε
ῥινόν.

But Cloaths the Men for great *Ulysses* spread,
And plac'd an easy Pillow for his Head,
On these he undisturb'd securely slept,
Lying upon the Stern, —

(a) Pollux lib. VII. (b) *Agamemnon* v. 437. (c) *Aeneid*, V, v. 836. (d) *Theophrastus* ἀπὸ ἀνδρὶνδρῶν. (e) *Odyss.* 9, v. 74.

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Such, as would not be contented with this Provision, were look'd upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the Toil and Hardships of War; which Censure the Athenians pass'd upon Alcibiades, because he had a Bed hung on Cords, as we read in *Plutarch* (a).

Naῦται, Mariners, were exempt from drudging at the Oar; but perform'd all other Duties in the Ship; to which end, that all Things might be carry'd on without Tumult and Confusion, every one had his proper Office, as appears from *Apollonius*, and *Flaccus's Argonauticks*, where one is employ'd in rearing the Mast, another in fitting the Sail-yards, a third in hoisting the Sails, and the rest are bestow'd up and down the Ship, every one in his proper Place: Hence they had different Titles, as from *ἀνέμοι*, Sails, the Persons appointed to govern them were call'd *ἀνέμοισαι*; those that climb'd up the Ropes to descry distant Countries, or Ships, were term'd *γωνοκάται*, and the rest in like manner: There were a sort of Men inferior to the former, and call'd *ὑποναῦται*, who were not confin'd to any certain Place, or Duty, but were ready on all Occasions to attend on the rest of the Sea-men, and supply them with whatever they wanted (b). The whole Ship's Crew were usually wicked and profligate Fellows, without any Sense of Religion or Humanity, and therefore reckon'd by *Juvenal* (c) amongst the vilest Rogues,

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitiis,*

You'll surely find his Company, some Tarrs,
Cut-throats, or roguish Vagabonds.

The Soldiers that serv'd at Sea, were in Latin term'd *classarii*, in Greek *ἐμκάται*, either because they did *ἐμκαίενται*, ascend into Ships; or *ἐμκαίενται*, from ascending the Hatches, where they fought. They were arm'd after the same manner with those design'd for Land-service, only there seems always to have been a greater Number of heavy-arm'd Men than was thought necessary by Land; for we find in *Plutarch* (d), that of eighteen Men employ'd to fight upon the Hatches in every one of *Themistocles's* Ships, only four were light-arm'd: Indeed it highly import'd them to fortify themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no Possibility of retiring, or changing Places, but every Man was oblig'd to fight Hand to Hand, and maintain his Ground till the Battle was ended; wherefore their whole Armour, tho' in Form usually the same with that employ'd in Land-service, yet exceeded it in Strength and Firmness. Beside this we find also some few Instruments of War never us'd on Land, the principal of which are these that follow:

(a) *Alcibiade*. (b) *Caelius Rhodiginus* lib. XXV. cap. XL. (c) *Satir. VIII.*
(d) *Themistocle*.

Δεσπαρα ναύμαχα (a), Spears of an unusual Length, sometimes exceeding twenty Cubits, whence they are call'd in *Livy* (b) *baste longa*, and by *Homer* *ἑυσεὰ ναύμαχα*, and *μακρὰ* (c);

Οἱ δὲ νῆων ὑφ' ἡμετέρων ἐπὶ πάντας
Μακροῖσι ἑυσεῖσι, τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκαστο
Ναύμαχα, καλῆεντα.

With Spears, that in the Vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the Enemy give way,
Long Spears, for Sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of several Pieces.

Again in another Place (d),

Ναῦρα δὲ ἑυσεὶ μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παλαιοῖσι
Κολαντὸν βλήτροισι, δυνάμει κοσίπηχυν.

A Spear with Nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty Cubits long,
He brandish'd.

Δεσπαραν (e), call'd by *Appian* *δορυδεσπαραν*, by *Diodorus* (f) *δεσπαρανήφορος κρηαία*, was an Engine of Iron, crooked like a Sicke (g), and fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the Cords of the Sail-yards, and thereby letting the Sails fall down, disabled the light Ships. Not unlike this was another Instrument, arm'd at the end with a broad Iron Head edg'd on both Sides, wherewith they us'd to cut the Cords that ty'd the Rudder to the Ship.

Κρηαία (h) were Engines to cast Stones into the Enemies Ships.

We find another Engine mention'd by *Vegetius*, which hung upon the main Mast, and resembled a Battering Ram: for it consisted of a long Beam, and an Head of Iron, and was with great Violence push'd against the Sides of adverse Ships.

Χεῖρ σιδερεῖα, in *Latin*, *manus ferrea*, was a Grappling-Iron, which they cast out of an Engine into the Enemies Ship: It is said to have been first us'd in Greece by *Pericles* the Athenian (i), at Rome by *Quintus* (k). Different from these were the *δεσπαγες*, *barpagines*, said to be invented by *Anacharsis* (l) the Scythian Philosopher; which, as *Scheffer* collects out of *Athenaus*, were Hooks of Iron hanging on the Top of a Pole, which, being secur'd with Chains to the Mast, or some other lofty Part of the Ship, and then cast with great Force into the Enemies Vessel, caught it up into the Air. The Means us'd to defeat these Engines, was to cover their

(a) *Herodotus*. (b) *Histor. lib. XXVIII. cap. XLV.* (c) *Ilad. lib. vi. 387.*
(d) *Ilad. lib. vi. 577.* (e) *Pollux.* (f) *lib. XXII.* (g) *Vegetius lib. IV. cap. ult.*
(h) *Diodorus Siculus lib. XII. Athenaus.* (i) *Plin. lib. VII. c. LXXI.* (k) *Julius Frontinus lib. II. cap. III.* (l) *Plin. lib. VII. cap. LVI.*

Ships with Hides, which cast off, or blunted the Stroke of the Iron (a).

The Dominion of the Seas was not confin'd to any one of the Grecian States; they were continually contending for Empire, and by various Turns of Fortune sometimes possess'd, and again in a few Months or Years, were disposs'd of it: The Persons that enjoy'd it longest, and maintain'd it with the greatest Fleet after Greece had arriv'd to the Height of its Glory, were the *Athenians*, who first began seriously to apply themselves to naval Affairs about the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion: The first that engag'd them in this Enterprize was *Themistocles*, who, considering their Inability to oppose the *Persians* by Land, and the Commodiousness of their Situation for Naval Affairs, interpreted the Oracle that advis'd to defend themselves within Walls of Wood to this purpose, and prevail'd upon them to convert their whole Time and Treasure to the building and fitting out a Fleet. The Money employ'd on this Design, was the Revenue of the Silver-mines at *Laureotis*, which had formerly been distributed amongst the People, who by *Themistocles's* Persuasion, were induc'd to part with their Income, that Provision might be made for the publick Security: With this an hundred Triremes were rigg'd out against *Xerxes's* numerous Fleet, over which by the Assistance of their Allies, they obtain'd an entire Victory. Afterwards the Number of their Ships was encreas'd by the Management of *Lycurgus* the Orator, to four Hundred (b); and we are told by *Isocrates* (c), that the *Athenian* Navy consisted of twice as many Ships, as all the rest of the *Grecians* were Masters of: It was made up of two Parts, one being furnish'd out by the *Athenians* themselves, the other by their Confederates.

The Fleet equip'd at *Athens*, was maintain'd after the manner prescrib'd by *Themistocles* till the Time of *Demosthenes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, restor'd to them their antient Revenues, and devis'd a new Method to procure Money for the Payment of Sea-men, and the Construction of new Men of War: This he effected by dividing the richer sort of Citizens into *συμμοχιαί*, or Companies, which were oblig'd, according to their several Abilities, to contribute largely out of their own Substance; and in Times of Necessity it was frequent for Men of Estates to rigg out Ships at their own Expence, over and above what was requir'd of them, there being a generous Contention between the leading Men in that Common-wealth, which should out-do the rest in serving his Country.

The remaining Part of the Fleet was compos'd of Allies; for the *Athenians*, understanding how necessary it was to their Affairs to maintain their Dominion of the Seas, would enter into no Leagues or Confederacies with any of their Neighbours, but such as engag'd themselves to augment their Navy with a Proportion of Ships; which became a double Advantage to the *Athenians*, whose Fleet was strengthen'd by such Accessions, whilst their Allies were held in

(a) *Thucydides* lib. VIII. *Pollux*. (b) *Plutarchus*. (c) *Panegyrica*.

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Obedience, as it were, by so many Hostages, all which upon any Revolt must needs fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*: Those States that were remote from Sea, or unable to fit out Vessels of War, were oblig'd to send their Proportion in Money (a). These Customs were first brought up after the second *Persian War*, when it was agreed by the common Consent of all the *Grecians*; that they should retaliate the Injuries receiv'd from the *Barbarians*, by carrying the War into their own Country, and invading them with the whole Strength of *Greece*, under the Conduct of the *Athenians*, who had at that Time rais'd themselves a very high Reputation by their mighty naval Preparations, and the singular Courage, Wisdom and Humanity of their two Generals, *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Afterwards, being grown great in Power, and aiming at nothing less than the Sovereignty of all *Greece*, they won some by Favours, and specious Pretences, others by Force of Arms to comply with their Desires; for their manner of treating the Cities they conquer'd, was to oblige them either to furnish Money, paying what Tribute they exacted, or to supply them with Vessels of War, as *Thucydides* reports of the *Chians*, when subdu'd by the *Athenians* (b); *Xenophon* also (c), and *Diodorus* (d) mention the same Custom; Thus by one means or other, the greatest Part of the *Grecian* Cities were drawn in to augment the *Athenian* Greatness.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

There were two sorts of Officers in all Fleets, one govern'd the Ships and Mariners; the other were entrusted with the Command of the Soldiers, but had likewise Power over the Ship-masters, and their Crew; these were,

Στόλαρχος, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός, praefectus classis, the Admiral, whose Commission was different according to the Exigency of Times and Circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in Conjunction with other Persons, as happen'd to *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, who were sent with equal Power to command the *Athenian* Fleet in *Sicily*: Their Time of Continuance in Command was likewise limited by the People, and, as they pleas'd, prolong'd, or shorten'd. We read of *Epaminondas* (e), that finding his Country like to be brought into great Danger upon the Resignation of his Office, he held it four Months longer than he was commission'd to do, in which Time he put a new Face upon the *Theban* Affairs, and by his wise Management dispell'd the Fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily laid down his Power,

(a) *Xenophon* *Hist. Græc. lib. VI.* (b) *Lib. VII.* (c) *Hist. lib. I.* (d) *Lib. XIII.* & alibi in locis. (e) *Cornelius Nepos* in *Epaminonda*.

but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was call'd to account for holding it so long, and narrowly escap'd being condemn'd to Death; for it was fear'd that such a President might some Time or other be a Pretence to ambitious Spirits, having so great Power entrusted in their Hands, to enslave the Commonwealth. The same reason seems to have been the Cause of the *Lacedæmonian* Law, whereby it was forbidden, that any Person should be Admiral above once (a), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forc'd to commit their Fleet to raw and unexperient'd Commanders.

Επιστάτης (b), sometimes call'd *ὀπισθολαβάρχης*, was Vice-admiral, or Commander in chief under the Admiral.

Τεχνάρχος, Captain of a Trireme, who commanded all the other Soldiers therein. The Captains of other Men of War were dignify'd with Titles taken from the Vessels they commanded, as *πεντηκόντορες*, &c.

The Officers, that had Care of the Ships, were the following:

Ἀρχικυβερνήται, those, who were entrusted with the Care and Management of all marine Affairs, to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Course of the Fleet, and order all other Things concerning it, except those which related to War.

Κυβερνήτης, the Master, or Pilot had the Care of the Ship, and Government of the Sea-men therein, and sat at the Stern to steer: All Things were manag'd according to his Direction, 'twas therefore necessary that he should have obtain'd an exact Knowledge of the Art of Navigation, which was call'd *κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη*, and chiefly consisted in these three Things: 1. In the right Management of the Rudder, Sails, and all the Engines us'd in Navigation. 2. In the Knowledge of the Winds and celestial Bodies, their Motions and Influences. 3. In the Knowledge of commodious Harbours, of Rocks, Quicklands, and other Occurrences on the Sea: All these *Acetes* in *Quid* tells us he furnish'd himself with, in order to become an accomplish'd Pilot (c),

*Mox ego, ne scopulis bererem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; & Oleniæ sidus pluviale capella,
Taygetemque, Hyadaeque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & portus puppibus aptos.*

Left struck against a Rock, I there shou'd stay,
Of Steering well I learnt the useful Way,
Observ'd the *Arctos*, and the *Hyads* too,
The Stars that round *Taygetes* glitt'ring shew,
Have mark'd th' *Olenian* Goat that Rain portends,
And how a noisy Wind each Quarter sends,

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lysandro*, *Xenophon* *Histor.* lib. II. (b) *Xenophon* *Histor.* lib. II. & *V. Pollux* lib. I. cap. IX. (c) *Metamorphos.* lib. III. in *Fab. Bacchi.*

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I learn'd the safest Ports, and best Retreats
For tatter'd Vessels.

E. D.

As to the heavenly Bodies, they were observ'd by Sailors upon a two-fold Account, being of use to them in prognosticating the Seasons, and Guides which way to shape their Course. The principal of those us'd in foretelling, were *Arcturus*, the *Dog-star*, *Ara*, *Orion*, *Hyades*, *Hædi*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*, &c. It was likewise customary to take notice of various Omens offer'd by Sea-fowls, Fishes, and divers other Things, as the Murmuring of the Floods, the shaking, and buzzing Noise of Trees in the neighbouring Woods, the dashing of the Billows against the Shoar, and many more, in all which good Pilots were nicely skill'd. As to the Direction in their Voyage, the first Practitioners in the Art of Navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial Motions, steer'd all the Day by the Course of the Sun, at Night betaking themselves to some safe Harbour, or resting on the Shoar, and not daring to adventure to Sea till their Guide was risen to discover their Way: That this was their constant Custom may be observ'd from the ancient Descriptions of those Times, whereof I shall only observe this Instance (a),

*Sol ruit interea, & montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optatæ gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos sopor irrigat artus..*

The hast'ning Sun had reach'd his wat'ry Bed,
And Night the gloomy Mountains had o'erspread,
When, Lots resolving who shou'd Rowers be,
Upon the Shore we lie just by the Sea,
With Sleep our drooping Eyes we quickly close,
And give our weary'd Bodies sweet Repose.

E. D.

Afterwards, the *Phœnicians*, whom some will have to be the first Inventors of Navigation, discover'd the Motions of some other Stars, as may be observ'd in *Pliny* (b), and *Propertius* (c),

*Quæritis & cælo Phœnicam inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

led by the Art,
The wise *Phœnicians* found, and did impart,
You mind what Stars are Signs of Good, or Harm.

The *Phœnicians* we find to have been directed by *Cynosura*, or the lesser *Bear-star* (d), which was first observ'd (as some are of opinion)

(a) *Virg. Aneid.* III. v. 508. (b) *Lib.* VII. (c) *Lib.* II. v. 590. (d) *Eustathius Iliad.* d. *Arrianus Exped.* lib. VI.

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by *Thales the Milesian*, who was originally a *Phœnician* (a); where-
as the Mariners of *Greece*, as well as other Nations, steer'd by the
greater Bear, call'd *Helice*; whence *Aratus*,

Ελίκη γὰρ ἔσ' ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιοῖ
Εἰν' ἀλὶ τεκμαίρονται ἵνα χερὶ νῆας ἀγινῶν.

Helice always is the *Grecians* Guide,
When e'er they take a Voyage. —

For the first Observation of this they were oblig'd to *Nauplius*, if
we may believe *Theon*, or, according to the Report of *Flaccus* (b),
to *Tiphys*, the Pilot of the famous Ship *Argo*. But of these two, we
are told by *Theon*, the former was the securer Guide, and therefore
was follow'd by the *Phœnicians*, who for Skill in marine Affairs out-
strip'd not only all the rest of the World, but even the *Grecians*
themselves.

Πρωεὺς, or *πρωεὶς*, was next under the Master, and had his
Place in the Head of the Ship, as his Name imports. To his Care
was committed the Tackling of the Ship (c), and the Rowers,
who had their Places assign'd by him, as appears of *Phœax*, who per-
form'd this Office in *Theseus's* Ships (d). We find him every where
assisting the Master at Consultations concerning the Seasons, Places,
and other Things (e).

Κελευστής, *portifculus*, *ageator*, or *hortator remigum*, is by some in-
terpreted the Boat-swain; his Office was to signify the Word of Com-
mand to the Rowers (f), and to distribute to all the Crew their dai-
ly Portion of Food (g).

Τεινεαύλης, was a Musician, who by the Harmony of his Voice
and Instrument, rais'd the Spirits of the Rowers, when weary with
Labour (h), and ready to faint, as we read in *Stratius* (i);

Acclivis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantosque jubet nescire labores.

Against the Mast the tuneful *Orpheus* stands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The Thought of Toil away. —

Another, it may be the chief, Use of this Musick was to direct the
Rowers, that they, keeping Time therewith, might proceed in a
regular and constant Motion, lest by an uncertain Impulse of their
Oars the Course of the Ship should be retarded (k): Hence *Flaccus*
in his *Argonautics*;

(a) *Hyginus* lib. II. Poet. Astron. *Eustathius* II. s. *Theon*, in *Aratum*, (b)
Argon. l. 1. (c) *Xenophon* Admin. dom. lib. V. (d) *Athenæus* lib. XV. (e) *Su-*
das, *Plutarchus* *Agide*, *Xenophon* Administ. dom. lib. V. *Pollux.* (f) *Avia-*
nus Exped. Alex. lib. VI. (g) *Stridas.* (h) *Senforinus* cap. XII. (i) *Thebald.*
V. v. 343. (k) *Maximus Tyrinus* Dissert. XXIII.

— — — carmine tonsas
Ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.

His Notes direct how ev'ry Oar shou'd strike,
How they shou'd Order keep. —

Silius also speaks to the same purpose (a);

— — — — — medix stat margine puppis,
Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,
Et remis difket sonitum, pariterque relatis
Ad numerum plaudat resonantia cœcula tonsis.

One ready stands to sing a charming Song
Unto the Sea-men as they Row along,
Whose lively Strains a constant Movement keep,
And shew when ev'ry Oar shou'd brush the Deep,
Who, as the beaten Water fill resounds,
Applauds their Labour with his Voice. —

E. D.

This Musick was call'd νύλαρος (b), or τὸ τεμεικνὸν μέλῳ (b).
Δίοποι, ναυφύλακες, custodes navis, were oblig'd to take care that
the Ship receiv'd no Damage by bulging upon Rocks, or other ways
(c); whence, in the Night especially, we find them employ'd in
founding, and directing the Ship with long Poles;

Ὡς ναυφύλακες νυκτέρῃ ναυκληρίας
Πλήκτροις ἀπειδυμένῃν κελὶν τρώειν (d).

As those who in the Night-time mind the Ship,
Direct and guide it with long Poles. —

Τοίχαρχοι, were either those who had the charge of the τοῖχοι
τῆς νηὸς, or Sides of the Ship, according to Turnebus (e); or of the
τοῖχοι, or σοῖχοι, τῶν ἑρετῶν, i. e. the Banks of Rowers.

Several other Names of Officers occur in Authors; as Ταμίαι,
who distributed to every Man his Share of Victuals, being usually
the same with the κελύσεις, but sometimes, it may be, distinct
from him. Homer mentions this Officer (f);

Καὶ ταμίαι παρὰ νηυσὶν ἕσαν οἵ τοι οὖδ' ὀϊστῆρες.

And Officers embark'd, whose Care it was
To give each Man his Victuals: —

(a) Lib. VI. v. 351. (b) Aristophanes, ejusque Scholia Ran. Act. II. Sc. V. Por-
lux. (c) Ulpian. lib. LIII. cap. VI. & VII. Pollux lib. VH. cap. XXXI. Esch-
thius Alad. C. (d) Sophocles Αχαιῶν συλλογ. (e) Advers. lib. XXVIII. cap.
XLIII. (f) Iliad. 9.

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Εχαρπύς (a) was a Person, whose Business lay *πρὸς τὸ ἐχάρειν*, about the Fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the Cook; by others the Priest, who offer'd Sacrifices.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the Bursar, who kept the Accounts, and registred all the Receipts and Expences of the Ship.

C H A P. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it is was design'd the Fleet should put to Sea, the Signal being given by the Admiral, the Mariners hal'd the Ships into the Water: for it was customary, when they came into Harbour, to draw the Sterns to dry Land, to prevent their being to's'd and dissipated by the Waves. Hence *Virgil*;

— *stant littore puppes.*

The Sterns stand on the Shore.

It was frequent also for the Sea-men, underpropping their Ships with their Shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the Sea; so we read of the *Argonauts* in *Valerius Flaccus* (b),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, & tento poplite proni
Decurrunt.* —

The Prince commands that they no longer stay,
His Orders strait the *Minyæ* obey,
And kneeling down, their Shoulders heave the Ship
Into the Main. —

This was sometimes perform'd by Leavers and Spars of Wood, over which Ships were rowl'd into the Deep; these were call'd *φάλαγγες*, *φάλαγγια* (c), and according to *Homer* *μοχλοὶ* (d);

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄρα τῶγε κατέβησεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν.

The heavy Ship into the Sea they thrust
With Leavers. —

But, to remedy the great Trouble and Difficulty of these Methods, *Archimedes* the *Syracusan* oblig'd his Country-men with the ingeni-

(a) *Pollux.* (b) *Argon. I.* (c) *Hesychius, Pollux.* (d) *Odys. ε.*

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ous Contrivance of an Engine call'd *Helix*, whereby the Ships were with great Facility remov'd from the Shore (a). To do this they call'd $\pi\rho\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\nu\ \chi\iota\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$, or $\nu\eta\alpha\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\alpha$.

Before they embark'd, the Ships were adorn'd with Flowers, and Garlands, which were Tokens of Joy and Mirth (b), and Omens of future Prosperity: Hence *Virgil*,

——— *vocat jam carbasus auras,*
Puppibus & lati nautæ imposuere coronas.

Now's a fair Wind, and all the Sea-men crown
The Ship with Garlands.———

Because no Success could be expected in any Enterprize without the Divine Blessing and Assistance, they invok'd the Protection of the Gods by solemn Prayers and Sacrifices, which as they offer'd to other Deities, so more especially to those, who had any Concern, or Command in the Sea, to the Winds and Tempests, to the whole Train of marine Gods and Goddesses, but above all to *Neptune*, the great Emperor of the Sea. Thus *Anchises* in *Virgil* (c) dares not adventure himself to Sea, till he has first address'd himself to *Neptune*, and *Apollo*;

——— *meritos aris mactavit bonores,*
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.

A Bull to *Neptune*, and a Bull to you
He sacrific'd, *Apollo*, as your due.

A great Number of Instances to the same purpose may be met with in ancient Writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the Gods for Safety and Success; but all the Multitudes that throng'd on such Occasions to the Shore, earnestly recommended them to the Divine Protection, and joyn'd their fervent Prayers for their Deliverance from all the Dangers, they were going to encounter (d).

This done, we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius*, that it was usual to let fly a Dove; which no doubt was look'd on as an Omen of safe Return, because that Bird is not easily forc'd to relinquish its Habitation, but, when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to Sea, the Signal being given by a Shout, by Sound of Trumpet, and several other ways; in the Night it was usually given by Torches lighted in the Admiral Galley, an Instance whereof we have in *Seneca's Agamemnon* (e);

Signum recursus regia ut fulsit rate,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.

(a) *Plutarchus Marcello, Athenais.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Acharn. Act. II. Sq. V.* (c) *Æneid. III. v. 119.* (d) *Diodorus Siculus lib. XIII.* (e) *V. 427.*

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The Torches being lighted, which, to guide
Us home more safely, in the King's Ship stood,
And summon'd by the Trumper's noisy Sound,
When ev'ry Man his proper Oar had took,
The Admiral march'd first, and cut the Waves.

E. D.

The Ships were usually rang'd in this Order: In the Front went the lighter Vessels, after these follow'd the Men of War led on by the Admiral, which was commonly distinguish'd from the rest by the Richness of her Ornaments; thus we find *Agamemnon's* Ship in the fore-mention'd Place of *Seneca*, going before the rest;

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias;
Aperisque cursus, mille quos puppes ferent.*

The Admiral went first, and cut the Waves,
Prepar'd the yielding Deep, which afterwards
A thousand Vessels cleav'd. — — —

Last of all the Vessels of Burden came up. If the Winds were high, or Seas dangerous, they were extended out at length, sailing one by one; but at other Times they went three, or more in a breast.

When they arriv'd at any Port, where they design'd to land, the first Thing they did was to run their Ships backwards upon their Hind-decks in order to tack about, this they call'd *ὀπίσσω πρὸς πρῶτον*, or *πρὸς πρῶτον, ὑπεστὰς* (a), which Phrase is by *Thucydides* elegantly apply'd to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their Enemies: Then they tack'd about, which they term'd *ἐπιστρέφειν* (b), turning the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, according to *Virgil*;

Obvertunt pelago proas. — — —

To the Sea they turn'd their Prows.

Now the Rowers ceas'd from their Labours, and rested their Oars, which the Greeks call'd *ἐπὶ ῥέμῳ ἔχειν* & *ῥαῖν*, the Latins, *inbibere remos*: These they hung upon Pins; as we find in *Statius* (c);

*Quinquaginta illi trabibus de more revinctis
Eminus abrupto quatunt nova littora saltu.*

Their fifty Oars hung up, they rudely leapt
Upon the new-found Shore. — — —

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457.* (b) *Grotius Arateis.* (c) *Thebaid. V. 344.*

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For fear their Oars should be in Danger of being broken by the Floods, they hung them not so as to reach the Water, but upon the Sides of their Ships; whence *Ovid* (a);

Obvertit lateri pendentes navita remos.

To the Ship's Sides the Sea-men hung their Oars.

Being safely landed, they discharg'd whatever Vows they had made to the Gods, beside which they usually offer'd a Sacrifice call'd *Ἀποκαθήσειν*, to *Jupiter* firmam'd *Ἀποκαθήσει*, from enabling them *Ἀποκαίειν* ἐκ αὐτῶν νεῶν, to quit their Ships, and recover the Land. Their Devotions were sometimes paid to *Nereus*, *Glaucus*, *Ino* and *Melicertes*, the *Cabiri*, and other Gods of the Sea, but more especially to *Neptune*, who was thought to have a peculiar Care of all that travell'd within the Compass of his Dominions: Thus the Heroes in *Homer* (b);

Οἱ δὲ Πύλον, Νηληϊὸς εὐκτιμένον πολίεδρον,
ἴξον, τοὶ δ' ἐπὶ Διὶ Δαλάωνος ἱερὰ ῥέζον
Τάυρους παμμέλανας ἑνὸς ἰχθὺς κνανόχαιτη:

Landed at *Pylus*, where King *Neleus* reign'd,
With blackest Bulls they sever'd Altars stain'd,
A Sacrifice to *Neptune*. —

They who had escap'd a Shipwreck, or any other Danger at Sea, were more particularly oblig'd to offer a Present to the Gods, as a Testimony of their Gratitude. To this they sometimes added the Garment, in which they had escap'd, and a Tablet containing an account of their Deliverance. To which there is the following Allusion in *Horace* (c),

— me tabula sacer
Votiva paries indicat uvula
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

If nothing else remain'd, they did at least shave their Hair, and consecrate it to their Protectors. Thus *Lucilius* affirms of himself in the Epigram (d);

Ἰλαύνω, καὶ Νηρηΐ, καὶ Ἰνοῖ, καὶ Μελικέρῃ,
Καὶ Κυδῖω Κρονίδῃ, καὶ Σαμώθεντι θεοῖς,
Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λυκίλλιος, ὧδε κίκαρμαι
Τρεῖς τρίχας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γὰρ ἔδεν ἔχω.

(a) *Metamorph.* XI. 23. (b) *Odys.* γ'. v. 4. (c) *Lib. I. Od. V.* (d) *Anthol.* lib. VI. cap. XXI. Epigr. I.

Hence *Petronius Arbitrator* calls shaving their Hair, *naufrogorum ultimum votum*, the last Vow of Men in Shipwreck (a). It was also customary for those, who had escap'd any other Danger, particularly ἐκ μεγάλης σωθύντες νόσου, for such as had recover'd from any dangerous Sickness, to shave off their Hair (b). The Egyptians us'd to shave their own Hair, when they pay'd their Acknowledgments to the Gods for the Recovery of their Children (c).

Harbours were Places render'd either by Nature or Art, commodious for the Entertainment of Ships, and to defend them against the Insults of Winds and Waves: The former sort were usually at the Mouth of a River, or in a Creek of the Sea, under the Cover of some lofty Promontory: The latter were vast Piles, or Heaps of Earth and other Materials, cast up in the Form of a Semicircle, with Arms of a vast Length extended into the Sea; These were call'd χηλαὶ (d) from their Resemblance to Crabs Claws; or ἀκραι ἢ λιμὲν (e); or ἀκταί, as in *Homer*, who speaks thus of the *Phocynian Harbour* (f);

— Δύο δὲ προβλήτες ἐν αὐτῇ
 Ἀκταὶ σπορῶγες, λιμὲν ποτὶ πεπληῖαι.

— There two great Piles stood out,
 Which made an Haven. —

Cicero terms them *cornua* (g). For the security of the Ships enclos'd therein, we find it usual to fix to the two Ends vast Chains, or Booms, as appears of the *Syracusan Harbour* mention'd in *Frontinus* (h): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great Pales fortify'd against the Water with Pitch: Hence Havens are sometimes term'd in *Latin claustra*, in *Greek κλείσεις* (i). On both sides of the Mole were strong Towers (k), which were defended, in the Night, and all Times of Danger by Garrisons of Soldiers (l). Not far distant hence, was a Watch-tower with Lights to direct Mariners; this was call'd *Pharos*, which Name originally belong'd to a little Island in the Mouth of the River *Nile*, where the first of these Towers was built, but afterwards was naturaliz'd both in *Greece*, and at *Rome*.

The second Part of the Harbour was term'd στόμα, in *Latin ostium*, and fauces, being the Mouth, or Entry between the Arms of the Semicircle.

Μυχός, was the inmost Part of the Harbour, nearest to the Shoar, and most secure from the Waves, inasmuch that their Ships were often suffer'd, to lie loose, whereas in other Parts of the Harbour they were usually either chain'd to the Land, or lay at Anchor: It

(a) Cap. LXIII. (b) Conf. *Artemidorus Oneirocrit.* lib. I. cap. XXIII. (c) *Diodorus Siculus Bibliothec. Hist.* lib. I. (d) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XII. *Thucydides Scythiast.* (e) *Polyanus Strateg.* lib. V. (f) *Odys.* v. (g) *Epist. ad Attic.* lib. IX. ep. XIX. (h) *Strateg.* lib. I. (i) *Thucyd.* lib. II. (k) *Vegetius* lib. V. cap. II. (l) *Thucydides, Curtius, Polyanus.*

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was distinguish'd into several Partitions by Walls, erected for the most part of Stone, under the Covert of which the Vessels had Protection; these Places were call'd *δρμοι* (a), whence *Homer* (b),

ἐντοδὲ δ' ἄνευ δεσμοῖο μένουσι
Νῆες εὐωέλμοι, ὅταν δρμος μέτρον ἵκωνται.

The Ships that far within the Harbour lodge,
Without a Chain are safe. ———

They were also term'd *ναύλοχοι*, and all together compos'd what was call'd *ναυσάδμος*. Here were likewise the Docks, in which Ships were built, or careen'd, and dragg'd to Land; these were nam'd *νεώσοικοι* (c), *ἐπίστια* (d), *νεάχεια* (e), &c.

The adjacent Places were usually fill'd with Inns, and Stews (f) well stock'd with Females that prostituted themselves to the Mariners, Merchants, and Artificers of all sorts, who flock'd thither in great Numbers. Most Harbours were adorn'd with Temples, or Altars, where Sacrifices were offer'd to the Tutelar Deities of the Place, and Presidents of the Sea; mention of which we find as in other Places, so particularly in *Homer* (g), who speaks of a Cave in the Haven of *Ithaca* dedicated to the *Naiades*.

Scæffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here Ships were not lay'd up for any considerable Time, but remain'd only till they were supply'd with Water, or other Necessaries, or on some other short Occasions. They had several Names, being call'd *δρμοι* (b), *ὑφορμοι* (i), *ἐνορμίσματα* (k), *σάλοι* (l), *κατάρσεις* (m); and were frequently at some distance from the Shoar, whence *δρμῶν* in *Plutarch* (n) is term'd *ὑποσαλεύειν*, which imports their being among the Waves; and by *Thucydides* ἄγειν ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν, which answers in some measure to the Latin Phrase in *Livy*, in *anchoris stare*, to ride at Anchor.

In Times of War they defended themselves with Fortifications on both sides, but made after a different manner; towards the Land they fortify'd themselves with a Ditch, and Parapet, or Wall, built in the Form of a Semicircle, and extended from one point of the Sea to another: This was sometimes defended with Towers, and beautify'd with Gates, thro' which they issu'd forth to attack their Enemies. *Homer* hath left us a remarkable Description of the Grecian Fortifications in the *Trojan War* (o);

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τᾶχ' ἑδεσμαι,
Πύργους ὀψλὼν, εἴλαρ νηόντε, καὶ αὐτῶν.
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνέποιον εἰς ἀεραΐδας,
Ὅφρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη.

(a) *Eustathius* *Odys.* i. *Iliad.* α. (b) *Odys.* i. (c) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIV. *Suidas.* (d) *Homer.* *Odys.* ε. (e) *Demosthen.* *Schol.* *Orat.* de corona, *Suidas.* *Homeri Schol.* (f) *Pollux* lib. IX. cap. V. (g) *Odys.* i. v. 103. (h) *Hesychius.* (i) *Strabo* lib. VIII. (k) *Appianus* lib. V. (l) *Polyb.* lib. I. (m) *Thucyd.* lib. IV. *et* *scholiast.* (n) *Pompeio.* (o) *Iliad.* π. v. 436.

Ἐκτοθεν ὃ βαθεῖαν ἐν αὐτῇ τάφρον ὄρυξαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μέγαν, ἐν ὃ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

A bulky Wall, and lofty Tow'rs to shield
Their Navy and themselves, the *Trojans* build,
On these great Gates for Passages they make,
Convenient Ways that all their Horse should take,
And all around they dug a spacious Ditch,
Fixing great Pales of Wood.

E. D.

Towards the Sea, or within it, they fix'd great pales of Wood, like those in Harbours; before these the Vessels of Burden were plac'd in such Order, as they might be instead of a Wall, and give Protection to those within; in which manner *Nicias* is reported by *Thucydides* to have encamp'd himself: But this seems only to have been practis'd, when the Enemy was thought superior in Strength, and rais'd in them great Apprehensions of Danger. At other Times all they us'd to do, was to appoint a few of their Ships to observe their Enemy's Motions; these were term'd *παραλακίδες* (a), and the Soldiers *πυρσισται*, or *πυρσιστῆς*, from *πυρσος*, a Torch, wherewith they signify'd the Approach of their Enemies (b). When their Fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the Assault of Enemies, it was frequent to drag their Ships to Shoar, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐνὸς ἑλκεῖν*, the *Romans* *subducere* (c). Around the Ships the Soldiers plac'd their Tents, as appears every where in *Homer*, *Thucydides* (d), and others; but this seems only to have been practis'd in Winter, when their Enemy's Fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long Sieges, and when they lay in no Danger from their Enemies by Sea, as in the *Trojan War*, where the Defenders of *Troy* never once attempted to encounter the *Greeks* in a Sea-fight; at other Times the Ships only lay at Anchor, or were ty'd to the Shoar, that upon any Alarm they might be ready to receive the Enemy.

C H A P. XXI.

Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an Engagement at Sea, the first Business was to disburthen their Ships of War of all Provisions, and other Lumber not necessary in the Action, lest by too heavy a Load they should be render'd unwieldy, and unfit for Service, being neither able with Force and Vigour to assail their Enemies, nor by lightly tacking

(a) *Thucyd.* lib. I. (b) *Polyæus* lib. III. (c) *Livius* lib. XXII. cap. XXVIII. *Cicero* de Offic. lib. III. (d) *Lib.* VI.

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about to avoid their Onsets. This done, when the Enemy appear'd in View, they took down their Sails, lower'd their Masts, and secur'd whatever might expose them to the Winds, choosing rather to be govern'd by Oars, which they could manage at their Pleasure. On this account we read that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian*, being pursu'd by a Fleet of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, to which he was much inferior in Strength and Number, and having no Way to make his Escape, took down his Sails as preparing to fight; whereby decoying the *Sicilians* to do the like, whilst they were busie and observ'd him not, he unexpectedly hois'd again his Sails, and made away (a).

As to their Order of Battle, that was vary'd as Time, Place, and other Circumstances requir'd; being sometimes form'd like an Half-moon, and call'd *σάλας μλωοειδής*, the Horns jutting out towards the Enemy, and containing the ablest Men and Ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having its Belly nearest the Enemy, and its Horns turn'd backwards, when it was term'd *κυρτή παρέταξις*: Nor was it unusual to range them in the Form of a Circle, which they call'd *κύκλον τάττειν*; or (to mention no more) in the Figure of the Letter V (b), with the Horns extended in a direct Line, and meeting at the End; which Order was nam'd *σπικαμπής παρέταξις*, in *Latin* *forceps*, and was usually encounter'd by the Enemies rang'd into the same Order inverted, whereby they resembled the Figure of a Wedge, or Beak, whence it was call'd *cuneus*, or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the Body of the adverse Battle.

Before they joyn'd Battle, both Parties invok'd the Gods to their Assistance by Prayers and Sacrifices; and the Admirals, going from Ship to Ship in some of the lighter Vessels, exhorted their Soldiers in a set Oration to behave themselves like Men: Then, all Things being in Readiness, the Signal was given by hanging out of the Admiral's Galley a gilded Shield, as we read in *Plutarch*; or a red Garment, or Banner (c); which was term'd *αἶψαν σημεῖα*. During the Elevation of this the Fight continu'd, and by its Depression, or Inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the Ships were directed in what manner to attack their Enemies, or retreat from them (d). To this was added the Sound of Trumpets, which was begun in the Admiral's Galley (e), and continu'd round the whole Navy (f); it was likewise usual for the Soldiers before the Fight to sing a *Pæan*, or Hymn to *Mars* (g); and after the Fight another to *Apollo*.

The Fight was usually begun by the Admiral-galley, as we find done at the Battle of *Salamis* (h), and another Time by *Attalus's* Ship (i): It was carry'd on in two different manners, for not only the Ships engag'd one another, and by their Beaks and Prows, and sometimes their Sterns endeavour'd to dash in Pieces, or overset and sink their Opposers; but the Soldiers also annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and Slings, and upon their nearer Approach with Swords and Spears: Thus *Lucan* (k);

(a) *Polyænus* lib. V. (b) *Vegetius*. (c) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. XIII. *Polyænus* lib. I. (d) *Læo* Tacit. (e) *Plutarchus* *Lysandro*. (f) *Diodorus* lib. XIII. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Diodorus* lib. III. (i) *Polybius* lib. XVI. (k) *Lib.* III.

*Ut primum rostris crepuerunt obuia rostra,
In puppim rediere rates, emissaque tela
Aera texerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The Ships first meeting shew their fiercest Rage,
And furiously with clashing Beaks engage;
These turn about, and then the Javelins fly,
And Show'rs of Arrows darken all the Sky,
The Sea is cover'd o'er. ———

E. D.

Afterwards he goes on in this manner,

*Fam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro;
Misceturque manus, navali plurima bello
Ensis agit; stat quisque sua de robore puppis
Promus in adversos ictus. ———*

They throw no longer Darts, no longer try
With missive Arms to kill the Enemy;
Both close together come, their Swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his Post, ———

Nor can it be wonder'd how they approach'd so near one another,
when we find it usual to link their Vessels together with Chains, or
Grappling-irons, of which I have spoken in one of the fore-going
Chapters; whence *Silius* (a),

—— — *Injuncta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad praelia nexa;
Nec jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria praelia miscet.*

Chain'd fast with Irons both the Navies stand,
No Blood the Darts and flying Weapons spill,
With Swords they closely joyn'd begin to kill,

Sometimes, for want of Irons, they so fix'd their Oars, as thereby to
hinder their Enemies from retreating: So we read in *Lucan* (b);

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit aquore bellum.

The Ships they hold with Oars, and all around
The Face of horrid War appears. ———

This sort of Combat was not unlike a Siege, where the stronger Par-
ty prevailing over their Enemies, enter'd their Vessels by laying

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) Lib. III.

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Bridges between them, and, having kill'd, or taken Prisoners all they found in Arms, seiz'd and dragg'd away their Ships.

When a Town was besieg'd by Sea, they us'd to environ its Walls and Harbour with Ships rang'd in Order from one side of the Shoar to the other, and so closely joyn'd together by Chains and Bridges on which arm'd Men were plac'd, that without breaking their Order, there could be no Passage from the Town to the Sea; this Leaguer *Diodorus* calls *ζεύγυα* (a). The better to prevent any Attempts of the Besieg'd, *Demetrius* is said to have invented a sort of Boom arm'd with Spikes of Iron, which swam upon the Waters; this he plac'd at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Rhodes*, when he besieg'd that City (b). Sometimes they block'd up the Harbour, or made a Passage to the Town by raising a vast Mole before it, as we read of *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* (c); or by sinking Ships fill'd with Stones and Sand, as we find practis'd by the *Romans*.

The Attacks were usually carry'd on by Men standing upon Bridges between the Ships, and thence with Darts and Stones forcing the Besieg'd from their Walls: Thus *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* so order'd his Gallies, that, two of them being joyn'd at the Heads, and the Sterns somewhat distant, Boards and Planks were laid over in the Fashion of Bridges, for Soldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner row'd close to the Wall, where without any Danger they threw Darts at their Enemies, being shelter'd behind the Fore-decks of their own Gallies (d). Here also, that they might throw their mis-sive Weapons with greater Advantage, and batter the Walls with their Rams, and other Engines, they erected Towers so high as to command the City-walls, from which having repell'd the Defenders, they by this means had Opportunity to descend by Ladders.

The Besieg'd were not at a loss for ways of defeating these Stratagems; the Ships link'd together they pull'd asunder with Iron Hooks, the Passage to the Town they block'd up in the same manner the Enemies had done that of the Harbour, or other ways (e); if they could not hinder their Approach, they fail'd not to gall them with Darts, Stones, Fire-balls, melted Pitch, or Metals, and many other Things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the Town to destroy the Vessels and Works of the Besiegers by Fire-ships, as we find done by the *Tyrians* (f); who, taking a large Vessel, put a great Quantity of Ballast into the Stern, cover'd the Head with Pitch, Tar, and Brimstone, then by the Help of Sails and Oars brought her close to the *Macedonian* Fortress, where having set the combustible Matter on Fire, they retreated into Boats prepar'd for that purpose; the Fire immediately seiz'd the Towers of the Fortification, and, by the Help of Torches and Fire-brands cast by those in the Boats, the Work itself took Fire, and that vast Pile, on which so much Time and Labour had been bestow'd, was in a few Moments quite demolish'd. The Use of Fire-ships we likewise meet with amongst the *Rhodians* in *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (g).

(a) Lib. XIII. (b) *Diodorus* lib. XX. (c) *Curtius* lib. IV. (d) *Idem* *ibidem*.
(e) *Thucydides* lib. VII. (f) *Curtius* lib. IV. (g) Lib. XX.

C H A P. XXII.

Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.

Victory being obtain'd, the Conquerors rode Home triumphant, laden with the Spoils of their Enemies, and dragging after them the captive Ships, as appears from the Instances of *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, and *Lysander* in *Xenophon* (a): The later of these had Crowns, or Garlands presented him by all the confederate Cities of *Sparta*, as he pass'd by them, which Custom was constantly practis'd by the *Greeks*, from whom it seems to have been deriv'd to *Rome*: Nor was the Admiral, or the Soldiers, and Mariners (b) only adorn'd with Garlands, but their Ships were likewise bedeck'd with them (c); whereby the *Rhodians* were once reduc'd to extreme Danger; for their Enemies having made themselves Masters of their Ships, crown'd them with Lawrel, and entering them, were receiv'd with great Joy into *Rhodes* (d); which Strategem was frequently practis'd in *Greece* (e). Nor were they beautify'd with Garlands only, but hung likewise about with Wrecks and broken Pieces of the Ships destroy'd in Battle, especially the ἀπαρα, ἀπερσόλια, κόρυμβα, and other ornamental Parts, which the Conquerors were very industrious in procuring to grace their Triumphs; whence of *Hector* threatning the *Grecian* Fleet with Destruction, *Homer* says,

Στεῦται γὰρ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρα κόρυμβα.

These they call'd ἀπαραθήα, and to deprive a Ship of them ἀπαραθήειν (f). In this manner the Victors return'd Home, filling the Sea with their Shouts, Acclamations, and Hymns, which were sweeten'd by the Harmony of Musical Instruments, as appears from the Example of *Lysander* in *Plutarch*.

Being receiv'd into the City, they went straightway to the Temples of the Gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their Spoils: Thus we read, that the *Syracusians* having defeated the *Athenians*, and the *Rhodians* after a Victory over *Demetrius*, fill'd the Temples of their Gods with Wrecks of Ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire Vessels to them; for we find that *Phormio*, having overcome the *Lacedaemonians*, consecrated a Ship to *Neptune* (g); and the *Greeks* after their great Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis* are reported to have dedicated three *Phenician* Triremes (h).

Having paid their Compliment to the Gods, the Remainder of their Spoils they bestow'd in the Porticos, and other publick Places

(a) *Hist. lib. II.* (b) *Polyanus lib. IV.* (c) *Diodorus lib. XIII.* (d) *Ystrucius lib. II. cap. VIII.* (e) *Polyanus.* (f) *Xenophon Hist. lib. VI.* (g) *Diodorus lib. XII.* (h) *Herodotus lib. VIII.*

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of their City, to preserve the Memory of their Victory: To which End they were likewise honour'd with Statues, Inscriptions, and Trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own Country, but more frequently near the Place where they had overthrown their Enemies, and were adorn'd with Arms, and broken Wrecks of Ships, which for that reason were look'd on as a Sign and Testimony of Victory; thus we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that in a Fight between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, where both Parties made Pretensions to Victory, the former were by most esteem'd to have the justest Title to it, as having possess'd themselves of their Enemy's Wrecks; and King *Philip*, tho' worsted by *Attalus*, yet because he made a Shift to keep his Fleet amongst the adverse Party's Wrecks, would have persuaded the World that the Day was his own (b).

These were the Principal of the Rewards peculiar to those who had serv'd their Country by Sea; others they seem also to have been frequently honour'd with, which being common to those, who had been useful in other Stations, may be more properly referr'd to other Places, where I have already treated of them. The Chief of their Punishments was Whipping with Cords; which was sometimes inflicted on Criminals having their lower Parts within the Ship, and their Heads thrust out at Port-holes, and hanging into the Sea. Thus one *Scyllax*, Master of a *Myndian* Vessel, was treated by *Megabates*, for not being careful to keep Watch and Ward (c).

There seems to have been a Punishment, by which Offenders were ty'd with Cords to a Ship, and dragg'd in the Waters till they were drown'd; in which manner *Scylla* was treated by *Minos*, after she had betray'd to him her Father and Kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the Sea, as we read of *Jonas* the Prophet.

Αναμύχαι, or such as refus'd to serve at Sea after a lawful Summons, were at *Athens* themselves and their Posterity condemn'd to *ατιμία*, Ignominy, or Disfranchisement (d), of which Punishment I have spoken in one of the former Books.

Δεσπογῆται, Deserters, were not only bound with Cords, and whipp'd, as *Demosthenes* reports; but had their Hands likewise cut off, as we are inform'd by *Suidas*.

(a) *Thucydides* lib. II. cap. III. (b) *Thucydides* lib. II. cap. III. (c) *Herodotus* lib. II. cap. III. (d) *Suidas* lib. II. cap. III.

Archeo-

Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
G R E E C E.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals, and of
Persons destitute thereof.*

PLUTO was the first who instructed the *Grecians* (a) in the manner of performing their last Offices to the Deceas'd, which gave occasion to the Inventors of Fables to assign him a vast and unbounded Empire in the Shades below, and constitute him Supreme Monarch of all the Dead. And, since there is scarce any useful Art, the Inventor whereof was not reckon'd amongst the Gods, and believ'd to patronize and preside over those Artificers he had first instructed, no Wonder if He, who taught the rude and unciviliz'd Ages, what Respect, what Ceremonies were due to the Dead, had the Honour to be number'd amongst the Deities of first Quality, since the Duties belonging to the Dead were thought of far greater Importance, and the Neglect of them a Crime of a blacker Character than of those requir'd by the Living: For the

(a) *Diodorus Siculus lib. V. cap. XV.*

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Dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous Nations; to defraud them of any due Respect was a greater and more unpardonable Sacrilege, than to spoil the Temples of the Gods; their Memories were preserv'd with a religious Care and Reverence, and all their Remains honour'd with Worship and Adoration; Hatred and Envy themselves were put to silence, for it was thought a Sign of a cruel and inhuman Disposition to speak evil of the Dead, and prosecute Revenge beyond the Grave; no Provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an Action, the highest Affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their Children, were esteem'd weak Pretences for disturbing their Peace. Offenders of this kind were not only branded with Disgrace and Infamy, but by *Solon's* Laws incurr'd a severe Penalty (a).

But of all the Honours paid to the Dead, the Care of their Funeral Rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were look'd upon as a Debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accurs'd; hence the *Romans* call'd them *justi*, the *Grecians* *δικαιοι*, νόμιμα, νομιζόμενα, ἔθιμα, ὅσια, &c. all which Words imply the inviolable Obligations, which Nature has laid upon the Living to take Care of the Obsequies of the Dead. And no Wonder if they were thus solicitous about the Interment of the Dead, since they were strongly possess'd with an Opinion, that their Souls could not be admitted into the *Elysian* Shades, but were forc'd to wander desolate and without Company, till their Bodies were committed to the Earth (b); and if they had never the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, the Time of their Exclusion from the common Receptacle of the Ghosts was no less than an hundred Years; whence in most of the Poets we meet with passionate Requests of dying Men, or their Ghosts after Death for this Favour; I will only give you one out of *Homer* (c), who introduces the Soul of *Elpenor* earnestly beseeching *Ulysses* to perform his Funeral Rites;

Νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ σὲ τ' ὄππῃδεν γυνάξομαι, ἢ παριόνταν.
Πρὸς τ' ἀλόχῃ, καὶ πατρὶ, ὃς ἔτρεφε τὴν δὸν ἔοντα,
Τηλεμάχῃ δ', ὃν μῦνον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔλεες,
Μὴ μ' ἀκλαυτον, ἀδαπλον ἰὼν ὀπίδην καταλείπειν
Νοσφιδεῖς, μή τοι τι δαῶν μῆνιμα γίνωμαι.

When homewards bound th' infernal Shades you quit,
Don't me unhappy Wretch, my Friend, forget,
If ought of dear Concern you've left behind,
With Zeal tow'rd me let that affect your Mind,
If aged Sire, your Wife, or hopeful Heir can bind,
Let Dirge and Burial solemnize my Fate,
Lest I shou'd prove to th' Gods a Reprobate;
This, this I beg, This earnestly implore,
Thus will my Soul to Bliss be wafted o'er. F. A.

(a) Demosthen. orat. in Leptin. P. utarchus Solone. (b) *Homerus* *Iliad.* 11. (c) *Od.* 11. v. 66, 72.

This was the Reason, why of all Imprecations the greatest was to wish that a Person might *drag* *ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης* *ἔξω*, i. e. die destitute of Burial; and of all the Forms of Death the most terrible was that by Shipwrack, as wherein the Body was swallow'd up by the Deep; whence *Ovid*, tho' willing to resign his miserable Life, yet prays against this Death;

Demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.

Death would my Soul from anxious Troubles ease,
But that I fear to *perish* by the Seas.

Wherefore, when they were in Danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some Part of their Body the most precious of all their Stores, with a Direction to the first that found their dead Corpses, if the Waves chanc'd to rowl them to the Shear, entreating of him the Favour of an human Burial, and profering what they carry'd about them as a Reward, or desiring him to expend some Part of it upon their Funeral (a) Rites, and accept the rest himself. But tho' the Carcase brought no Reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and to deny it what was look'd on as a Debt to all Mankind; for not only the *Athenian* Laws forbad so great an Act of Inhumanity (b), but in all Parts of *Greece* it was look'd upon as a great Provocation to the Infernal Gods, and a Crime that would call up certain Vengeance from the Regions below (c); nor could the guilty Person be freed from the Punishment of his Offence, or admitted to converse with Men, or worship the Gods, but was look'd upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accusom'd Purifications, and appeas'd the incens'd Deities. Yet it was not always requir'd that all the Funeral Solemnities should be nicely perform'd, which the Hast of Travellers, that should light upon the Carcase, might oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast Dust, or soft Earth upon it three Times together, according to *Horace* (d);

*Quamquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit
Injecto ter pulvere curras.*

Over the Corpse thrice sprinkle Sand,
Th' officious Deed will not retard your Hast.

Of these three Handfuls one at least was thrown upon the Head.

This, in Cases of Necessity, was look'd upon as enough to gain the Ghosts Admission into *Pluto's* Dominions, and to free such as happen'd upon their Bodies from the Fear of being haunted, yet was far

(a) *Synefius* Epist. Interpretes Historiz *Apollonius Tyrus*, *Meursius* in *Lycophronis Cassandra* v. 367. (b) *Ælianus* Var. Hist. lib. V. c. XIV. (c) *Sophocles* *Antigone*. (d) *Lib. I. Od. XXVIII. v. 36. Quintilianus* Declam. V. VI. *Cælius Rhodiginus* lib. XVII. cap. XX.

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from affording them entire Satisfaction; wherefore such as had been interr'd clandestinely, or in hast and without the customary Solemnities, if afterwards good Fortune discover'd them to any of their Friends were honour'd with a second Funeral, as appears from the Story of *Polydorus* in *Virgil*, who being murder'd and interr'd by *Polyxnestor*, does yet make his Complaint to *Aeneas* at his Arrival in *Thrace*, that his Soul could not rest, till his Obsequies were celebrated according to Custom, wherefore the pious Hero

— *Instaurat funus, animamque sepulcro*
Condit (a). —

Attends the Rites, and gives the Soul Repose.
 Within a wish'd for Tomb. —

Nor was it sufficient to be honour'd with the solemn Performance of their Funeral Rites, except their Bodies were prepar'd for Burial by their Relations, and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers; the Want of which was look'd upon by themselves, and their surviving Friends, as a very great Misfortune, and not much inferior to Death it self, as appears from innumerable Testimonies, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the Epitaph of *Leonidas* the *Tarentine*, which runs thus (b);

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίνης κείμεναι χθονός, ἐν τε Τάραντος
 Πάτρει, τῷτο δέ μοι πικρότερον θανάτῳ.

I from *Tarentum* far remote do lie,
 My native Soil, than Death oh! worse Anxiety.

The second from *Electra* in *Sophocles*, who having preserv'd *Orestes* from *Clytemnestra*, by sending him into a foreign Country, and many Years after hearing he had ended his Days there, wishes he had rather perish'd at first, than after so many Years continuance of Life have dy'd from Home, and been destitute of the last Offices of his Friends. Her Words are these (c),

Δόμεν δέ σ', ὦ παῖ, λαμπρὸν ἐξέπεμψ' ἐγὼ,
 ὅς ᾤφελον τάριθεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον,
 Πρὶν ἐς ξένῳ σε γαῖαν ἐκπέμψαι χερσὶ
 Κλέψασα ταῖνδε, κἀνασώσασθαι σόν.
 Ὅπως θανὼν ἐκείσο τῇ πῶ' ἡμέρᾳ,
 Τύμβῃ πατρὸς κοινὴν εὐληχὸς μέρεϊ.
 Νῦν δ' ἐκτὸς οἴκων, ἔστι γῆς ἄλλης οὐγάς.
 Κακῶς ἀπώλῃ σῆς πασιγνήτης δίχα, &c.

Oh! could I wish thou hadst, unhappy Youth,
 Been slain, before I sent thee thus away,

(a) *Aeneid*. III. v. 62, & 67. (b) *Antholog.* Epigram. lib. III. cap. XXV. ep. LXXV. (c) V. 1134.

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Then thou hadst ne'er these doleful Mis'ries felt,
But dy'd in th' Innocence of Infancy;
Then thou hadst had one common Sepulchre
With thy dear Father, then thy Sister's Love
And Pity ne'er would thus have heap'd up Woe:
Now thou art in a foreign Land depriv'd
Of those blest Rites thy Friends could once bestow,
And as thy Life unhappy was, so is alike thy Death.

J. A.

For this reason, such as dy'd in foreign Countries, had usually their Ashes brought Home, and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, or, at least, in some Part of their native Country; it being thought that the same Mother, which gave them Life and Birth, was only fit to receive their Remains, and afford them a peaceful Habitation after Death. Whence ancient Authors afford us innumerable Instances of Bodies convey'd sometimes by the Command of Oracles, sometimes by the good Will of their Friends, from foreign Countries to the Sepulchres of their Fathers, and with great Solemnity deposited there. Thus *Theseus* was remov'd from *Syprus* to *Athens*, *Orestes* from *Tegea*, and his Son *Tisamenus* from *Helice* to *Sparta*, and *Aristomenes* (to mention no more) from *Rhodes* to *Messene*. How far this Custom extended to Soldiers, and by whom it was first introduc'd into *Greece*, has been related in the precedent Book.

Nor was this pious Care limited to Persons of free Condition, but Slaves also had some Share therein; for we find the *Athenian* Law-giver commanding the Magistrates call'd *Demarchi*, under a severe Penalty, to solemnize the Funerals not so much of Citizens, whose Friends seldom fail'd of paying the last Honours, as of Slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent Burial (a).

But if any Person was backward in paying his dead Friends due Respect, or but sparing in his Expences upon their Obsequies and Monuments, the Government look'd upon him as void of Humanity and natural Affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any Office of Trust and Honour; for one special Enquiry concerning the Lives and Behaviour of such as appear'd Candidates for the Magistracy at *Athens*, was, whether they had taken due care in celebrating the Funerals, and adorning the Monuments of their Relations (b): Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary Time of Mourning expir'd, was Matter of no small Scandal; for we find it objected by *Æschines* to *Demosthenes* as a Crime of a very heinous Nature, that after the Death of his only Daughter, he sacrific'd to the Gods in white Apparel, and adorn'd with Garlands, before due Respect was paid to the Memory of such a Relation.

The great Concern they had about Funerals may farther appear from the Respect paid to Persons officiating therein: For we find

(a) *Demosthen. Orat. in Macart.* (b) *Xenophon de dict. Socratis lib. II.*

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the *Cretan κατακαῦται*, who had the Care of Funerals, to have been reverenc'd equally with their Priests; and when their Laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at *Spiræa*, those Men were exempted from the common Calamity, to convey away any Part of their Goods being look'd on as a kind of Sacrilege (a).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy, as by their Actions whilst alive, or the aggravating Circumstances of their Death, to be unworthy of all Title to the common Funeral Rites, and some to any Funeral at all: Such were these that follow;

1. Publick, or private Enemies; for tho' it was look'd upon as inhuman to deny an Enemy the common Privilege of Nature; yet upon some extraordinary Provocations we find it practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*: *Homer* has introduc'd *Ulysses* threatening *Socus* therewith (b); *Hector* likewise promising the same Treatment to *Patroclus* (c), and *Achilles* revenging his Cruelty by the like Usage of him (d). The same Poet hath furnish'd us with several Instances of Heroes made *κυσὶ μέληθηρα*, and *κύνεσσιν οἰωνοῖσι τε ἐλάνεα*, a Prey to Birds and Beasts: No better Treatment had the Bones of *Pyrrhus*, *Achilles's* Son, treacherously murder'd by *Orestes* (e).

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacuere vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' *Ambracian* Roads.

And however this may be thought the Practice of those primitive and unciviliz'd Mortals, yet there want not Instances hereof in more refin'd Ages; For *Lysander* the *Spartan* Admiral, having routed the *Athenian* Fleet, caus'd *Philocles* one of their Commanders, and to the Number of four thousand *Athenian* Prisoners, to be put to Death, and refus'd to give them human Burial (f).

2. Such as betray'd, or conspir'd against their Country (g). On which account *Aristocrates*, being convicted of Treason against the *Arcadians*, was ston'd to Death, and cast out of the Bounds of their Country unbury'd (h); for it was thought but reasonable, that Villains conspiring the Ruin of their Country, should be depriv'd of all Privilege in it. *Pausanias* likewise, after he had deliver'd *Greece* from the *Persians*, being found upon some Discontent to maintain a Correspondence with them, was pin'd to Death, and deny'd Burial (i); and the famous *Phocion*, being unjustly condemn'd by the *Athenians*, as conspiring to deliver the *Piræus* into their Enemy's Hands, had his Body cast out of *Attica*, and a severe Penalty was decreed against any that should honour it with Interment (k). So exact they were in the Observation of this Custom, that when the Pestilence rag'd at *Athens*, and the Oracle gave out, that the only Re-

(a) *Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. XXI.* (b) *Iliad. v.* (c) *Iliad. vi.* (d) *Iliad. x.* (e) *Diod. in Ithin v. 304.* (f) *Pausanias Bæoticks. p. 591. Edit. Hanov.* (g) *Diodorus Siculus lib. XVI. cap. VI.* (h) *Pausanias Messenicis.* (i) *Plutarchus Pausania.* (k) *Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos Phocione, Valerius Maximus lib. V. cap. III.*

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medy was to fetch *Themistocles's* Bones from *Magnesia*, they refus'd to do it publickly, but, conveying them privately and as it were by stealth, hid them in the Ground. Amongst the Betrayers of their Country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently deny'd human Burial, Hence *Hector* is introduc'd by the Poet, threatening this Punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the *Grecian* Fleet (a),

Ον δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρῳδε νοῆσαι,
Αὐτῇ οἱ θάνατον μητίσσομαι· ἐδὲ νῦν τὴν γε
Γνωτοί τε γινώτῃ τε πυρὸς λελάχῃσι θανόντα,
Ἀλλὰ κῶϊς ἐρύσσι περ ἄστεος ἡμετέρης.

He, that for Spoil and Plunder of the War
Dares lag behind, and not in haste repair
To th' *Aegive* Fleet, as soon as known, shall die;
His Carcase deny'd Fun'ral Rites shall lie
A Prey for ravenous Currs, a Mark of Infamy.

J. A.

Some *Scholias*ts would have this the first Example of the Practice I am speaking of; but *Homer* sufficiently refutes this Opinion, by making *Agamemnon* threaten the same Punishment to his *Grecians* in the second *Iliad* (b);

Ον δ' ἔκ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐδέλοιντο νοῆσαι
Μιμνάζειν ἄλλ' ἐν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, ἃ οἱ ἔπειτα
Ἀρκίον ἐσέτῃσι φυγίειν κῶϊας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.

When to the Fight brisk Cornets found Alarms,
That sneaking Soul, who then lays down his Arms,
And sculks about the Navy out of Fear
Of any Danger from th' impending War,
Shall be an Outcast for the Birds of Prey,
And hungry Dogs as merciless as they.

J. A.

Before this Instance, *Palamedes*, being condemn'd as a Traytor by the Treachery of *Ulysses*, had wanted Burial, had not *Achilles* and *Ajax* adventur'd to pay him that Office in Opposition to *Agamemnon's* Commands. Nor was the Custom begun here, for in the former Age we find *Antigone* bury'd alive by *Creon* for interring her Brother *Polynices*, by whose means the famous War against *Thebes* was carry'd on, which is the Subject of *Sophocles's Antigone*.

3. To these we may subjoyn Tyrants, who were always look'd on as Enemies of their Country, and us'd in the same manner with those that endeavour'd to betray it to foreign Powers, there being

(a) *Iliad*. 6. v. 348. (b) V. 391.

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no Difference between a Domestick and foreign Slavery. So the *Pheræans*, having slain *Alexander*, who had cruelly oppress'd them, threw his Carcase to the Dogs; and *Plutarch* observes that this was not a late and modern Custom, but practis'd in the most early Ages, speaking of the Passage of *Homer* (a), where *Nestor* tells *Telemachus*, that had *Menelaus* found *Ægisthus* alive after his Murder of *Agamemnon*, and Tyranny over the *Myceneans*, he would not have vouchsaf'd him Burial (b);

Εἰ ζῶντ' Αἰγίσθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτιμεν
 Ἀτρεΐδης Τρώϊδεν ἰὼν ξανθὸς Μενέλαος,
 Τῷ κὲ οἱ εὖδ' ἐπὶ θανάτῳ χυτῶν ἐπὶ γαίαν ἔχουσιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τῶν γε κούρῃς τε καὶ οἰωνοῖ κατέδαξαν
 Κεῖνον ἐν πεδίῳ ἑκὼς ἄσπετος, εὖδ' κὲ τις μιν
 Κλαύσας Ἀχαιΐδων. —

If the bold Murd'rer had his Fate surviv'd,
 When *Menelaus* from *Troy's* Siege arriv'd,
 What Ills wou'd then attend his Ghost and Name,
 When *Menelaus* swoll'n with Vengeance came?
 None e'er his Fall shou'd mourn, his Fate lament;
 But, lest his Body shou'd the City taint,
 Remote on some wide Plain it shou'd be cast
 For Dogs and Vulturs to regale and feast.

J. A.

The *Myceneans* were not insensible of the Wrongs they had suffer'd by him, and, thinking him unworthy of an honourable Funeral, cast him with the Adulteress *Clytemnestra* out of the City, and there interr'd them (c).

4. On the same account, such as were guilty of Self-murder, forfeited their Right to decent Burial, and were clancularly deposited in the Ground without the accusom'd Solemnities; for they were look'd on as Enemies to their Country, whose Service they deserted (d). For which reason *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, was not reduc'd to Ashes, as the Custom was, but privately interr'd; it being declar'd by *Calchas* to be a Profanation of the holy Element to consume in it the Bodies of such as had occasion'd their own Death (e). After the Battle of *Plataea*, when the Bodies of the Slain were honour'd with the accusom'd Solemnities, *Aristodemus* alone, who was generally confess'd to have acquitted himself in the Fight with the greatest Valour of any Man in the Army, lay unregarded, because he seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice his Life, as an Attonement for the Disgrace he had contracted by surviving his Fellow-soldiers at *Thermopylae* (f). Yet, to put a Period to their Lives on just Occasions, seems rather to have been reputed the Effect of a necessary and laudable Courage, than any way criminal or blame-

(a) Lib. de *Homero*. (b) *Odyss.* γ. v. 256. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (d) *Aristoteles Ethic. Nicomach.* lib. V. cap. II. (e) *Philistratus Heroicis*. (f) *Herodotus cullor.* cap. LXX.

worthy. *Demosthenes* and *Hannibal* are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual Poison, to dispatch themselves with before they should fall into their Enemies Hands. *Cato*, *Cleopatra*, *Brutus*, *Otho*, and several others have not at all lessen'd their Esteem and Character in the Heathen World by becoming their own Executioners. *Plato* himself, when he commands those only, who out of Cowardice and unmanly Fear butcher'd themselves, to be interr'd in lonesome and desolate Places without the ordinary Solemnities, seems to excuse others whom he thought compell'd to it by a great Disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable Misfortune (a); and 'tis no Wonder if *Epicureans*, who expected no future State, and *Stoicks*, who thought all Things to lie under an irresistible Necessity, pursuant to their Principles, abandon'd themselves over to such fatal Courses. Many other Instances may be produc'd not only from the *Grecians* and *Romans*, but the *Indian* Philosophers, and almost the whole Heathen World.

5. To these we may add Villains guilty of Sacrilege (b), to inter whom was an Affront to the Deities they had Robb'd. The Gods were sometimes thought to inflict this Punishment on such Malefactors; wherefore *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King being slain in *Italy*, and depriv'd of Burial, *Pausanias* (c) concludes, it was a Judgment upon him for assisting the *Phocians* in pillaging the City and Temple of the *Delphians*.

6. Persons kill'd with Lightning; who, being thought hateful to the Gods, were bury'd apart by themselves, lest the Ashes of other Men should receive Pollution from them. Whence *Adrastus* in *Euripides*, speaking of *Capaneus*, saith,

Ἢ χωρὶς, ἰσθὺν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι θέλει;

Shall he apart be bury'd, as accur'd?

Some will have them to be interr'd in the Place where they dy'd (d); others collect out of *Plutarch's* *Symposiacks*, that they had no Interment, but were suffer'd to rot in the Place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any Man to approach: Whence *Persius* (e),

Triste jaces lucis, evisandumque bidentat.

A direful Instance of *Jove's* Wrath you lie,
And whom, being Thunder-struck, none dare come nigh.

For this reason the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should unawares contract Pollution from it. It may be observ'd in general, that all Places struck with Thunder were avoided (f), and

(a) *De Legib. lib. IX.* (b) *Diodorus Siculus Biblioth. lib. XVI. cap. VI.* (c) *Laconicis p. 178. Edit. Han.* (d) *Artemidorus lib. II. cap. VIII.* (e) *Satir. II. v. 27.* (f) *Plutarchus Pyrrho.*

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fenc'd round, out of a Phanſy, that *Jupiter*, having taken ſome Offence, fix'd upon them that Mark of his Diſpleaſure.

7. Thoſe who waſted their Patrimony, forfeited their Right of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers: Whence we find *Democritus* to have been in Danger of wanting a Burial-place, for ſpending his paternal Inheritance in Travel to foreign Countries, and ſearching after the Myſteries of Nature (a).

8. To theſe we may ſubjoyn ſuch as dy'd in Debt, whoſe Bodies belong'd at *Athens* to their Creditors, and could not claim any Right to human Burial, till Satisfaction was made. Whence 'tis reported, that *Cimon* had no other Method to redeem his Father *Miltiades's* Body, but by taking his Debt and Fetters upon himſelf.

9. Some Offenders, who ſuffer'd capital Punishment, were likewiſe depriv'd of Burial; thoſe eſpecially who dy'd upon the Croſs, or were impal'd, whom they frequently permitted to be devour'd by Beaſts and Birds of Prey. To which Cuſtom there is an Alluſion in *Horace* (b),

Non hominem occidi; non paſces in cruce corvos.

With impious Hands I ne'er ſlew th' innocent.
Therefore to feed the Crows is not your Punishment.

Juvenal alſo mentioneth the ſame Cuſtom (c),

*Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,
Ad ſatus properat, partemque cadaveris affert.*

Where Croſſes and contagious Murrain are
Vultures in Flocks moſt greedily repair,
And to their craving Young thence Food they bear.

3

The Interpreters of Fables will have *Prometheus's* Punishment to be an Emblem of this. If the Carcaſe was ſpar'd by the Beaſts, it commonly remain'd upon the Croſs, or Pale, till the Weather conſum'd and putrify'd it. Thus *Silius* reports of the *Scythians* (d):

*At gente in Scythica ſuffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies ſepelit, puri liquentia ſabo.*

Delinquents Carcaſes in *Scythia* were
Impal'd, until Corrupted by the Air
The putrid Fleſh did drop and ſhrink away,
And the Bones moulder'd by a long Decay.

J. A.

(a) *Diogenes Laertius* *Democrito*. (b) *Lib. I. Epist. XVI.* (c) *Sat. XVI. 77.*
(d) *Lib. XIII.*

Nor was this inhuman Custom practis'd in that barbarous Nation only, but by those who made greater Pretensions to Civility and good Manners; as may appear from the Dream of *Polycrates's* Daughter, who fancy'd she saw her Father's Face walk'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; which was accomplish'd not long after, when he was hung upon the Cross, and expos'd to the Rain, and Sunbeams (a). Hither also may be referr'd the Answer of *Theodorus* the Philosopher, who, being threaten'd Crucifixion by King *Lyfimbatus*, reply'd, that it was all one to him to be above, or beneath the Ground (b).

10. In some Places it was customary to inter the Bodies of Infants who had no Teeth, without consuming them to Ashes (c): To which Custom *Juvenal* has this Allusion (d),

*Natura imperio gemimus, cum funis adulta
Virginis occurrit, vel tetra clauduntur infans;
Et minor igne rogi.* ———

When a young Lady brisk and gay is dead
As soon as ripe she seems for th' nuptial Bed,
And when an Infant not yet fit to burn,
Is bury'd, who relents not, who forbears to mourn?

F. A.

If Persons who had incurr'd publick Hatred, had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, it was customary to leap upon their Tombs, and cast Stones at them, in token of Detestation and Abhorrence. Which Practice is mention'd by *Euripides* (e);

*ἐκ δ' ὧν καὶ τάδ' οὐκ
ἤτερος τε λείβει μνήμα λαϊνὸν πατρός.*

He leaps upon his Parent's Tomb,
And in Derision batters it with Stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious Offenders by dragging their Remains out of their Retirements, and depriving them of the Graves, to which they had no just Pretension, as may appear from several Instances.

Sacrilegious Persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable Instance hereof we find at *Athens*, where *Cylo*, an ambitious Nobleman, having seiz'd the Cittadel, and being there straitly besieg'd, found means to escape with his Brother, leaving his Accomplices to the Mercy of the Besiegers; they fled therefore for Protection to the Altars, whence there was no Method to draw them, but by promising them Pardon: But no sooner had they left their

(a) *Herodot. Thalia.* (b) *Cicero Tus. Quæst. lib. I.* (c) *Plinius Nat. Hist. lib. VII.* (d) *Satir. XV. v. 139.* (e) *Electra.*

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Sanctuaries, when the Magistrates, contrary to their Covenant, put them to death; upon which Fact themselves were afterwards arraign'd, and banish'd the Deities so commanding: Nor was this alone satisfactory to Divine Vengeance, till their Graves were rifled, and their Remains, which had been convey'd into *Attica*, cast out of the Country (a).

Traitours were condemn'd to the same Punishment; which appears as from several other Instances, so from *Phrynicus* the *Asbenian*, who being arraign'd, and condemn'd for Treason some Time after his Funeral, his Tomb was open'd, and his Reliques thrown out of *Attica* (b).

The same was sometimes practis'd upon Enemies, when their Malice and Fury were extended beyond the ordinary Bounds of Martial Law, and hurry'd them on to despoil the sacred Temples, and commit unsufferable Villanies; otherwise, thus to treat a lawful and honourable Enemy, was always censur'd as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all it seems to have been the Fate of Tyrants, who were esteem'd of all other savage Beasts the most hurtful and pernicious to Mankind: Wherefore we are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Dio* was extremely censur'd for hindring the *Syracusians* from breaking up the Tomb of the elder *Dionysius*, and scattering his Bones; *Periander* the *Corinthian* Tyrant (by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wise Men) to prevent his incens'd Subjects from venting their Fury upon his Reliques, contriv'd this Method; he commanded two young Men to walk in the Depth of the Night in a certain Path, and killing the first Man they met, to bury him privately; to dispatch and interr these he commission'd four, after whom he sent others, and after these a greater Force to treat the former in the same manner; whereby it came to pass, that the Tyrant himself, meeting the first Pair, was interr'd in a Place unknown to any Man (d).

Other Methods were likewise us'd to secure Peace to their Ashes; the Disturbance whereof was look'd on as the highest Affront, and the greatest Misfortune in the World; To instance, we find *Medea* in *Euripides* resolving to bury her Sons in *Juno* *Acrae's* Temple, hoping that the Holiness of the Place would protect them from the Malice of her Enemies (e),

ἔπειτα σφας τῆς ἐγὼ δάψω χεῖρ,
φύρο' ἐς Ἡρας τέμενος Ἀκράας θεῖς
Ὡς μὴ τις αὐτὰς πολεμίων καδυβείη,
τύμβους ἀνασπών.

Affronts and Contumelies to prevent,
And that their Sepulchres mayn't be defac'd,
I will my self give Burial to my Sons
In *Juno's* Temple at th' *Acropolis*
She presides over,

F. A.

(a) *Plutarchus de sera Numinis vindicta.* (b) *Lycurgus prat. in Leocratem.* (c) *Plutarch.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius Periandro.* (e) *Medea v. 1378.*

C H A P. II.

Of the Ceremonies in Sickness, and Death.

WHEN any Person was seiz'd with a dangerous Distemper, it was usual to fix over his Door a Branch of *Rhamn*, and *Lawrel-trees*: Which Custom is mention'd by *Laertius* as in his Life of *Bion* the *Boristhenite*;

Ράμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης
Υπὲρ θυρίων ἔθηκεν.
Ἀπαντα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανεῖν,
Ἐτοιμος ὦν ὑπεργεῖν.

Bion the Post of's Door doth grace
With *Rhamn* and *Daphne's* Plant;
For Fear of Death in his sad Case
He nothing now will want.

F. A.

The former of these Plants seems design'd to keep off evil Spirits, against which it was reputed a sovereign Amulet; and on that account sometimes joyn'd with the Epithet *ἀλεξίκακος*; as in this Fragment of *Euphorio*,

— Ἀλεξίκακον οὖν ράμνον.

Produc'd the *Rhamn*, against mischievous Ills
An Antidote.

The *Lawrel* was joyn'd to it to render the God of Physick propitious, who, they thought, could design no Harm to any Place, where he found the Monument of his beloved *Daphne*. These Boughs they term'd *αντήνους* (a).

It may not be improper to observe in this Place, that all sudden Deaths of Men were imputed to *Apollo*; whence *Hector* having lain unbury'd twelve Days, and being by the especial Favour of Heaven preserv'd fresh and free from Corruption, *Hecuba* resembles him to one Dead not of a ling'ring and wearing Distemper, but by a sudden Death; the former being thin and consum'd away, the latter fat and fleshy (b);

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρσήεις καὶ πάσχατος ἐν μεγάροις
Κεῖσθαι, πρὶ ἱερῷ, ὅν τ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
Οἷς ἀγαθοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος κατέπεφνεν.

(a) *Etymologiae* Auctor. (b) *Iliad*, ω'. v. 757.

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Now fresh and glowing e'en in Death thou art,
And fair as he, who falls by *Phæbus* Dart.

The sudden Death of Women was attributed to *Diana*; whence *Glaucus* in the same Poet, speaking of *Hyperdamia* (a),

Τὼ δὲ χολωσαμένη χερσὶν Ἄρτεμις ἔκτα.

Incens'd *Diana* her depriv'd of Life.

Again, *Achilles* wishes that *Briseis* had been snatch'd away by a sudden Death, rather than have been the occasion of Dissention between him and *Agamemnon* (b);

Τὼ ὅφελ' ἐν νῆασι κατακτάμεν Ἀρτεμις ἰῶ,
Ἡματι τῷ ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐλόμην Λυρνησὼν ὀλέσας.

Oh! that *Diana* her had kill'd, on Board
When first I carry'd her, *Lyrnessus* overthrow'd.

The Poet has explain'd his own Meaning in another Place (c); where *Eumæus* reports, that in the Isle of *Syria* the Inhabitants never die of lingring Distempers, but, being arriv'd to a good old Age, drop into their Graves without any previous Torment;

Πᾶν δ' ἔποτε δῆμον ἰσέρχεται, ἐδὲ τις ἄλλη
Νῆσος ἐπὶ συγερῇ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν·
ἀλλ' ὅτε γηράσκωσι πόλιν κ' οὐλ' ἀνθρώπων,
ἐλθὼν ἀργυρέτοξος Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξυῶ,
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελίεων ἐποικόμενος κατέπερνε.

No Plague, no Famine do's their Lives impair,
No poisonous Ills those happy Mortals fear,
Healthy and strong they see the Verge of Age,
Then venerably old they quit the Stage;
Apollo and *Diana* stop their Breath,
Shooting unerring Shafts well fraught with Death.

J. A.

Again, *Ulysses* enquires of his Mother in the Regions below, whether she resign'd her Life under a tedious Disease, or *Diana's* Hand (d);

ἀλλ' ἄγε, μοι τόδε εἰπὲ, καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον,
τίς νύ σε κλεῖδ' ἰδμάσσε τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
ἢ Δολιχὴ νῆσος, ἢ Ἀρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα
οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελίεων ἐποικόμεν' κατέπερνε;

(a) *Iliad*. 2. v. 293. (b) *Iliad*. 7. v. 59. (c) *Odys.* 6. v. 406. (d) *Odys.* 11. v. 170.

This

This I desire, dear Mother, you'd relate,
 By what unhappy Destiny, what Fate
 You posted hither to this gloomy Coast,
 And all th' Endearments of the World have lost;
 Whether *Diana* with relentless Dart,
 (That sportful Deity) transfix'd your Heart,
 Or else you did your vital Breath expire
 By ling'ring Pain, or pestilential Fire?

F. A.

Other Instances may be produc'd to the same purpose: The Ground of this Opinion was *Apollo's* being usually taken for the Sun, and *Diana* for the Moon; which Planets were believ'd to have a great Influence upon human Life (a).

All dead Persons were thought to be under the Jurisdiction of the Infernal Deities, and therefore no Man could resign his Life, till some of his Hairs were cut to consecrate him to them: Hence *Euripides* introduces Death with a Sword, going to cut off some of the Hair of *Alceſtis*, whom the Fates had adjudg'd to die instead of her Husband *Admetus* (b);

Η δ' ἐν γυνὴ κατέσπιν εἰς ἄδου δόμους,
 Στεῖχον δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, αἷ κατὰρξάμαρ ξίφος.
 Ἴσος γὰρ ἔτος ἦ καὶ χθονὸς δαίμων,
 ὅτε τοῦ ἐυχχὸς κρατὸς ἀγνίσεν τεύχεα.

I'm come to loose the brittle Tie of Life,
 And send her to th' Infernal Mansions hence;
 This Sword is to initiate the Rites
 By cutting off the fatal Lock, on which
 Lyes the last Struggle of her panting Breath.

F. A.

Which Passage is imitated by *Virgil* (c), where he tells us that *Dido*, ridding her self out of the World before her Time, had not her Hair cut off by *Proserpina*, and therefore struggled some Time, as unable to resign her Life, till *Iris* was commission'd from *Juno* to do her that kind Office (d);

Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
 Difficilesque obitus, Irin demisit Olympo,
 Quae luctantem animum, nexosque resolveret artus;
 Nam, quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
 Sed misera ante diem, subitque accensa furore,
 Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.

(a) *Heraclides* (vel potius *Heraclitus*) *Ponticus de Allegor. Homer. Eustathius* *Il. 2.* v. 205. & *Il. 7.* v. 39. &c. (b) *Alceſtis* v. 74. (c) *Macrobius Saturnal.* lib. V. cap. XIX. (d) *Aeneid.* IV. v. 694.

*Ergo Iris croceis per cælum roseida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & supra caput astitit; "Hunc ego Divi
"Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait, & dextra crinem secat; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.*

Then Juno, grieving that she shou'd sustain
A Death so ling'ring, and so full of Pain,
Sent Iris down to free her from the Strife
Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolve her Life;
For, since she dy'd, not doom'd by Heav'n's Decree,
Or her own Crime, but human Casualty,
And Rags of Love, that plung'd her in Despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair,
(Which Proserpine and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the Shades below;
Downward the various Goddess took her flight,
And drew a thousand Colours from the Light.
Then stood above the dying Lover's Head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the Dead;
"This Off'ring to th' Infernal Gods I bear,
Thus while she spoke, she cut the fatal Hair,
The struggling Soul was loos'd, and Life dissolv'd in Air.

Mr. Dryden.

What was the Ground of this Opinion, cannot be certainly defin'd; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a Ceremony at Sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the Hairs from the Victim's Forehead, and offer'd them to the Gods as First-fruits of the Sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by Death upon Men sent as Victims to the Infernal Gods.

When they perceiv'd the Pangs of Death coming upon them, they made supplication to Mercury, whose Office it was to convey the Ghosts to the Regions below. An Instance hereof we have in a Cean Matron, who being about to ridd her self of Life by a Draught of Poison, first call'd upon Mercury to grant her a pleasant Journey, and convey her to a commodious Habitation in Pluto's Dominions (a). These Prayers whether offer'd to Mercury, or to any other God, were term'd *ἑσθήςτοι εὐχαι*, which is a general Name for all Prayers before any Man's departure, whether by Death, or only to take a Journey (b).

Their Friends and Relations, perceiving them at the Point of resigning their Lives, came close to the Bed where they lay, to bid them Farewel, and catch their dying Words, which they never repeated without Reverence. The want of Opportunity to pay this Compliment to Hector, furnishes Andromache with Matter of Lamentation, which she thus expresses (c),

(a) Valerius Maximus lib. II. cap. VI. (b) Etymologicæ Auctor. (+) Iliad. v. 743.

Οὐ γὰρ μοι θνήσκων λελύων ἐκ χεῖρας ὄρεξας,
Οὐδ' ἔτι μοι εἶπες πυκινὸν ἔπος, ὃ τί κεν αἰεὶ
Μεμνήμην, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέουσα.

I saw him not when in the Pangs of Death,
Nor did my Lips receive his latest Breath,
Why held he not to me his dying Hand?
And why receiv'd not I his last Command?
Something he wou'd have said had I been there,
Which I shou'd still in sad Remembrance bear;
For I cou'd never, never Words forget,
Which Night and Day I wou'd with Tears repeat.

Mr. Congreve.

They kiss'd and embrac'd the dying Person, so taking their last Farewel; which Custom was very ancient, being deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for we find in the Holy Writings, that Joseph fell upon his Father Jacob's Neck, when he lay upon his Death-bed, and kiss'd him (a). They endeavour'd likewise to receive in their Mouth his last Breath, as fancying his Soul to expire with it, and enter into their Bodies: And at the Time of his Departure, it was customary to beat brazen Kettles, which was thought an excellent Method to drive away evil Spirits, and Phantasms, whose airy Forms were not able to endure so harsh a Noise (b); thus they imagin'd the dead Man's Ghost secur'd from Furies, and quietly convey'd to a peaceful Habitation in the *Elysian Fields*: For 'twas an old Opinion, that, there being two Mansions in the Infernal Regions, one on the Right-hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the Left appointed for the Souls of wicked Wretches, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed Souls to the place of Torment: *Virgil* has an Allusion to this Fancy (c),

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit,
Hæc iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.*

'Tis here in diff'rent Paths the Way divides,
The Right to *Pluto's* golden Palace guides,
The Left to that unhappy Region tends,
Which to the Depth of *Tartarus* descends,
The Seat of Night profound, and punish'd Fiends.

Mr. Dryden.

Death and all Things concerning it were ominous and ill-boding, and are therefore frequently express'd in soft'ning Terms: To die is commonly term'd *θνήσκειν*, to which the *Latin* *denasci* answers:

(a) *Genes.* cap. L. (b) *Theocriti Schollastes.* (c) *Æn.* VI. v. 540.

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Sometimes 'tis call'd *οἰχεσθαι*, to depart; and the Dead, *οἰχομένοι*: So also *Clio* in an Epistle to *Plato* saith, *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελεύσομαι*, I will depart out of the World. In the same Sense we find the Latin Word *abitis*, which is a synonymous Term for Death (a); and *abii*; as when *Pliny* writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit*, *plenus honoribus* (b), departed full of Years, and Honours: Thus also the Greeks use *βεβίωκε*, i.e. *he once liv'd*; and the Romans *vixit*, and *fuit*; thus *Virgil*,

— *Fuit Ilium, & ingens*
Gloria Teucrorum. —

Glory did once attend the *Dardan State*,
Its Spires then glitter'd, and its Chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath us'd the same Expression (c);

Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,
Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.

In a blest Series may your Lives glide on,
If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,
One transient Glance you'll on my Mem'ry cast,
And in soft Accents say, He's gone and past.

F. A.

Sometimes they use *κάμνικε*, and *καμώντες*. Thus *Homer* (d),

— *Οἱ ὑπενεργε καμώντας*
Ἀνδρώπης τίνυνθον, ὅς τις κ' ἐπίσχεον ὀμβῶν.

Ye dire Avengers of all perjur'd Slaves,
When once they're dead, and cover'd in their Graves,

Again (e),

— *βροτῶν εἶδωλα καμώντων.*

— The Ghosts of th' Dead.

But the most frequent are Names taken from Sleep, to which Death bears a near Resemblance; whence the Poets feign them to be Brothers, and *κοιμάσθαι*, or *εὖδειν* are commonly us'd for dying; thus *Callimachus* (f);

Τῇ δὲ Σάων, ὁ Δίωνος, Ἀλάνθιος, ἰσθὺν ὕπνον
Κοιμάται. —

(a) *Festus*. (b) *Lib. II. Epist. I.* (c) *Lib. III. Eleg. V.* (d) *Iliad. γ.* (e) *Od. γ. λ.* (f) *Epigram. XV.*

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Soon th' *Acanthian*, *Dion's* Son hard by
In everlasting Sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another Place (a);

— — — — — *Η δ' ἀποβέζει*
Ενθάδε τ' πάσαις ὕπνον φειλόμενον.

The common Debt of all Mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath us'd the same Metaphor in his *Argonauticks*,

Εὐδεις, Ἀγριώδην, γλυκερῷ βεβλημένος ὕπνῳ

Agniades, thou art in soft Repose
Lock'd up. — — —

Many other like Passages occur both in profane and inspir'd Writers; and so common was this Way of speaking with the primitive *Christians*, that their Burying-places were call'd *κοιμητήρια*, which is a Term of the same Sense with *Lycophron's* *ἐνασθήρια* (b);

Σίδωνος εἰς θυγατρὸς ἐνασθήριον.

To th' sleeping Place of *Sidon's* Daughter.

C H A P. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

AS soon as any Person had expir'd, they clos'd his Eyes, to do which they term'd *καθαίρειν, σφραγισθῆναι, συγκλείειν* τὸ ὀφθαλμὸς, or *τὰ βλέφαρα*, &c. Which Custom was so universally practis'd, that no Person, who has the least Acquaintance with ancient Writers, can be ignorant of it. Hence *καταμύειν* came to be us'd for *θύσκειν*. The Design of this Custom seems to have been not only to prevent that Horrour, which the Eyes of dead Men, when uncover'd, are apt to strike into the Living; but also for the Satisfaction of dying Persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent Posture. Thus *Polyxena* in *Euripides* is said to have order'd her self in such a manner, that nothing unfit to be seen should appear in her Fall (c):

(a) Epigram. XXII. (b) *Cassandr.* v. 583. (c) *Euripid. Hecuba* v. 568.

— ἡ δὲ, καὶ θνήσκου, ὅμως
Πολλὰ περὶ οἶον ἔχεν εὐσχήμως πτεῖν,
Κρύπτειν δ', ἃ κρύπτειν ὄμματ' ἀρσένων χρεόν.

And *Augustus Caesar* upon the Approach of his Death, call'd for a Looking-glass, and caus'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his fall'n Cheeks decently compos'd (a). For the same Reasons the Mouth of the dead Person was clos'd. Hence the Ghost of *Agamemnon* in *Homer* complains that his Wife *Clytemnestra* had neglected to perform this Ceremony (b),

— ἔδε μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἴδαο
Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐλέειν, σῶτε γόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.

This done, his Face was cover'd: Whence *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, being at the Point to expire, calls upon his Father *Theseus* to do him that Office (c),

Κρύψον δέ με πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

Veil my Face over quickly with a Sheet.

Indeed almost all the Offices about the Dead were perform'd by their nearest Relations; nor could a greater Misfortune befall any Person, than to want these last Respects; *Electra* in *Sophocles* seems to prefer Death it self before it; infinite Numbers of Instances might be produc'd to the same purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther Confirmation. All the Charges expended on Funerals, and the whole Care and Management of them belong'd also to Relations; saving that Persons of extraordinary Worth were frequently honour'd with publick Funerals, the Expences whereof were defray'd out of the Exchequer; thus we find *Democritus* at *Abdera*, *Zeno* and *Aristides* at *Athens*, *Eraminondas* at *Thebes*, *Crysus* *Xenophon's* Son, at *Mantineæ*, with many others, to have had their Funerals celebrated at the publick Expence.

To return, before the Body was cold, they compos'd all the Members, stretching them out to their due Length; this they term'd *ἐκτείνειν*, or *δεδεῖν*: Whence the Maid in *Euripides's Hippolytus*, as soon as *Phædra* had expir'd her last, cries out to some of her own Sex to perform this Office (d);

Ὀρθάσθ' ἐκτείνοντες ἀδελὸν νέκυν,
Πικρὸν γὰρ οἰκίσθημα δεσπόταις ἐμοῖς.

Tho' 'tis a Service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the Souls of my most wretched Masters;
Yet lay the Corpse of the dead Lady out.

(a) *Suetonius* in *Augusto* XCIX. (b) *Odysseus* l. v. 419. (c) *Euripides* *Hippolytus* v. 1458. (d) v. 785.

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Not long after the Chorus saith,

Ἡδὴ γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν τιν' ἐκτείνουσι δὴ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead Body was wash'd; hence *Alceſtis* in *Euripides* (a) upon the Approach of the fatal Day, wherein she was to lay down her Life for her Husband *Admetus*, wash'd her self in the River,

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡδὲ θ' ἡμέραν ᾗ κτεῖναι

Ἡκυσαν, ὅδ' αὖσι ποταμίῳις λευκὸν χεῖρα

Ἐλύσατ'. — —

The pious Dame did in the River wash
Her beauteous Body, when the fatal Day
Of her own Exit did approach. —

Plato tells us, that *Socrates* wash'd himself before his Execution, to save the Women a Trouble (b); for this Office was commonly perform'd by Women related to the Party deceas'd; only in Cases of Necessity others were employ'd therein; so we find that poor *Theagenes*, having neither Wife, nor Child, nor any near Relation of his own, was wash'd by the *Cynicks* (c). At some Places there were Vessels in the Temples design'd for this Use; these were call'd in *Latin* *labra*, whence some derive the Word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the Body was anointed; *Pliny* reports, that the *Grecians* never us'd Ointment, till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when they had it convey'd out of *Persia* (e); and *Homer*, tho' frequently mentioning the Custom of anointing the Dead, yet useth no other Material beside Oyl: Thus they anointed *Patroclus* (f);

Καὶ τότε δὴ λύσαντο, καὶ ἤλεσαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ.

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with Oyl.

But *Athenaeus* will by no means allow *Homer's* Oyl to have been distinguish'd from *μύρον*, or Ointment properly so call'd (g); and we find that *Solon* allow'd his Citizens the Use of Ointments, forbidding only Slaves to perfume themselves therewith (h). Whence it seems probable, that however the *Grecians* might not have any Knowledge of those costly Ointments the *Persians* furnish'd them with; yet they were not unacquainted with the Use of another sort.

After the Body was wash'd and anointed, they wrap'd it in a Garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium*,

(a) V. 156. (b) *Phaedone*. (c) *Galenus de methodo medendi* lib. XIII. cap. XV. (d) *Asconius de divina fone.* (e) *Nat. Hist.* lib. XIII. cap. 1. (f) *Iliad.* v. 350. (g) *Δειπνοσοφ.* lib. XV. (h) *Putarchus Solone.*

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or Cloak, they wore at other Times (a), as we find the Romans made use of their *toga*. Thus *Misenus* in *Virgil*, being first wash'd and anointed, then (as the Custom was) laid upon a Bed, was wrapt in the Garments he had usually worn (b);

*Pars calidos latices, & abena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & ungunt:
Fit gemitus: Tum membra toro defeta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt.*

Some, being mov'd with Pity tow'rs their Friend,
Water to boyl in Caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd Limbs all o'er
To try if quick'ning Heat they can restore;
With Essences and Oyls they scent the Dead,
And then repose him on his Fun'ral Bed;
Their glowing Passion in deep Sighs they vent,
And full of Sorrow dolefully lament;
On him the Robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the Bier.

F. A.

After this, the Body was adorn'd with a rich and splendid Garment; hence we find that before *Socrates* took the fatal Draught, *Apolodorus* brought him a Cloak, with a Garment of great Value (c), it being the Philosopher's Desire to prepare himself for his Funeral before he died. 'Tis reported also, that *Philocles* the Athenian Admiral, being overcome, and sentenc'd to Death by *Lysander* the Spartan, wash'd himself, and put on his best Apparel, before he was executed (d). The same we read of *Alcestis* in *Euripides*,

Επεὶ γὰρ ἡδεὶς ἡμέραν ᾗ κυεῖαν
ἤκυσαν. ὕδασι παταμίσις λευκὸν χεῖρα
Ελύσατ', ἐκ δ' ἑλῶσα κεδεῖων δόμων
Εἰδήτα, κῆσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἡσκήσατο.

The pious Dame, before the fatal Day
Of her own Exit, wash'd her beauteous Limbs
In gentle Rivulets, then she put on
A splendid Vest, and decent Ornaments
Of rich Attire.

F. A.

The whole Body was cover'd with this Garment. Its Colour was commonly white, as we find in *Homer* speaking of *Parroclus* (e),

(a) *Apuleius Florid.* I. (b) *Æneid.* VI. v. 218. (c) *Laertius Socrate, Ælian.* Var. Hist. lib. I. cap. XVI. (d) *Plutarchus Lysandro.* (e) *Iliad.* c. v. 352.

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Ἐν λεχέεσσι δὲ θέντες ἑανῶ λιτὴ κάλυψαν
Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καθύπερθε δὲ φάρεϊ λευκῷ.

In a white linnen Shroud from Head to Foot
They put the Corpse, when on a Bed laid out.

whence *Artemidorus* reckons it an unlucky Omen, and presaging Death, for a sick Person to have white Apparel (a): This Colour seems to have been us'd to denote the Simplicity and Harmlessness of the Dead (b). So concern'd were they about this Garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepar'd it for themselves, and Friends during Life: Thus *Penelope* is introduc'd by *Homer* speaking to her Courtiers (c),

Κῆροι, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάναθ' ἦν Ὀδυσσεύς,
Μίμνεντ' ἐπεργόμενοι τ' ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰσέκε φάρος.
Ἐκτελέσω (μὴ μοι μεταμύθια νήματ' ὀληται)
Λαέρτη ἥρωϊ παρήϊον, εἰς δ' τε κέν μιν
Μοῖρ' ὅλοη κατέλῃσι τανηλεγέος θανάτοιο.

Since my *Ulysses*, as 'tis said, is slain,
And clotted Gore won't circulate again,
Gentlemen, you that vig'rous Rivals are
In courting me, your hot Pursuit forbear,
Till I have spun this Web against grim Death
With his cold Hands shall stop *Luerres's* Breath.

F. A.

Thus likewise *Euryalus* being slain, his Mother is brought in complaining (d),

— — Nec te tua funera mater
Produxi, pressive oculos, aut vulnera lavi,
Veste tegens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
Urgebam, & tela curas solabar aniles.

What Pangs of Grief my throbbing Breast invade
To think thy mangled Carcase was not laid
Forth on its Pile by me; oh! sad Surprise,
That I wa'n't by to close thy beauteous Eyes,
Just as th' expiring Soul did take her Flight
Into the Regions of Infernal Night;
Oh! had I wash'd each Wound, each sever'd Vein,
When thou scarce cold laidst weltring on the Plain,
And had the Vest spread o'er thee, Day and Night
Which I have spun my Dotage to Delight.

F. A.

(a) *Oneirocrit.* lib. II. cap. III. (b) *Plutarchus Quæst. Rom.* (c) *Odys.* C. v. 95. (d) *Virgil, Æneid.* IX. v. 486.

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But it may be disputed whether these were made on purpose for Funeral-Garments, or only design'd to be worn, and apply'd to the former Use, in case the Person should die; it being usual (as hath been already observ'd) to wrap dead Bodies in the Garments, they had us'd when alive: The latter Opinion seems more probable from the Words which *Penelope* adds,

Μήτις μοι καὶ Σῆμον Ἀχαϊῶδων γέμισσῃ,
Αἶκην ἄτερ ὀπίρου κῆται, πολλὰ κτεάτιας.

Left, if my Sire without a Coat shou'd lie,
Shame and Reproach I might incur thereby
From *Grecian* Ladies, since this Duty he,
Having such large Revenues, claims of me.

F. A.

And it bears no great Shew of Reason, that a Mother should comfort her self by weaving a Winding-sheet for her young Son, who at that Time was likely to have liv'd many Years. However that be, it is observable that the *Lacedemonians*, as in most other Things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the *Greeks*; For whereas in other Places the Dead were cloath'd with costly Apparel, which none, except the poorer sort, ever wanted, the *Spartan* Law-giver order'd, that Persons of the greatest Valour and Merit should be bury'd in nothing but a red Coat, which was the common Habit of Soldiers; to the rest even this was deny'd (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those, who thro' the whole Course of their Lives had been accusom'd to contemn Riches, and superfluous Ornaments, should be deck'd therewith when dead. Nor were any Ointments, or costly Perfumes us'd there, being look'd on as conducing nothing to the Felicity of the Dead, and unworthy of the *Lacedemonian* Gravity:

The next Ceremony was the bedecking the dead Body with Chaplets of Flowers, and green Boughs. Thus *Talthybius* puts on *Hecuba* to adorn her Grand-son *Astyanax* (b),

Πεπλοισιν ὡς περικλυτὸν νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ', ὅση σοι δαΐματα, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the Corpse with costly Robes,
With Chaplets, and what other Pomp you can,

When Persons of Worth and Character died in foreign Countries, their Remains, being brought Home in Urns, were honour'd with the Ceremonies customary at other Funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of. *Plutarch* reports, that all the Cities, thro' which *Demetrius's* Ashes were convey'd, sent Mourners to meet the

(a) *Alianus* Var. Hist. lib. V. cap. VI. (b) *Euripid.* *Troad.* v. 1143.

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sacred Urn, with others to perform the Rites usual on such Occasions, or at least they crown'd it with Garlands (a). The same Author reports, that *Philopomen's* Relicks were attended by Captives in Chains, and his Urn so cover'd with Ribbands and Chaplets, that scarce any Part of it was to be seen (b). This Ceremony was either taken from the *Games*, wherein the Conquerors were rewarded with Crowns of Leaves, as signifying that the Dead had finish'd their Course (c); or was design'd to express the unmixt and never fading Pleasures the Dead were to enjoy upon their Removal out of this painful and troublesome World (d); for Garlands were an Emblem of Mirth and Joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at Banquets and Festivals. The same may be observ'd of Ointments and Perfumes, the constant Attendants of Gaiety and Pleasantness. To both these Ceremonies we have an ingenious Allusion of an old Poet in *Stobæus*,

Α. Ε. Οὐ γὰρ ὅς τις ἀνὴρ ποτ' ἐσθρανὼν ἦν
Πρὸς αἰμῶνι ἀνδρῶν, ἐδὲ κατακεχεισμένος,
Εἰ μὴ καταβάντας εὐδένος τίνεν ἑδρῇ
Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς καλῶνται μακάριοι,
Πᾶς, ὅς τις λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἰχεται.

Not that we less compassionate are grown,
Do we at Funerals our Temples crown,
Or with sweet Essences adorn our Hair,
And all the Marks of pleasing Transport wear;
But 'cause we're sure of that more happy State,
To which kind Death doth ev'ry Soul translate,
Which here by drinking we anticipate;
For soon as Death his fatal Shaft has hurl'd,
And us transmitted to the other World,
We drinking sign th' immortal Beverage,
And in sweet Joys Eternity engage;
Hence they by ev'ry one are only said
To be right happy, that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *περὶθεῖναι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead Body; sometimes they plac'd it upon the Ground, sometimes upon a Bier, call'd *λευκρον*, *οἰστρον*, or *οἰστρον*, which they bedeck'd with various sorts of Flowers. Some are of Opinion the Corpse was first laid out upon the Ground, afterwards lifted upon a Bier. This Office, as most of the former, was perform'd by the nearest Relations; whence *Lysias* (e) amongst other aggravating Circumstances, which attended the Death of *Eratosthenes*, who was condemn'd by the *Thirty Tyrants* of *Athens*, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an Office belonging of Right only to the nearest and most tender Relations. *Tibe-*

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Philopomene*. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Clement Alexandrin*. *Στομα.*
lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Orat. De eade Eratosthenis*.

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rius Caesar is likewise censur'd by Dio, not only as neglecting to visit Livia when sick, but because he laid her not out with his own Hands, when she was dead (a). The Place, where the Bodies were laid out, was near the Entrance of the House; which being sometimes term'd *πρὸ πυλῶνος*, it came to pass that dead Men were call'd *πρὸ πυλῶναις*. Hence Euripides (b),

Ἡ δὲ πρὸ πυλῶναις ἐστὶ καὶ ψυχορραγέει.

The Reason of this Ceremony was, that all Persons might have Opportunity to search, whether the Party deceas'd had any Wounds, or other Marks of an untimely and violent Death (c). It may be farther observ'd, that the Feet were always turn'd toward the Gate. Hence Persius (d),

— Tandemque beatulus alto
Compositus lecto, crassisque luxus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit. —

Our dear departed Brother lies in State;
His Heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the Gate.

Achilles in Homer speaks of Patroclus as laid out in the same manner (e),

ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δειδαῖ γαμβρὸς ὄξυι χαλκῷ
Κεῖται ἀνὰ πρὸ πυλῶνος τετραμμένος.

Slain at the Entrance of the Tent he lies.

Where we are told by the Scholiast, that by this Ceremony they signify'd that they were never to return after their being carry'd out. Whilst the Body lay in this Place, 'twas customary to give it constant Attendance, to defend it from any Violence, or Affront, that might be offer'd. Whence Achilles adds in the fore-cited Place,

ἀμφὶ δ' ἑταῖροι
Μύρονται.

Round the dead Corpse his sad Companions mourn.

And a little before we find him so passionately concern'd lest Flies and Vermine should pollute the Corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the Battle, till *Thetis* had promis'd to guard it (f). When any Person died in Debt at Athens, there was something more to be fear'd, for the Laws of that City gave leave to Creditors to seize the dead Body, and deprive it of Burial till Payment was made;

(a) Lib. LVIII. (b) *Acroside*. (c) Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VII. (d) Sat. III. v. 103. (e) *Iliad*. τ. v. 211. (f) *Ibid*. v. 23.

whence

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whence the Corpse of *Miltiades*, who deceas'd in Prison, being like to want the Honour of Burial, his Son *Cimon* had no other means to release it, but by taking upon himself his Father's Debt and Fetters.

Some Time before Interment, a piece of Money was put into the Corps's Mouth, which was thought to be *Charon's Fare* for wafting the departed Soul over the Infernal River. This was by some term'd *καρκήδοντα* (a), by others *δανάη* (b), *δανάκη*, or *δανάκης*, from *δάνος*, a Price; or because it was given *τοῖς δανείς*, to dead Men so call'd from *δανὰ*, or dry Sticks (c). It was only a single *ὄβολος*; *Aristophanes* indeed introduces *Hercules* telling *Bacchus* he must pay two *oboli* (d),

Εν πλοιαρίῳ τυννατῶν δ' ἀνὴρ γέρον
Ναύτης διαΐξει, δὴ ὄβολῷ μισθὸν λαβάν.

Th' old Ferry-man of Hell will waft you o'er
In his small Skiff for poor two *oboli*.

But the Comedian seems to speak this only by way of jeer to the Judges in some of the *Athenian* Courts, who were presented with two *Oboli* at the End of their Session; whence *Bacchus* presently subjoins,

θεῦ, ὡς μέγα δυνάμεσσι πανταχῇ δὴ ὄβολῷ.

I find two *oboli* can much prevail
In either World.

Meursius therefore, interpreting this Place of the common Custom towards the Dead, and adding out of the *Scholias*t that the Price was afterwards rais'd to three *oboli*, seems not to have reach'd the Author's Meaning; for nothing can be more plain, than that the *Scholias*t is to be understood of the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, or Reward allow'd the Judges, which was two *oboli*, and afterwards increas'd to three. This Ceremony was not us'd in those Places, which they fancy'd situate in the Vicinity of the Infernal Regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct Road (e); *Strabo* particularly mentions that the *Hermionians* pleaded Exemption (f).

Besides this, the Corps's Mouth was furnish'd with a certain Cake, compos'd of Flower, Honey, &c. and therefore call'd *μελιττήτα* (g). This was design'd to appease the Fury of *Cerberus* the Infernal Door-keeper, and to procure for him a safe and quiet Entrance. We have an Allusion to this in the Comedian (h),

σοφὸν ἀνὴρ εἶμι,
Μελιττήταν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μάζω.

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Etymologicus* Auctor. (d) *Ranis* p. 217. E. dit. *Allob.* (e) *Etymologicus* Auctor v. *δανάκης*. (f) *Geogr.* lib. viii. (g) *Suidas*, &c. (h) *Lyssistrate*.

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A Coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare
A Cake for Cerberus. —

Virgil has oblig'd us with a larger Account of this Custom, when he describes the *Sibyl* and *Aeneas's* Journey to the Infernal Shades (a);

*Cerberus hæc ingens latratu regna trisauæ
Personat, aduerso recubans immanis in antro;
Cui vases, horrere vident jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatum & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro;
Occupat Aeneas aditum, enstode sepulchro,
Evaditque celer ripam irremcabilis undæ.*

— In his Den they found
The triple Porter of the *Stygian* Sound,
Grim *Cerberus*, who soon began to rear
His crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair;
The prudent *Sibyl* had before prepar'd
A Sop in Honey steep'd to charm the Guard,
Which, mixt with pow'rful Drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar;
With three enormous Mouths he gapes; and frait,
With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait;
Long Draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious Cave:
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without Delay
Past on, and took th' irremcable Way.

Mr. Dryden.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd that the whole Ceremony of laying out, and cloathing the Dead, and sometimes the Interment it self, was call'd *συνκομιδή* (b): In the same Sense ancient Writers use *συνκομιζεν*, with its Derivatives; thus *Sophocles* (c),

Οὗτος, σὲ παρὰ τὰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας
Μὴ συνκομιζεν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄπως ἔχει.

Do not presume th' accurs'd Corpse t' inter,
But let it lie expos'd to open View.

It may farther be observ'd, that during this Time the Hair of the deceas'd Person was hung upon the Door, to signify the Family was in Mourning. And, till the House was deliver'd of the Corpse,

(a) *Æneid.* VI. v. 417. (b) *Æschyll Scholiastes.* (c) *Ajæc.* v. 1067.

there

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there stood before the Door a Vessel of Water call'd ἀρδάνιον (a), ἀρδανία, γάρφα (b), and, from the Matter it was frequently made of, ὄρεαρον, as in *Aristophanes* (c),

Ἰδὼν τὸ καθάρτιον ὄρεαρον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen Vessel full of Water place
Before the Door. —

Part of a Chorus in *Euripides*, seeing neither of these Signs, could scarce be induc'd to believe *Alceſtis* dead (d);

Πυλῶν πάριδεν δ' οὐχ ὄραν
Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομίζεσθαι
Γε, χέριν' ἐπὶ θύρῃ πύλαις
Χαῖτ' αὖτις ἐπὶ πρὸ θύρας τομῶ-
ος, αὖ δὲ νεκρῶν πένθεσι πιτνῆ.

I see no purifying Water plac'd
Before the Doors, a Custom us'd of old;
Nor Lock of Hair is in the Entrance fix'd
To shew the House in Mourning. —

H. H.

The Design of this was, that such as had been concern'd about the Corpse, might purify themselves by washing, which was call'd ἀρδανία καὶ νεκρῶν. For not the Jews only (e), but the greatest Part of the Heathen World thought themselves polluted by the Contact of a dead Body, Death being contrary to Nature, and therefore abhorr'd by every Thing endu'd with Life: Hence the Celestial Gods, those especially who were thought to give, or preserve Light or Life, would not endure the Sight of a Corpse. *Diana* in *Euripides* professes it unlawful for her to see *Hippolytus*, her Favourite, when dead;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἔδωκε θάνατον ὄραν,
Οὐδ' ὅμμα χραίνεν θανάτοις ἐκπνοῆς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful Act
To view the Dead, or to defile mine Eyes
With the sad Sight of an expiring Soul.

Nor was the House, where the Corpse lay, free from Pollution, as appears from the Words of *Helena* in *Euripides* (f),

Καθάρα δ' ἡμῖν δώματ', ἔδ' ἐνθάδε
Ψυχῶν ἀφ' ἧς Μενέλαος.

(a) *Suidas*, Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VII. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Εκκλησιαστικῶν*. (d) *Alceſtis*. 99. (e) *Numer.* cap. XIX. 11. *Ecclusi* cap. XXXIV. 25. (f) *Helena* v. 1446.

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For sacred are our Houses, not desil'd
By the Death of Menelaus. — —

The Air proceeding from the dead Body was thought to pollute all Things into which it enter'd; whence all uncover'd Vessels, which stood in the same Room with the Corpse, were accounted unclean by the Jews. Hence 'twas customary to have the whole House purify'd, as soon as the Funeral Solemnities were over; of which Ceremony I shall have occasion to discourse in one of the following Chapters.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Funeral Proceffions.

THE next Thing to be observ'd is their Carrying the Corpse forth, which is in Greek term'd *ἐκφορά*, and *ἐκφορά*, in Latin *elatio*, or *exportatio*; whence the Latin *efferre*, *exportare*, and the Greek *ἐκφέρειν*, and *ἐκφορίζειν* are Words appropriated to Funerals. Kirchman would have *ἐκφορίζειν* to be us'd in the same Sense; but the Place he produces out of *Eunapius* (a) to that purpose, seems rather to denote the Preservation of the Body by some Place, than its Elation from the House wherein it was prepar'd for Burial; for *ἐκφορίζειν* is usually spoken with respect to a Place in the middle Way of any Motion; *ἐκφορά* belongs to the End, or Place where the Motion ceases; but *ἐκφέρειν*, or *ἐκφέρειν* are only proper, when we speak of the Place, whence the Motion begins, being the same with *ἐξωφέρειν*, carrying forth, which Words are taken by *Theocritus* in the Sense I am speaking of (b);

Αἰδῶν δ' αἴμυρς νῦν ἀπὸ δέσπης ἀδελφῆς
Οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ χύματ' ἐπ' αἰὶνι πλύνοντα.

I'th' Morn, when pearly Dew has overspread
The bending Grass, we will bring forth our Dead
Down to the River's Side.

Plautus likewise for *efferre* hath *foras ferre* (c);

Qua cras venias perendie foras feratur soror.

To Morrow's Son shall see my Sister carry'd forth.

(a) *Fambitcho*. (b) *Idyll*, XV. 132. (c) *Amphitrua*.

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The Time of Burial seems not to have been limited. The Author of the *Geniales dies* (a) tells us, that Bodies were usually kept seventeen Days, and seventeen Nights, before they were interr'd; which he seems to have out of *Homer*, who reports that *Achilles's* Body after seventeen Days and as many Nights of Mourning was committed to the Flames (b),

Επτακαιδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κλαίοντες ἀδανάτοί τε θεοὶ, θνητοὶ τ' ἀνδραῖοι,
Οὐτοκαὶ δεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομεν πυρὶ. —

Seventeen long Days were in sad Mourning spent,
As many Nights did Gods and Men lament,
But on the eighteenth lay'd you on the Pile.

Servius was of Opinion that the Time of burning Bodies was the eighth Day after Death, the Time of burying the ninth (c); but this must only be understood of the Funerals of great Persons, which could not be duly solemniz'd without extraordinary Preparations; Men of inferior Rank were committed to the Ground without so much Noise and Pomp. The ancient Burials seem to have been upon the third, or fourth Day after Death; thus the Author of the *Argonauticks* (d);

At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos condunt lugubri murmure soles;
Magnifice tumulant quarto. —

With three Days Mourning they the Fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good Office due to the Deceas'd)
But on the fourth, they o'er his Body rear'd
A stately Tomb. —

H. H.

Nor was it unusual to perform the Solemnities, especially of poor Persons, upon the Day after their Death; which appears from an Epigram of *Callimachus*;

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὖ οἶδ' ἀΐειον; ἡνίκα καὶ σε,
Χάρμης, ἠὲ ὀφθαλμοῖς χθίζ' ἐν ἡμετέροις,
Τῇ ἐτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἑδάπλομεν. —

Who knows what Fortunes on to Morrow wait,
Since *Charmis* one Day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

Pherecydes alludes to this Custom in his Epistle to *Thales* preserv'd by

(a) Lib. III. cap. VII. (b) *Odys.* α. v. 63. (c) *Aeneid.* V. (d) Lib. II.

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Laertius (a), telling him he expected every Minute to breath his last, and had invited his Friends to his Funèral the Day following.

The Ceremony was perform'd in the Day; for Night was look'd on as a very improper Time; because then Furies and evil Spirits, which could not endure the Light, ventur'd abroad. Hence *Cassandra* in a Quarrel with *Talibius* foretells, as one of the greatest Mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his Fortune to be bury'd in the Night (b);

Ἡ καὶ δὲ κακὴς τὰ φῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν νύκτι.

An evil Fate attends thy Obsequies,
Thy Fun'ral Rites shall be perform'd at Night.

Young Men only, that died in the Flower of their Age, were bury'd in the Morning Twilight; for so dreadful a Calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the Face of the Sun. Whence (as the Expounders of Fables tell us) came the Stories of Youths stol'n into *Aurora's* Embraces; for when beauteous and hopeful young Men suffer'd an untimely Death, it was customary to alleviate the Disaster by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable Name; whence instead of calling their Departure Death, they term'd it *ἡμέρας ἀπ' αὐλῶ* (c). Because these Funerals were celebrated by Torch-light, it became customary to carry Torches at all other Burials, tho' perform'd in the Day; whence came that proverbial Speech, whereby old Men are said to approach ἐν τῷ δῶδα τῷ βίῳ, to the Torch of their Life (d). The *Athenians* went counter to the rest of the *Grecians*, for their Laws enjoin'd them to celebrate their Funerals before Sun-rise: Which Command *Cicero* (e) will have to be no ancienter than *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; but *Demosthenes* makes *Solon* the Author thereof (f); 'tis not improbable, that it might be first instituted by *Solon*, and afterwards reviv'd by *Demetrius*: The Design seems to have been to moderate the expensive Extravagance in Funerals, which a more open and publick Celebration seem'd to require.

The Bearers usually mounted the Corpse upon their Shoulders which *Euripides* calls ἀστω φέρον, speaking of *Alceſtis* (g);

οὐδὲν ἄστω πρὸς τάφοντα, ἢ πρὸς ἄνδρα.

The Servants to the Grave the Corpse do bear
Upon their Shoulders.

The Body was sometimes plac'd upon a Bier, instead of which the *Lacedaemonians* commonly us'd their Bucklers; whence that remarkable

(a) *Vita Pherecydis* sub fin. (b) *Euripid Troad.* v. 226. (c) *Heraclides Ponticus* de Allegor. *Homeric.* sub. fin. *Eustathius.* (d) *Plutarchus* lib. An seni capess. sit. Resp. (e) *De Leg.* lib. II. (f) *Orat. in Macaristatū.* (g) *Alceſt.* v. 607.

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Command of one of their Matrons to her Son, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ὀνιτῆδε, i. e. either bring this (pointing to his Buckler) back, or be brought upon it. Nor was this Custom unknown in other Places. *Virgil* hath mention'd it in his tenth *Aeneid* (a);

— *Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque*
Imposuim scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.

In doleful Plaints his dear Companions mourn
Their dead Friend *Pallas* on his Target born.

But the most ancient *Greeks* seem to have convey'd their dead Bodies to their Funerals without any Support; whence (as *Eustathius* observes) *Patroclus* being carry'd forth by the *Myrmidones*, *Achilles* went behind to support his Head (b);

— ὀπίθεν δὲ κἀν ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Behind *Achilles* did bear up his Head.

This seems to be the Meaning of *Euripides's* φοεῖδ' ἄν πύμπαν, when, speaking of *Rhesus's* Funeral, he introduces the *Chorus* uttering these Words (c),

Τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ δὶς, ὃ βασιλεῦ,
Τὸν νεόδμυτον ἐν χερσὶν
Φοεῖδ' ἄν πύμπαν;

What God, O King, mov'd with becoming Care,
Shall with his Hand behind support thy Head.

The Persons present at Funerals were the dead Man's Friends and Relations, who thought themselves under an Obligation to pay this last Respect to their deceas'd Friend. Beside these, others were frequently invited to encrease the Solemnity, where the Laws restrain'd them not from it; which they did at some Places, either to prevent the Disorders which often happen'd at such promiscuous Meetings, or to mitigate the excessive Charges of Funerals. Thus we find, that *Pittacus* establish'd a Law at *Mitylene*, that none but Relations of the Deceas'd should appear at Funerals; *Solon* also lay'd some restraint upon his *Athenians*, wholly excluding all Women under threescore Years of Age from these Solemnities; yet Relations were admitted whilst under that Age, as appears from *Lyfias's* Oration in defence of *Eratoftbenes*, who had murder'd his Wife's Gallant, whose first Acquaintance with her, he tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a Funeral. Yet they seem not to have gone promiscuously among the Men, but in a Body by themselves; as may be collected from these Words in *Terence's Andria*;

(a) V. 506. (b) *Iliad*. 4. (c) *Rhesus* v. 886.

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*Effertur, imus: Interea inter mulieres,
Quæ ibi aderant, forte unam adspicio adolescentulam.*

The Corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow,
But 'mongst the Women 'twas my chance to see
A beautiful young Creature. —

The Habit of these Persons was not always the same; for, tho' they sometimes put on Mourning, and in common Funerals as frequently retain'd their ordinary Apparel; yet the Exequies of great Men were commonly celebrated with Expressions of Joy for their Reception into Heaven. Thus *Timoleon's* Horse was follow'd by many thousands of Men and Women in white Garments, and bedeck'd with Garlands, as in festival Solemnities (a); *Aratus's* Funeral was likewise celebrated with *Paans*, or Songs of Triumph, and Dances (b).

When the Body was convey'd out of the House, they took their last farewell, saluting it in a certain Form of Words; as appears from *Admetus's* Speech to the *Phæacians* present at the Funeral of his Wife (c);

Τυεῖς ὃ ἦ θανῶσαν, ὡς νομιζέται,
Πρὸς αὐτὰ ἐξῆσαν ὑδάτιν ὁδόν.

Do you, since ancient Custom so requires,
Salute the Corpse, and take your last farewell.

The Procession was commonly made on Horseback, or in Coaches; but at the Funerals of Persons, to whom a more than ordinary Reverence was thought due, all went on foot: Which Respect the *Athenians* pay'd to the Memory of *Theophrastus*, as an Acknowledgment of his excellent Virtues (d). The Relations went next the Corpse, the rest walk'd some distance off: Sometimes the Men went before it with their Heads uncover'd, the Women following it. *Patroclus* was carry'd to his Funeral, surrounded by the *Grecian* Soldiers,

Πρόθε μ' ἰππῆες, μὲν δ' ἑνὸς ἄγχιτο πεζῶν
Μυεῖοι, ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖρος (e).

The sad Procession was by Horsemen led,
The thronging Foot-men in the Rear succeed,
And in the Midst his Friends *Patroclus* bear.

But the ordinary way was for the Body to go first, and the rest to follow; which appears as from many other Instances, so from that of *Terence* (f),

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonte*. (b) *Idem Arato*. (c) *Euripid. Alceste*. v. 608
(d) *Diogenes Laërtius Theophrasto*. (e) *Homer Iliad*. v. (f) *Andria*.

— *Fumus interim*

Procedit, sequimur. —

The Fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the Survivors were put in mind of their Mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the Way the dead Person was gone before (a). At the Funerals of Soldiers, their Fellow-soldiers attended with their Spears pointed towards the Ground, and the uppermost Part of their Bucklers turn'd downwards, as has been formerly observ'd (b). This was not done so much (as some phansy) because the Gods were carv'd upon their Bucklers, whose Faces would have been polluted by the Sight of a dead Body, as that they might recede from their common Custom; the Method of Mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other Times; and therefore not only their Bucklers, but their Spears, and the rest of their Weapons were inverted. Nor was this only a Martial Custom, but practis'd likewise in Peace; for at the Funerals of Magistrates, their Ensigns of Honour were inverted, as appears from the Poet (c);

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi,
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali..*

The *Fasces* first I at a Fun'ral saw

With Heads turn'd downwards, the sad Badge of Woe.

To perform this Ceremony they term'd *ἐκπέμναι*, *ἐγπέμναι*, and *περπέμναι*; the first with respect to the House, out of which the Body was carry'd forth; the second with respect to the Places, by which it pass'd; and the last to the Place, whither it was convey'd.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE Ceremonies, by which they us'd to express their Sorrow upon the Death of Friends, and on other occasions, were various and uncertain: But it seems to have been a constant Rule amongst them, to recede as much as possible in Habit and all their Behaviour, from their ordinary Customs; by which

(a) *Donatus in locum Terentii, Alexand. ab. Alex. lib. III. cap. VIII.* (b) *Lib. III. cap. XI.* (c) *Pedo Albinovan. Eleg. ad Liviam.*

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change they thought it would appear, that some extraordinary Calamity had befall'n them. Hence it was, that Mourners in some Cities demean'd themselves in the very same manner with Persons who in other Places design'd to express Joy: For, the Customs of one City being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happen'd that what in one Place pass'd for an Expression of Mirth, was in others a Token of Sorrow. The most ordinary ways of expressing Sorrow were these that follow.

1. They abstain'd from Banquets and Entertainments, and banish'd from their Houses all musical Instruments, and whatever was proper to excite Pleasure, or bore an Air of Mirth and Gaiety. Thus *Admetus* in *Euripides* upon the Death of *Alcestis*. (a);

Πάύσω δὲ κόμους, συμποτῶν δ' ὀμιλίαν,
Στεφάνους τε, μῦσαν δ' ἢ κατεῖχε πρὶν δόμους,

No more to pleasing Banquets will I run,
All Conversation with my Friends I'll shun;
No more my Brow shall fragrant Chaplets wear,
But all the Marks of Joy shall disappear;
No more I'll Musick hear too weak to save
My dear *Alcestis* from the conqu'ring Grave. — H. H.

They frequented no publick Solemnities, nor appear'd in Places of Concourse; but sequestred themselves from Company, and refrain'd even from the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life. Wine was too great a Friend to Cheerfulness to gain Admission into so melancholy Society; the Light itself was odious, and nothing courted but dark Shades and lonesome Retirements, which they thought bore some resemblance to their Misfortunes (b): Whence *Artemidorus* lays it down as a certain Fore-runner of Death, for any one to dream of a Fire's being extinguish'd, during the Sickness of any in the same Family (c).

2. They divested themselves of all Ornaments, and lay'd aside their Jewels, Gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their Apparel. Thus *Lycophron* describes the Women that mourn'd for *Achilles's* Death (d);

Τῶναι δ' ἔσται τεθμὸς ἐν χώροις αἰεὶ
Πενδὲν τὸ ἐν ἀπὸν χῶν, Αἰανὸς τέτρον,
καὶ Δωεῖδος, πρὸς ἧσα δαίτῃ μάχης
καὶ μὴν τε χρυσὰ φαιδρὰ καλλυμένῃ βέβη,
μήδ' ἀθεσπῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν τεπέλει
καλῶν φροντίες.

This to the Women shall a Custom be
To mourn *Achilles* third from *Aeacus*,

(a) *Alcestis* v. 243. (b) Gloss. velt. *Plutarchus* *Comolus* ad uxorem. (c) *L. b.* II. cap. IX. (d) *Cassandra* v. 859. nostrumque ibi *Commentarium* consule.

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Grandchild to *Doris*, and of largest Size;
To mourn *Achilles* frightful in the War,
Not cloth'd with rich Attire of Gems and Gold,
With glitt'ring Silks or Purple. —————

This Custom is frequently mention'd in the Poets, but was not peculiar to Mourners for the Dead; being likewise, with several other Ceremonies noted in this Chapter, practis'd by all that lamented for any great Calamity. Whence *Hecuba* had no sooner heard the Fortune assign'd to her self and *Cassandra*, but she cry'd out,

————— *πίπτε, τέκνον, ζαδύς*
Κληῖδας, καὶ πρὸ χροῶς ἐν-
δύτων σεπείων ἱερὸς στολμός (a).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated Robes,
And hallow'd Crowns. —————

Their mourning Garments were always black, whence *Progne*, having notice of *Philomela's* Death, is thus describ'd by *Ovid* (b);

————— *velamina Progne*
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes. —————

From off her back th' embroider'd Robes she tears,
And *Progne* now in mournful Blacks appears:

Thus likewise *Althea*, when her Brethren were slain by *Meleager* (c),

————— *plangore dato mæstis ululatibus urbem*
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus atris.

She fills with pit'ous Complaints the spacious Town,
And 'stead of glitt'ring Robes puts Sable on.

To which Custom *Pericles* had respect, when he boasted, "That he had never given any Citizen cause to put on Black (d). Hence *Artemidorus* will have it to be a Prefage of Recovery, for a sick Person to dream of black Cloaths, since not those that dye, but those, who survive to mourn, were apparell'd in Black (e). The *Egyptians* are reported by *Servius* to have introduc'd this Custom, when they mourn'd for the Death of *Liber*, otherwise call'd *Osiris*, who was treacherously circumvented and murder'd by his Brother *Typho*. Farther, Mourning Garments differ'd not from their ordinary Apparel in Colour only, but likewise in Value, as being of

(a) *Euripid. Troad. v. 256.* (b) *Metam. VI. Fab. VIII.* (c) *Metam. VIII. fab. IV.* (d) *Plutarchus* τριπλὴν τὴν ἰατρὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀναισθησίας. (e) *Lib. III. cap. III.*

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cheap and coarse Stuff: Which may be observ'd from this Example of Terence (a), beside many others;

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anus causa, opinor, quæ erat mortua.*

We found her busie at the Loom, attir'd
In a cheap Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shav'd their Hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small part only, for we find *Electra* in *Euripides* finding fault with *Helena* for sparing her Locks, and thereby defrauding the Dead (b). This Custom is too well known to need any Confirmation by Examples. They had several ways of disposing of their Hair: It was sometimes thrown upon the dead Body; as we learn from *Patroclus's* Funeral, where the *Grecians*, to shew their Affection and Respect to him, cover'd his Body with their Hair (c);

Θειξί ὃ πάντα νέκῳ καταείνου, ἃς ἐπέβαλλον
Κειμήλια. — — —

They shav'd their Heads, and cover'd with their Hair
The Body. — — —

Statius hath likewise observ'd the same Practice (d);

— tergoque & pectore fusam
Cæsariem ferro minuit, scissisque jacentis
Obnubit tenuia ora comis, — — —

He cut off all the Hair that from the Head
Down to the Back and Breast was comely spread,
And cover'd with it the dead Face. — — —

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the Funeral Pile, to be consum'd with the Body of their Friend; as *Achilles* appears to have done at *Patroclus's* Funeral (e);

Στάς ἀπένευθε πυρῆς ξανθὴν ἀπεκείρετο χαίτην,
Τὴν βὰ Σπέρχειον ποταμῷ τρέφε τηλεδύωσαν.

Standing hard by the Pile the comely Hair,
Which for *Sperchius* was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the Flames.

(a) *Heautontimor. Act. II. Sc. III.* (b) *Orest. 128.* (c) *Iliad. ῥ. v. 135.*
(d) *Thebaid. VI.* (e) *Iliad. ῥ.*

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Sometimes it was lay'd upon the Grave; as we find in *Aeschylus* (a);

Ὅρῳ τομαῖον τῆςδε ἑστρυχὸν τάφῳ.

I see this Hair upon the Grave.

Canace in *Ovid* bewails her Misfortune, because she was debarr'd from performing this Ceremony to her belov'd *Macareus*,

*Non mihi te licuit lacrymis perfundere iustis,
In tua non iotas ferre sepulcra comas.*

'Twas not permitted me with briny Tears
To bath thy lifeless Corpse, or bring my Hairs
Unto thy Sepulchre. —

Some restrain this Practice to Sons, or very near Relations; but it appears by many Instances to have been common to all that thought themselves oblig'd to express their Respect, or Love to the Dead; insomuch that upon the Death of great Men, whole Cities and Countries were commonly shav'd.

This Practice may be accounted for two ways; for the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* observes, that it was us'd, partly to render the Ghost of the deceas'd Person propitious, which seems to be the Reason why they threw Hair into the Fire to burn with him, or lay'd it on his Body; partly, that they might appear disfigur'd, and careless of their Beauty; for long Hair was look'd on as very becoming, and the *Greeks* prided themselves in it, whence they are so frequently honour'd by *Homer* with the Epithet of *καρηκομωρτες*.

It may be farther observ'd that in solemn and publick Mournings, it was common to extend this Practice to their Beasts, that all Things might appear as deform'd and ugly as might be. Thus *Admetus* upon the Death of *Alcestis*, commands his Chariot-horses to be shorn (b);

Τέδριπτά τε ζεύγυνά τε, καὶ μορμυκῶνας
Πᾶσις σιδήρε' ἔμμεν' ἀνέχων ὀφελῶ.

My Chariot-horses too my Grief shall share,
Let them be shorn, cut off their comely Mains.

Thus likewise the *Thessalians* cut off their own Hair, and their Horses Mains at the Death of *Pelopidas* (c); when *Masistius* was slain in a Skirmish with the *Arbenians*, the *Persians* shav'd themselves, their Horses, and their Mules (d): But *Alexander*, as in the rest of his Actions, so herein went beyond the rest of Mankind; for at the

(a) *Xenophon*. (b) *Euripides Alceste* v. 428. (c) *Plutarchus Pelopida*. (d) *Idem Ariste*.

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Death of *Hephestion*, he did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the City-walls, that even Towns might seem Mourners, and instead of their former beauteous Appearance look bald at the Funeral (a).

It may be objected indeed to what I have been speaking, that Shaving was a Sign of Joy; whereas to let their Hair grow long was the Practice of Persons in Affliction: Hence *Joseph* is said to have been shav'd when he was deliver'd out of Prison; and *Mephibosheth*, during the time King *David* was banish'd from *Jerusalem*, let his Hair grow, but on his return shav'd himself: Thus likewise Mariners upon their Deliverance from Shipwrack us'd to shave themselves: To which Practice *Juvenal* hath this Allusion (b);

gaudent ibi verlice raso
Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.

And there shorn Sailors boast what they endur'd.

Whence *Artemidorus* will have Mariners, that dream of having their whole Heads shav'd, to be forewarn'd by the Gods, they are to undergo very great Hazards, but to escape with Life (c); *Pliny* also in one of his Epistles interprets his Dream of cutting off his Hair, to be a Token of his Deliverance from some eminent Danger; and the Poets furnish us with several Examples to our purpose: *Lycophron* for instance thus describes a general Lamentation (d);

πᾶς δ' λυχαίαν λυῖς
Ἐθῆτα προστρέπαιον ἐγχαίνεσθαι;
Λύχμῳ πινάδης λυπερὴν ἀμπεύσαι βίον
Κρατὸς δ' ἀκρεγς γῶτα καλλωπεῖ φόβῳ,
Μνήμην παλαιῶν τημελῶσ' ὀδυρμάτων.

In mournful Blacks shall ev'ry Soul appear,
Each shall with loathsome Dirt his Face besmear;
Neglected Hair shall now luxuriant grow,
And by its Length their bitter Passion shew;
Incessantly they shall their Loss complain,
And all their Life be one sad, mournful Scene;
Thus they the never-dying Names shall save
Of ancient Patriots from the conquer'd Grave.

H. H.

Plutarch undertaking to resolve this Difficulty, reports that the Men let their Hair grow, but the Women were shav'd; it being the Fashion for Men to wear their Hair short at other Times, and for Women to suffer theirs to grow (e); But on the contrary it plainly appears from the Instances already produc'd, and many

(a) *Idem Pelopida*. (b) *Sat. XII. v. 82*. (c) *Lib. I. cap. XXIII*. (d) *Cassand. v. 973*. (e) *Romania Quæst.*

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others, that the Men frequently wore long Hair, which they cut off upon any great Calamity; nor can it be doubted that the Women frequently wore long Hair in Sorrow, since 'tis remark'd as a Badge of a Woman in Mourning, that she has her Hair dishevell'd, and carelessly flowing about: Thus *Ariadne* bespeaks *Theseus*;

*Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos,
Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.*

See, like a Mourner's, my dishevell'd Hair,
Wet, as with Rain, with Tears my Robes appear.

Terence likewise, the Scene of whose Fable is lay'd in *Greece*, has thus describ'd a Woman in Mourning (a);

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anus causa, opinor, qua erat mortua,
Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti qua ornantur sibi,
Nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri,
Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter. — — —*

We found her at the painful Loom employ'd,
Drest in a Mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose:
She was not trick'd up in a gaudy Suit,
Nor drest in Robes of Velvet, or of Gold,
Nor patch'd or painted to attract the Eyes
Of her Gallants, but with dishevell'd Hair,
Carelessly o'er her Shoulders thrown. —

Wherefore two Things may be observ'd for the solution of this Difficulty:

First, the manner of being shav'd: For tho' to be shav'd, or trimm'd by Barbers, was a Token of Cheerfulness; yet those that cut off their own Hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were look'd on as Mourners: Whence, tho' *Artemidorus* reports, that no Man under the Pressure of Misfortunes was ever shav'd (b); yet he adds in the same Chapter, that for a Man to dream of shaving himself, was a Presage of some great Calamity; because Men in such Circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, the different Fashions of several Nations are to be consider'd: For where it was customary to wear short Hair, there the Length of Hair was a Token of Mourning; but where long Hair was in Fashion, there Mourners shav'd themselves. 'Tis reported by *Herodotus* (c) and others (d), that the *Argians*, having lost *Thyrea*

(a) *Heautont.* Act. II. Sc. III. (b) *Lib. I. cap. XXIII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. LXXXII.*
(d) *Plutarchus Lysandro, Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. V. & 6.*

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to the *Spartans*, made a Decree that their whole City should cut their Hair, and never permit it to grow again to its accusom'd Length, till they recover'd that Place; The *Spartans*, on the contrary, using to wear their Hair short, put forth a Decree, that from that Time they should nourish their Hair, in reproach to their Enemies. Now in these Cities, when the Fashion was to wear short Hair, then Mourners were distinguish'd by long Hair; but long Hair coming into Fashion, Mourners were shav'd.

4. 'Twas frequent for Persons overwhelm'd with Grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the Earth, and roll in the Dust; and the more dirty the Ground was, the better it serv'd to defile them, and to express their Sorrow and Dejection. Thus *Oeneus* behaves himself upon the Death of his Son *Meleager* (a);

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fædas bumi fuso, spatiosumque increpat ævum.*

His hoary Head, and furrow'd Cheeks besmeared
With noisom Dirt, and chides the tedious Years.

Priam in *Homer* represents his lamenting of *Hector* in the same Posture (b);

Οὐ γὰρ πω μύσαν ὄσσι ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ἐμοῖσιν,
Ἐξ ἧ σῆς ὑπὸ χερσὶν ἐμῆς παῖς ὄλεσε θυμὸν·
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω, καὶ κήδεα μνηστῆράων,
Αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοις κυλινδρόμενος χεῖρ' ἰκόντων,

Soft Sleep has never clos'd these watchful Eyes
Since my dear Son became your fatal Prize;
But Day and Night I mourn my wretched Fate,
And on my countless Sufferings ruminate,
Welt'ring in ev'ry filthy Place, — —

H. H.

5. They cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Thus *Achilles* upon the News of *Patroclus's* Death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρωσι δ' χερσὶν ἑλὼν κόριν ἀδάσδεσσαν,
Χεῖρατο κακκεφαλῆς. — —

Then taking Ashes up with both his Hands
He threw them on his Head — —

These Customs were likewise practis'd in the Eastern Countries, whence we find so frequent mention of Penitents lying upon the Ground, and putting on Sackcloth and Ashes.

(a) *Ovid. Metam. lib. VIII. v. 328.* (b) *Iliad. α'. v. 637.* (c) *Iliad. ε'.*

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6. When any Occasion requir'd their Attendance abroad, their Heads were muffled up; as appears from these Verses in the Epigram (a);

— — — φάεσσι γὰρ ὀπκράμευς ἀμυρὶ πρόσωπα
Πήματα καὶ δαίκευσιν. — — —

Her Face wrapt in a Veil declar'd her Woe,
Whence *Orestes*, perswading *Electra* to leave off Mourning, bids her be unvail'd,

— — — ἀνακάλυψι', ὦ κασίγνητον κόρη,
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπειλᾷ. — — —

Pull off your Veil, dear Sister, and forbear
This Grief. — — —

Nor was this the Fashion of Women only; for *Adrastus* came to *Thebes* after his Loss at *Thebes*, κατῆλθεν χλαυιδίοις, wherefore *Thebes* speaks thus to him (b);

Λέγ', ἐκκάλυψαι κρατα, πάρες γόον.

Speak out, unfold your Head, refrain from Tears.

Thus likewise *Human*, upon the Defeat of his Plot against *Mordecai*, is said to have basted to his House Mourning, and having his Head cover'd (c); and the Jews are represented by *Jeremy* as being asham'd and confounded, and covering their Heads, in the Time of a grievous Famine (d).

7. Another Token of Dejection was to decline their Heads upon their Hands. Whence *Helen* speaks thus of the calamitous *Trojans* (e),

Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθικαν.

They with their Hands support their drooping Head.

8. They went softly, to express their Faintness, and Loss of Strength and Spirits. Thus *Abab* King of *Israel*, being terrify'd by the Judgment *Elias* denounc'd against him, fasted, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly (f); and *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*, being told by the Prophet, that he was never to recover of a Distemper he then lay under, amongst other Expressions of Sorrow bath this, I shall go softly all my Tears in the Bitterness of my Soul (g).

(a) Antholog. lib. V. c. XXXIII. (b) Euripid. Supplic. 110. (c) Esber. cap. VI. 12. (d) Cap. XIV. 3, 4. (e) Euripid. Helen. 377. (f) 1. Reg. XXI. 27. (g) Isaia. cap. XXXVIII. 15.

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9. They beat their Breasts and Thighs, and tore their Flesh, making Furrows in their Faces with their Nails; which Actions, tho' practis'd sometimes by Men, were more frequent among Women, whose Passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus *Nannus* represents them (4),

Ἐλδοφύδων ἢ γυναικῶν
Στυγρὸς ἐπαιδάσθαι οὐκ ἄμυνε παρῶν,
Καὶ παῖσις ἐπὶ στήθεσσι δάκρυα μαζοῖς.

Women with Nails their Breasts and Faces tear,
And thus their boundless headstrong Grief declare.

In the same manner *Anna* bewails her Sister *Dido's* unexpected Death (b),

Audit exanimis, incipitque exterrita cussu,
Unguibus ora soror fadans pectora palmis.

Her Sister hearing, speeds with frightful Haſt,
Tears her ſoft Cheeks, and beats her painted Breaſt.

Many Instances of this nature occur in both Languages, the Custom being generally practis'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*. *Solon* thought fit amongst other Extravagancies at Funerals to forbid this (c). The *Lacedemonians* bore the Death of their private Relations with great Conſtancy and Moderation; but when their Kings dy'd, had a barbarous Custom of meeting in vaſt Numbers, where Men, Women and Slaves all mix'd together, tore the Fleſh from their Fore-heads with Pins and Needles. The deſign of this was not only to teſtify their Sorrow, but alſo to gratify the Ghoſts of the Dead, who were thought to feed upon, and to delight in nothing ſo much as Blood, as *Servius* hath prov'd from *Varro* (d).

10. They accus'd and curs'd their Gods: Hence *Statius* (e),

injuſtos rabiſque pulſare querelis
Calicolas ſolamen erit.

T' inveigh againſt the Gods with juſteſt Rage,
And call them envious, may our Grief aſſuage.

Nor was this the Effect of extravagant Paſſion, or practis'd only by Perſons of weaker Underſtandings in the Extremity of their Sorrow; but frequently done by Men of all Qualities, and that in the moſt grave and ſolemn manner that could be, as appears from the ſame Poet (f);

(e) *Dionys. lib. IX. 18.* (b) *Virgil. Æn. IV. 672.* (c) *Plutarchus Solone, Cicerone de Leg. b.* (d) *Æneid, lib. III. Conf. Idem in Æneid, lib. XII.* (e) *Sylv. lib. V. (f) Theb. III.*

—primevique senes, & longo examine matres
Invidiam planxere Deis.—

The aged Sires, and Dames in num'rous Crouds
 Bewail, and curse the Envy of the Gods.

For the Gods being thought subject to human Passions, 'twas very easy and natural for Men under Misfortunes to impeach them of Cruelty or Envy: Thus, when *Hylas*, *Hercules's* Darling, perish'd in the Waters, the Deities residing there were said to have been enamour'd with him, and to have stol'n him; and, when any great and publick Blessing was taken away, the immortal Beings were said to envy Mankind so great Felicity. Many Instances might be produc'd to this purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of *Marcellus* in *Virgil* (a),

*ostendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
 Esse sinent: Nimirum vobis Romana propago
 Visa potens, superi, propria hec si dona fuissent.*

This Wonder of the World the Gods but shew,
 Heav'n were impoverish'd thou'd he stay below:
 Bless'd to excess had been the Roman State,
 Had Heav'n these Gifts as lasting made as great.

H. H.

Sometimes their impious Rage against the Gods proceeded to the pulling down their Altars, and sacking their Temples; an Example whereof we have in *Neoptolemus*, who, being inform'd that *Apollo* was accessary to his Father's Death, took up a Resolution to demolish the *Delphian* Temple, and perish'd in the Attempt (b).

11. Another Custom they had of drawing out their Words, and with Tears repeating the Interjection *ê, ê, ê, ê*. Hence (if we may credit the Scholiast (c) upon *Aristophanes*) Funeral Lamentations were call'd *êêγος*, Elegies,

12. When publick Magistrates, or Persons of Note dy'd, or any publick Calamity happen'd, all publick Meetings were intermitted, the Schools of Exercise, Baths, Shops, Temples, and all Places of Concourse were shut up, and the whole City put on a Face of Sorrow: Thus we find the *Athenians* bewailing their loss of *Socrates*, not long after they had sentenc'd him to Death (d).

13. They had Mourners and Musicians to encrease the Solemnity: Which Custom seems to have been practis'd in most Parts of the World. The *Roman Præfices* are remarkable enough; and the Eastern Countries observ'd the same Practice; whence we find mention of Mourners going about the Streets, and Mourning Women in several Places of the sacred Writings. *Jeremy*, having fore-told the Calamity of

(a) *An. VI. 869.* (b) *Euripid. Andromach.* (c) *Aribus.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius Socrate.*

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the Jews, advises to consider, and call for the mourning Women, that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our Eyes may run down with Tears, and our Eye-lids gush out with Waters (a). These Homer calls *θελών ἐξέρχες*, because they endeavour'd to excite Sorrow in all the Company by beating their Breasts, and counterfeiting all the Actions of the most real and passionate Grief. They are likewise term'd *δοιδοί*, *πρωσοδοί*, &c. from the Songs they sung at Funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the Procession, another at the Funeral Pile, a third at the Grave; these were commonly term'd *όλοφύρμοι*, *λίνοι*, *άλινοι*, tho' the two last seem not peculiar to Funeral-Songs, but applicable to others: We find them sometime call'd *ιάλεμοι* from *Ialemus*, one of *Clio's* Sons, and the first Author of these Compositions; for the same Reason Songs at Marriages were term'd *ὕμναισι* from his Brother *Hymeneus*: Funeral Dirges were also call'd *τάλεμοι*, whence *τηλερίζειν* is expounded in *Hesychius* by *θελών*, to mourn; and *τηλεμίσειαι* is another Name for mourning Women: Hence *τὰ ταλεμόδη* signify empty and worthless Things, and *ταλίμη ψυχρότερος* is proverbially apply'd to insipid and senseless Compositions (b); for the Songs us'd on these Occasions were usually very mean and trifling; whence that Saying of *Plautus* (c);

Hæ non sunt nugæ, non enim mortuaria:

These are no Trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous Chanting of a Funeral.

What the Design of their Musical Instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the Ghosts and Furies from the Soul of the deceas'd Person; others, agreeably to *Plato* and *Pythagoras's* Notions, would have them to signify the Soul's Departure into Heaven, where they fancy'd the Motion of the Spheres made a Divine and Eternal Harmony; others say they were design'd to divert the Sorrow of the dead Man's surviving Relations; lastly, the most probable Opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite Sorrow, which was the Reason that the *Lyra* was never us'd at such Solemnities, as being consecrated to *Apollo*, and fit only for *Pæans*, and cheerful Songs. *Admetus* indeed commands the Flute likewise to be banish'd out of his City upon the Death of *Alceſtis* (d),

Αὐλῶν δ' μὴ κατ' αὖτις, μὴ λύρας κτύπος
Ἐσώ, σείλινας δ' αὖτις ἐκπληρωμένας,
Οὐ γὰρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον ἰδὲν νεκρῶν
Τῶν.

Let not the pleasing Flute, nor sprightly Lyre,
Till *Phæbe* twelve Times has repair'd her Horns,

(a) Cap. IX, 17. (b) *Suidas*, *Zenodotus*. (c) *Asinaria*. (d) *Euripid. Alceſt.* v, 430.

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Be in the mournful City heard, for I
A Corse more dear than this shall ne'er interr.

H. H.

But hence we are only to collect, that the Ancients had different sorts of Flutes, some of which were proper in Times of Mirth; others in Times of Mourning; for it appears by many Examples, that some of their *auloi*, or *tibiae*, were of all other Instruments the most common at Funerals. Hence *Statius* in his Description of young *Archemorus's* Funeral (a),

*Tum signum luctus cornu grave mugit adanco
Tibia, cui teneros factum traducere manes
Lege Phrygum mæsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant
Exequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris
Utile.*

In doleful Notes the *Phrygian* Flute complains,
And moves our Pity with its mournful Strains,
The *Phrygian* Flute of old us'd to convey
The Infant-souls on their unerring Way,
Which Custom into th' World first *Pelops* brought,
And th' unknown Use of Fun'ral Dirges taught,
Dirges, whose pow'ful Sounds were thought to speed
And smooth the Passage of the younger Dead.

H. H.

Some indeed will have the *Lydian* Flutes more suitable to Funerals, the *Phrygian*, of which *Statius* speaks, to agree better with Mirth and Cheerfulness, and to be us'd only at Funerals of Infants, or Youths, which were ordinarily solemniz'd in a manner quite different from those of grown Persons, which they think confirm'd by *Statius's* Words; but, as these may bear a quite different Sense, not the Instrument, but the Song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the Funerals of Persons under Age; so it appears farther that the most common Flutes us'd at these Solemnities were of the *Phrygian* Fashion, tho' perhaps neither the *Lydian*, nor some others might be wholly excluded; Hence *nania*, which is the *Latin* Word for Funeral Dirges, seems to have been deriv'd from the *Greek* *ννιαιον*, which is us'd by *Hipponax*, and (however *Scaliger* deduces it from the *Hebrew*) affirm'd by *Pollux* to be of *Phrygian* Original; *νννννννννν* is of the same Descent, and expounded by *Δημωειν*. The *Carian* Flute was likewise us'd on these Occasions, whence the Musicians and Mourners were term'd *Καειναι* (b), and *Καεινν* *μννν* is a Funeral Song; now this was the very same with that us'd by the *Phrygians*, from whom, *Pollux* tells us, it was first convey'd into *Caria* (c). I shall only mention two more; the first is the *Myrian* Flute, an Instrument likewise fit for Sorrow: Hence *Æschylus* (d);

(a) *Theb. lib. VI. v. 120.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Lib. III.* (d) *Persus, ejusque Scholiastes ibid.*

Καὶ σὺν ἀέθωνι, κἀνισοῦ τὸ Μύσον.

He beats his Breast, and sounds the Myſian Flute.

The laſt is the *Lydian Flute*, which, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Aristoxenus*, was firſt apply'd to this Uſe by *Olympus* at *Pylon's* Death (a).

CHAP. VI.

Of their manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needleſs to prove that both Interring and Burning were practis'd by the *Grecians*; yet whether of theſe Cuſtoms has the beſt Claim to Antiquity, may perhaps admit of a Diſpute. But it ſeems probable, that however the later *Grecians* were better affected to the way of Burning, yet the Cuſtom of the moſt primitive Ages was to interr their Dead. 'Tis plain the *Aſenians*, however afterwards addiſted to Burning, us'd Interment in *Cecropi's* Reign, if any Credit may be allow'd to *Cicero* (b); and the *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer* (c) poſitively affirms, that Interring was more ancient than Burning, which he reports to have been firſt introduc'd by *Hercules*. However, it appears that the Cuſtom of Burning was receiv'd in the *Trojan War*, and both then and afterwards generally practis'd by the *Grecians*; inſomuch that when *Lucian* enumerates the various Methods us'd by different Nations in diſpoſing of their Dead, he expreſſy assigns Burning to *Greece*, and Interment to the *Persians* (d). But this is not ſo to be underſtood, as if the *Grecians* in the Ages he ſpeaks of, never interr'd their Dead, or thought it unlawful ſo to do; but only that the other Cuſtom was more generally receiv'd by them. *Socrates* in *Plato's Phædon* ſpeaks expreſſy of both Cuſtoms; and it appears that ſome of them look'd on the Cuſtom of Burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a Poet cited by *Euſtathius* (e) introduces a Perſon exclaiming againſt it, and calling out upon *Prometheus* to haſt to his Aſſiſtance, and ſteal, if poſſible, from Mortals the Fire he had given them. The Philoſophers were divided in their Opinions about it; thoſe, who thought human Bodies were compounded of Water, Earth, or the four Elements, inclin'd to have them committed to the Earth: But *Heraſſius* with his Followers, imagining Fire to be the firſt Principle of all Things, affected Burning. For every one thought it the moſt reaſonable Method, and moſt agreeable to Nature, ſo to diſpoſe of Bodies, as they might ſoonest be reduc'd to their firſt Principles.

(a) De Muſica. (b) De Legib. lib. II. (c) *Iliad.* α. (d) De luſtu. (e) *Iliad.* α. p. 32.

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Eustatius (a) assigns two Reasons why Burning came to be of so general Use in *Greece*: The first is, because Bodies were thought to be unclean after the Soul's Departure, and therefore were purify'd by Fire; whence *Euripides* speaks of *Clytemestra*,

— πρὸ καδύγινται δέμας.

The Body's purify'd by Fire. —

The second Reason is, that the Soul, being separated from the gross and unactive Matter, might be at Liberty to take its Flight to the Heavenly Mansions (b). Wherefore the *Indian* Philosophers, out of Impatience to expect the Time appointed by Nature, us'd to consume themselves in a Pile erected for that purpose, and so loose their Souls from their Confinements. A remarkable Example hereof we have in *Calanus*, who follow'd *Alexander* out of *India*, and, finding himself indispos'd, obtain'd that King's Leave to prevent the Growth of his Distemper by committing himself to the Flames (c). *Hercules* was purify'd from the Dregs of Earth by the same means before his Reception into Heaven. And it seems to have been the common Opinion, that Fire was an admirable Expedient to refine the Cœlestial Part of Man by separating from it all gross and corruptible Matter, with the impure Qualities which attend it. Thus *Scylla*, being slain by *Hercules*, was rais'd from the Dead, and render'd immortal by her Father *Phorcys* (d);

— ὡς αὖθις πατὴρ
Σάρακας κατὰιδὼν λορρίσιν δομήσατο,
Λέπιδων ἐτρέμυσάν υδάτων θάλα.

— into whose stiffen'd Limbs
Phorcys by quick'ning Flames new Life inspir'd,
And rais'd her high above the Fears of Death.

The Piles, whereon they burn'd dead Bodies, were call'd *πυράι*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant Form, or to have consisted of the same Materials; these being vary'd as Time and Place, and other Circumstances requir'd.

The Body was plac'd upon the Top of the Pile; but was rarely burn'd without company, for, besides the various Animals they threw upon the Pile, we seldom find a Man of Quality consum'd without a Number of Slaves, or Captives: Besides these, all sorts of precious Ointments and Perfumes were pour'd into the Flames. Many Instances of this Nature might be produc'd out of the ancient Poets, but I shall only set down the following one out of *Homer's* Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (e);

(a) *Ioco citato.* (b) *Quintilianus* Declam. X. (c) *L. Curtius.* (d) *Lycophron. Cassandr. v. 44.* (e) *Iliad. v. 366.*

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Ποίησαν ὃ πυρὶ ἐκατόμποδον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 Ἐν ὃ πυρὶ ὑπάρτη περὶ δέσσαν ἀχνύμενον κῆρ·
 Πολλὰ δ' ἴφια μῆλα, καὶ εὐίποδας ἐκίας βύες·
 Πρὸς πυρὸς ἔδρεον τε, καὶ ἀμρετον ἐκ δόδεκα πάντων·
 Δυμὸν ἐλόν ἐκάλυψε νεκῶν μεγάρους Ἀχιλλεύς·
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεραιῆς, καὶ ὃ δέσπ' αἶματα θῆκε·
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλατος καὶ αἰεράτος αὐροροῖαι·
 Πρὸς λείχεα κλίνων· πίσεις δ' ἐκείων χενας ἵππων·
 Ἐστυμῶς ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ μεγάλα· σοναχίζων·
 Ἐννέα τοῦς ἀνακτὶ τρεπίζης κώες ἦσαν·
 Καὶ μὲν ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ δύο δεσπομήσας·
 Δωδεκά δ' Τρώων μεγαθύμων ἦσας ἰδὼς·
 Χαλκῶν δ' ἦσαν.

A spacious Pile the mournful Grecians made,
 And on the Top his comely Body lay'd;
 Next strip'd the Sheep and Oxen, there that stood,
 In solemn Ranks before the flaming Wood.
 But brave Achilles, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more Signs of Care and Love exprest;
 Straight off the Victims all the Fat he flead,
 And over all the much-lov'd Corpse it spread:
 Then plac'd their Carcases around the Pile,
 And Vessels fill'd with Honey, and with Oyl;
 Next deeply groaning, with becoming Haits,
 Four sprightly Coursers on the Pile he cast;
 Nine lovely Dogs he at his Table set,
 And two of these upon the Pile he lay'd;
 Twelve valiant Trojan Captives next he slew,
 And on the Pile their mangled Bodies threw.

H. H.

The Reason why the Body was cover'd with the Fat of Beasts was, that it might consume the sooner (a); for it was look'd on as a singular Blessing to be quickly reduc'd to Ashes: Wherefore in Funerals, where Numbers of Bodies were burn'd on the same Pile, they were so dispos'd, that those of moist Constitutions and easy to be inflam'd, being proportion'd to Bodies of contrary Tempers, should encrease the Vehemence of the Fire; whence Plutarch (b) and Macrobius (c) have observ'd, that for ten Men it was the Custom to put in one Woman.

Soldiers usually had their Arms burnt with them: Wherefore Elpenor in Homer begs this Favour of Ulysses (d);

Ἀλλὰ με κακῆραι σὺν τέχεσιν ἄνα μοι θῆναι.

Let all the Arms I have be with me burnt.

(a) Eustathius. (b) Sympos. lib. III. Quæst. IV. (c) Solinus. lib. VIII. cap. VII. (d) Odyss. x. v. 74.

It seems likewise to have been the Custom for the Garments they had worn in the Time of their Lives, to be thrown into the Pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave Orders in their last Wills to have it done: And the *Athenians* were, as in all other Observances which related any way to Religion, so in this the most profuse of all the *Grecians*; insomuch that some of their Law-givers were forc'd to restrain them by severe Penalties from defrauding the Living by their Liberality to the Dead. *Lycurgus* allow'd nothing to be bury'd with Bodies beside one red Garment, or, at the most, a few Branches of Olive (a); nor these neither, except the Person had been eminent for Virtue and Fortitude. *Solon* allow'd three Garments and one Ox (b). At *Charonea* those that were convicted of Extravagance at Funerals, were punish'd as soft and effeminate by the *Censors of Women* (c).

The Pile was lighted by some of the dead Person's nearest Relations, or Friends; who made Prayers and Vows to the Winds to assist the Flames, that the Body might quickly be reduc'd to Ashes. Thus *Achilles*, having fir'd *Patroclus's* Pile, interceded with *Boreas* and *Zephyrus* to fly to his Assistance with their Joyn't-forces (d),

Οὐδ' ἔτι πατρὸς Πάτρικα καί το τεθνήσκοντες,
 Ενδ' αὐτ' ἀλλ' ἐνόησε ποδάρκης δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Στάς ἀπένευθε τυρῆς δαίοις ἥστ' ἀνέμοισι
 Βορέη κ' Ζεφύρῳ, κ' ὑπὸ χροὶ ἰερὰ καλά,
 Πολλὰ δὲ κ' σπένδων χερσὶν δῖα καὶ λιγυροῖν
 Ἐλθῆμεν, ὅρρα τάχιστα πορὶ φλογόδοιο νεκρῶν,
 Τλη τ' ἐωσέοιτο καήμεναι.

When he perceiv'd the Flames t' abate their Force,
 Unable to consume th' unhappy Corse,
 Some Distance from the Pile the Hero stands,
 The golden Calice fills his royal Hands,
 And there to *Boreas*, and to *Zephyrus* pray'd,
 And with each Deity solemn Cov'nants made,
 That grateful Victims shou'd their Altars stain
 And choicest Off rings load the joyful Pane,
 If with their kinder Blasts they'd fan the Fire,
 And with new Force the languid Flames inspire,
 That they to Earth the Corpse might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the Funerals of Generals and great Officers, the Soldiers, with the rest of the Company, made a solemn Procession three Times round the Pile, to express their Respect to the Dead. Thus *Homer's Grecians* (e),

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (b) *Idem Solone.* (c) *Idem ibidem.* (d) *Iliad* 4. v. 194. (e) *Iliad* 4.

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Οἱ δὲ τὸς νεκρὸν εὐτεῖχας ἤλασαν ἱπποὺς
Μυθμῆνοι. ———

They drive their Horses thrice about the Dead
Lamenting. ———

This Action was call'd in Greek *δεξιμα*, in Latin *decurſio*; we find frequent mention of it in the Poets. Statius has elegantly describ'd it in his Poem on the Theban War (a),

*Tunc ſeptem numero turbas (centennis ubique
Surſit eques) verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
Grajugens reges, inſtramque ex more ſiniſtro
Orbe regum, & ſtantes inclinant pulvere flammās:
Ter carvas egere ſinus, illiſque telis
Tela ſonant; quator horrendam pepulere fragorem
Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia plantum.*

Seven goodly Troops the ſad Decurſion made,
In each of which a hundred Horſe appear'd,
And theſe (a Poſture fitting thoſe that mourn'd)
The Captains led with Enſigns downwards turn'd:
Towards the left they march; on th' Pile they gaze,
Whilſt Clouds of Duſt the thronging Horſes raiſe,
Whoſe much-prevailing Force depreſs the riſing Blaze:
Three Times they all the burning Pile ſurround,
Whilſt Darts ſtrike Darts, and make a frightful Sound;
Four Times the Din of clashing Arms invades
The ſuffring Air; four Times the mournful Maids
Loudly lament, each ſtrikes her panting Breaſt,
And Pity in us moves for the Deceas'd.

H. H.

Where it may be obſerv'd, that in this *Decurſion* the Motion was towards the Left-hand, by which they expreſs'd Sorrow; as, on the contrary, Motion to the Right was a Sign of Joy. Thus the ſame Author (b),

— Hic iuſtus abolere, novique
Funeris auſpiciū vates, quinquam omnia ſenſit
Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, & dextramibus iuſtiſ
Huc redeunt. ———

The Prieſt, tho' by the boding Signs he knew
Some dire Calamity wou'd ſure enſue,
Bids them their anxious Thoughts a while forbear,
Their pompous Grief, and bitter Paſſion ſpare,

(a) L. b. VI. v. 213. (b) Ibid. v. 221.

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And moving tow'rd's the Right with brandish'd Arms,
Back to return.

H. H.

These Motions were accompany'd with Shouts and Sound of Trumpet,
as we learn from *Valerius Flaccus* (a);

Inde ter armatos Minyis referentibus orbes
Concussi tremuere rogi, ter inborruit æber
Lulificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.

Three Marches round the Pile the *Minys* make,
Their weighty Strides the well-pil'd Structure shake,
Thrice doleful Sounds from hollow Tubes are sent,
The Clangor wounds the troubled Firmament;
With Torches next accompany'd with Shouts
They light the Pile.

H. H.

Which last Words seem to intimate the *Decursion's* being made before
the Pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other Authors to have
been made whilst the Pile was burning: Thus *Virgil* tells us in express
Words (b),

Ter circum accensas cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter maestum funeris ignem
Lustrare in equis, ululatusque ore dedere.

Well-arm'd thrice round the Pile they march'd on foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a dismal Shout
Survey'd the rowling Flames.

During the Time the Pile was burning, the dead Person's Friends
stood by it pouring forth Libations of Wine, and calling upon
the Deceas'd. Thus *Achilles* attended all Night at *Patroclus's* Fu-
neral (c),

Καὶ πάνυχος ἄκυσ Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσέῳ ἐκ κεντῆρας, ἔχων δὲ πᾶς ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
Οἶνον ἀρωαμένον χαμάδις χέει, δὲν δὲ γαῖαν
Ψυχὴν κηλίσσων Πατρόκληος δαίμονα.

All Night divine *Achilles* do's attend
At the sad Fun'ral of his much-lov'd Friend:
A golden Cup he bore, that Wine contain'd,
Which pouring out the glutted Pavement stain'd;

(a) *Argon. lib. III.* (b) *Æneid. XI. v. 188.* (c) *Iliad. 4. v. IV. 1.*

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His pious Off ring thus the Hero pay'd,
Calling upon the *Menes* of the Dead.

When the Pile was burnt down, and the Flames had ceas'd, they
extinguish'd the Remains of the Fire with Wine; (which being done,
they collected the Bones and Ashes) Thus *Homer* relates of the *Tro-*
jans at *Hector's* Funeral (a),

Πρώτον δ' ἔτι πυρκαϊῷ σέσαν αἶδοσι οἶνον
Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἔπερε πύρε μένος· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσα λευκὰ λέγοντο καὶ ἰγνῆτοι ἔτασι τε.

About the Pile the thronging People came,
And with black Wine quench'd the remaining Flame;
His Brothers then, and Friends search'd ev'ry where,
And gather'd up his snowy Bones with Care.

Mr. Congreve.

From which Words it appears, that this Office was perform'd by near
Relations. To which *Prædix* *Tibullus* likewise alludes;

Non hæc mihi mater
Qua legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinu.

Nor was my dear indulgent Mother by,
Who to her Breast my mouldring Bones wou'd lay.

The Bones were sometimes wash'd with Wine, and (which common-
ly follow'd Washing) anointed with Oil; *Agamemnon* is introduc'd
by *Homer* informing *Achilles* how this Ceremony had been perform'd
to him (b);

Αὐτὰρ ἔπειθ' ὅτ' ἔσθ' ἠνυσεν Ἡραίοιο,
Ἡῶθεν δ' ἦ τοι λέγομαι λευκ' ὅσ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
Οἶνον δ' ἀνέχετο καὶ ἀλείφατι.

But when the Flame your Body had consum'd
With Oyls, and Odours we your Bones perfum'd,
(And wash'd with unmixt Wine,

Patroclus's Remains were enclos'd in Fat (c);

Κλειότεν δ' ἐν χρυσῷ ὑπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ
Ἀλλοτρίῃ ἐν χρυσῷ οὐδ' ἄλλω καὶ Νεκρῷ δ' ἐν χρυσῷ

His mournful Friends in Fat his Bones enclos'd,
Then in a golden Ura they them repos'd.

(a) *Iliad*, ὁ. γ. 791. (b) *Odys.*, δ. γ. 71. (c) *Iliad*, γ. γ. 232.

It may here be demanded, how the Reliques of the Body were distinguish'd from those of the Beasts and Men burnt with it; in answer to this Enquiry (omitting those groundless Stories of the Stone *Amiantus*, and *Indian Hemp*, which could not be consum'd by Fire) I shall produce two Instances, whereby it appears the Method they took to effect this, was by placing the Body in the Middle of the Pile, whereas the Men and Beasts burnt with it lay on the Sides. Thus *Achilles* tells the *Grecians*, it would be easy to discover the Remains of *Patroclus* (a);

Πρῶτον δ' κατὰ πυρκαῖαν σέσωται αἰζονοὶ οἶνον
Πᾶσαν, ὅπως ἐπὶ πύρρ' ἔκειτο μὲν ὁ ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσα Πατρίκλειο Μυοπηϊάδαο Λέγωνται,
Εὐδαιμονόκοντες, αἰετοειδέα τέτυκται
Εν μέσῳ γὰρ ἔκειτο πυρρῇ, τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνδρῶν
Ἐκατὴ καίοντ' ὀπιμὲν ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄλγες.

First with black Wine extinguish all the Flames,
Quench ev'ry glowing Cinder that remains,
Then let us gather up, 'tis easily done,
The unmixt Bones of brave *Menatius's* Son,
Your nicer Care needs not be here express'd,
You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest;
For in the midst o' th' Pile his Corpse was plac'd,
Whilst Men and Beasts promiscuously cast,
Lay frying on the outward Parts —

H. H.

Achilles's Bones are said to have been distinguish'd the same way (b);

Δὴ τότε πυρκαῖαν οἶνον σέσωται, ὅσα δ' αὐτῷ
θαύρετ' αἰετοειδέας ἐπὶ ἔχ' ἐτίθειον ὅμοια
Ἦν, ἀλλ' οἷα γρύαρτος ἡρώεσ' ἰδὲ δ' ἄλλα
Σὺν κέρας ἐμικνέτο: ἔπειτα βόες, ἵπποι καὶ ἵπποι,
Καὶ ταῖδε Τρώων μέγ' ἀκταμένοισι καὶ ἄλλοις
Βαυδὺν ἄπο δὲ κίοντο σὺν ἑκὼν: ὅς δ' ἐνὶ μέσῳ
Πιπρῇ ὑπ' Ἡρακλεὶος δούλην ἔκειτο ἔκαστος.

When the remaining Flames they'd quench'd with Wine,
Which were the Hero's Bones was plainly seen;
Not like the rest, that fell his Sacrifice,
But of a larger and gigantick Size;
Nor cou'd his Bones be with the vulgar mixt,
Since his rich Corpse remote from them was fixt;
The captive *Trojans*, Beasts, and Horses slain
Upon the Out-works of the Pile were lain.

(a) Loc. cit. (b) *Quintus Smyrnaeus* lib. II. 7. 720.

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There burnt some Distance from the nobler Dead,
Who in the midst o' th' Fire alone was lay'd,

H. H.

The Bones thus discover'd, they seem to have gather'd the Ashes,
which lay close to them; nor do's it appear, there was any other way
to distinguish the Remains of the Men from common Ashes.

The Bones and Ashes thus collected were reposit'd in Urns, call'd
κάλπαι, φιάλαι, κρηαί, λάρνακες, δοθήκαι, δοδοχέαι, σαρφί,
&c. The Matter they consist'd of was different, either Wood, Stone,
Earth, Silver, or Gold, according to the Quality of the Deceas'd.
When Persons of eminent Virtue died, their Urns were frequently
adorn'd with Flowers, and Garlands; but the general Custom seems
to have been, to cover them with Cloths till they were deposited in
the Earth, that the Light might not approach them. This is parti-
cularly remark'd in Homer's Funerals; as when he speaks of *Hector's*
Bones (a);

Καὶ πᾶ γε χρυσέῳ εἰς λάρνακα δῆκαν ἔλοντες,
Πορφύρεοις πέπλοις καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν.

— An Urn of Gold was brought,
Wrapt in soft purple Palls, and richly wrought,
In this the sacred Ashes were interr'd.

The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Patroclus's* Urn in the
precedent *Iliad*

Εν κλισίῃσι ὃ δέντες ἑαυτὸ λιτὴ καλύψαν.

Within the Tent his costly Urn was lay'd
And over it a Linnen-cloth was spread.

Concerning their Interment it may be observ'd, that their Bodies
lay in their Coffins with Faces upwards; it being thought more
proper, and perhaps more conducive to the Welfare of the Deceas'd,
to have their Faces towards Heaven, the Abode of the Cœlestial
Gods, and Fountain of Light, than the dark Mansions of the Infer-
nal Deities: Whence *Diogenes the Cynick*, being ask'd in what Posture
he would be interr'd, answer'd, εἰς ὀψωπῶν, with my Face down-
wards; the Reason of which being demanded of him; he reply'd,
that in a short Time the World would be turn'd upside down (b);
which Answer seems design'd to ridicule the *Grecian* Superstition in
this Point.

It may be observ'd farther, that the Heads of deceas'd Persons
were so plac'd in the Grave, that they might look towards the rising
Sun (c). *Rhynch* informs us indeed, that the *Megarensians* plac'd
their Dead towards the East, and the *Athenians*, whose Custom

(a) *Iliad*, v. line. (b) *Laertius* *Diogenes*. (c) *Thucydides* *Schollaster*.

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seems herein to be the same with the rest of the *Greeks*, towards the West (a); and *Ælian*, as far as concerns the *Athenians*, agrees with him (b): But it must be consider'd, that to situate the Face so as it should look towards the rising Sun, 'twas necessary the Head should lie towards the West; whence also the Head, or uppermost part of the Sepulchre, being to face the rising Sun, was likewise plac'd at the West-end.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to add, that the *Megarensians* commonly put two, three, or four Carcases into the same Sepulchre; but at *Athens* one Sepulchre, much less one Coffin, or Urn, seldom contain'd above one Carcase (c); which seems to have been commonly observ'd by the rest of the *Greeks*; only those that were joyn'd by near Relation, or Affection were usually bury'd together; it being thought inhuman to part those in Death, whom no Accidents of Life could separate. Many Examples of this Nature occur in ancient Writers. Hence *Agathias's* Epigram concerning two Twins;

Εἰς δὴν ἀδελφοὺς ἄδ' ἐπέχει τὰρ ὄρε', ἐν δὲ ἐπέχον
 Ημεῖς ὃς ἑμῆς οἱ δύο καὶ θανάτου

Two Brothers lie interr'd within this Urn,
 Both dy'd together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small Accession to their Happiness: *Thisbe's* last Request was, that she might be interr'd with *Pyramus* (d);

Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,
 O multum miseri meus illiusque parentes;
 Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
 Componi tumulo non invidemus eodem.

At length, our thrice unhappy Parents, hear,
 And grant us this our last most earnest Pray'r;
 That we, whom Love and Death together joyn'd,
 As both one Fate, one common Tomb may find.

Admetus in *Euripides* declares his Resolution to lie in the same Coffin with his Wife *Alceſtis* (e);

ἐν ταύτῃ αὐταὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐμὰ καὶ κείνης
 ἐστὶ τὸ θῆναι πλάγας.

Close by thy Side I'll in thy Urn be lay'd.

Pyrochus, appearing after Death to *Achilles*, begs of him, that he would repose his Bones in the same Urn he design'd for his own (f):

(a) Solon. (b) Var. Hist. lib. VII. cap. XIX. (c) Plutarchus Solon. (d) *Metam.* IV. v. 154. (e) *Alceſtis*. 263. (f) *Iliad*. v.

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And when *Achilles* was dead, we find the *Greeks* put the *Ashes* of his Friend *Antilochus* into the same *Urn* with his, but those of *Patroclus* they not only reposit in the same *Vessel*, but mingled them together: Thus the *Ghost* of *Agamemnon* tells him at their Meeting in the *Shades* below (a);

Εν τῷ τοι καί ται Λόκ' ὄσα, παῖδιμ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
Μίγδα ὃ Πατρώλοιο Μενoitιδάο θανόντος
Χαεῖς δ' Ἀντιλόχοιο, ἃ ἔθοχα τίς ἀπάντων
Τῶν ἁλλῶν ἔταρον μετ' Πατρώκλιν γε θανόντα.

Within this *Urn* your sad *Remains* are lay'd
Mixt with the *Bones* of your *Patroclus* dead:
In the same *Urn* *Antilochus* doth lie,
His *Bones* not mixt with yours, but plac'd hard by;
For much you did that worthy *Chief* esteem,
Only *Patroclus* was preferr'd to him.

H. H.

Halcyon's Love carry'd her still farther; for, her Husband *Ceyx* having perish'd in a *Tempest* at *Sea*, she comforts her self in this, that, tho' his *Body* could not be found, yet their *Names* should be inscrib'd upon the same *Monument*, and, as it were, embrace each other (b);

Crudelior ipso
Sis mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
Longius, & tanto pugnem superesse dolori
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam
En tibi nunc saltem veniam comes, inque sepulcro
Si non urna, tamen junges nos litera, si non
Offibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangamus

But I more cruel than the *Sea* shou'd be,
Cou'd I have *Thoughts* to live depriv'd of thee,
Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my *Pain*,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain:
Ah! no, dear *Ceyx*, I'll not leave thee so
I'll not contend with my too pressing *Woe*,
Where e'er you lead *Halcyon* will go:
And now at length, my dearest *Lord*, I come,
And, tho' we are deny'd one common *Tomb*,
Tho' in one *Urn* our *Ashes* be not lay'd,
On the same *Marble* shall our *Names* be read,
In am'rous *Folds* the circling *Words* shall join,
And shew how much I lov'd, how you was only mine.

H. H.

(a) *Odys.* α. v. 76. (b) *Ovidii Met. lib. XI. v. 702.*

C H A P. VII.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cemotaphia, &c.

THE primitive *Greeks* were bury'd in Places prepar'd for that purpose in their own Houses (a); the *Thebans* had once a Law, that no Person should build a House without providing a Repository for his Dead. It seems to have been very frequent even in later Ages to bury within their Cities; the most publick and frequented Places whereof seem to have been best stor'd with Monuments: But this was a Favour not ordinarily granted, except to Men of great Worth, and publick Benefactors; to such as had rais'd themselves above the common Level, and were Examples of Virtue to succeeding Ages, or had deserv'd by some eminent Service to have their Memories honour'd by Posterity. The *Magnesian*s rais'd a Sepulchre for *Themistocles* in the midst of their Forum (b); *Euphron* had the same Honour at *Corinth* (c); and it appears to have been common for Colonies to have bury'd their Leaders, under whose Conduct they possess'd themselves of new Habitations, in the midst of their Cities (d).

Temples were sometimes made Repositories for the Dead; whereof the primitive Ages afford us many Instances; insomuch that some have been of Opinion, that the Honours pay'd to the Dead were the first Cause of erecting Temples (e). Nor were later Times wholly void of such Examples, for the *Platæans* are said to have bury'd *Euclides* in the Temple of *Diana Euclea*, for his pious Labour in going a thousand *Stadia* in one Day to fetch some of the hallow'd Fire from *Delphi* (f): From which, with many other Instances, it appears, that this was look'd on as a very great Favour, and granted as a Reward to publick Services. Sometimes it was desir'd for Protection, as we learn from *Medea's* Case, who interr'd her two Sons in *Juno Atræa's* Temple to secure them from the Malice of her Enemies (g), as has been already observ'd.

But the general Custom, in later Ages especially, was to bury their Dead without their Cities, and chiefly by the Highways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisom Smells, wherewith Graves might infect their Cities; or to prevent the Danger their Houses were expos'd to, when Funeral Piles were set on Fire: Or, it may be, to fill the Minds of Travelers with Thoughts of Mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any Dangers, rather than permit an Enemy to approach their Walls, and despoil the Monuments, or disturb the Peace of the Dead: Lastly, (to trouble you with no more different Opinions)

(a) *Plato Minor.* (b) *Plutarchus Themistocle.* (c) *Xenophon Hellenica.* lib. VII. (d) *Pindari Scholiastes.* (e) *Vide Archaeolog. nost. lib. II. cap. II.* (f) *Plutarchus Aristide.* (g) *Euripid. Med.* v. 1379.

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others think it most probable, that this Custom was first introduc'd by a Fear of contracting Pollution from the Dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing Chapter.

But *Lycurgus*, as in most of his Institutions, so herein too differ'd from the rest of the *Grecian* Law-givers; for, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd his *Lacedaemonians* to bury their Dead within their City, and even round about their Temples; to the end, their Youth by being us'd to such Spectacles might not be afraid to see a dead Body; and withal to rid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corpse, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man (a).

Every Family was wont to have their proper Burying-place, to be depriv'd whereof was reputed one of the greatest Calamities that could befall them; Wherefore when the *Lacedaemonians* were resolv'd to conquer the *Messenians*, or lose all their Lives in the Attempt, we read that they bound Tickets to their right Arms containing their own and their Father's Names; that, if all should perish in the Battle, and their Bodies be so mangled, as not to be distinguish'd, those Notes might certify what Family they belong'd to, that so they might be carry'd to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors (b). The rest of the *Grecians* had the same Custom; whence (to trouble you with only one Instance more) there being a Law, that such as preserv'd not their Inheritance, should be depriv'd of the Sepulchre of their Fathers, *Democritus*, having spent his Estate in the Study of Philosophy, was in Danger of incurring that Penalty (c).

The common Graves of primitive *Greece* were nothing but Caverns dug in the Earth (d), and call'd *anthyasa*: But those of later Ages were more curiously wrought, they were commonly pav'd with Stone, had Arches built over them, and were adorn'd with no less Art and Care than the Houses of the Living; insomuch that Mourners commonly retir'd into the Vaults of the Dead, and there lamented over their Relations for many Days and Nights together; as appears from *Petronius's* Story of the *Ephesian* Matron.

Kings and great Men were anciently bury'd in Mountains, or at the Feet of them (e). Thus *Aventinus Sylvius* was interr'd in the Hill, which receiv'd its Name from him (f). *Virgil* reports the same of King *Dercennus* (g);

— — — Fuit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni serreno ex aggere bustum.

A Tomb beneath a mighty Mount they rear'd

For King *Dercennus*.

Whence likewise appears the Custom of raising a Mount upon the Graves of great Persons; which *Lucan* has thus express'd, speaking of the *Egyptians* (h).

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (b) *Iustinus* lib. III. (c) *Laertius Democrito*. (d) *Etymologici Auctor* v. *anthyasa*. (e) *Servius* *Aen.* XI. (f) *Aurelius de orig. Gent. Roman.* (g) *Loc. cit.* (h) *Lib. VIII.*

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Es regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.

Beneath a Mount their Monarchs Ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of Stone; whence *Hesius* in *Euripides* tells *Hercules*, the *Athenians* would honour his Corpse

———— *Αἰδοίης τ' ἐξοικιστάς.*

With high-built Monuments of Stone.

But the common Materials were nothing but Earth, whence 'tis usually call'd *χῶμα*. Thus *Euripides* (a),

———— *Ὅς δ' ἐν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλεύς τάπν.*

The Mount, which o'er *Achilles*'s Tomb was rais'd,

To cast it up *Homer* calls *χίον σῆμα*, speaking of *Hector*'s Tomb (b)

Χόαντες ἴδ' ἐσῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a Tomb of Earth rais'd o'er his Grave

They all departed.

The same Words he had us'd before in the Description of *Patroclus*'s Funeral (c): *Antipater* terms it *χόννουδα τάπν*;

Ἦν δ' Πάτριος τάπν, ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ
Ἀξίον, ἡλ' ἐν χῶμ' ἔχοντα τὰ τῶν

Under this sordid Tomb do's *Triam* rest,

Not that his Worth did not deserve the best,

But cause his Enemies it rais'd.

'Tis sometimes express'd by the more general Names of *ἐξοικιστάς*, *ὑψίσαι*, &c. Thus *Euripides*,

———— *Μητὲρ' ἐξοικιστά τάπν*

O'er my dead Mother's Corpse a Tomb I rais'd.

The Author of the following Epigram has such another Expression (d);

Λοκίδος ἐν νήσοι σμηρῶ νήπιον Ἡρόδοτος
Νύμφαι κελυγιάσαν ἄσσαν ἐπὶ σφαιραῖν,
Καὶ τάπν ὑψίσαντο.

(a) *Heecuba*. (b) *Iliad*. c. *fine*. (c) *Iliad*. f. (d) *Antholog. Epigr. lib. IV. tit. 115*. (e) *Antholog. lib. III. tit. 115*.

What Care and Love the Nymphs to *Hesiod* shew'd,
At their own Fountains in the *Locrian* Wood
They bath'd his life-less Corpse, and o'er't a Tomb they rear'd.

Whence the *Latin* *tumulus*, which in its proper Sense imports no more than a Hillock, came to signify a Grave.

Whatever the Materials were, they were usually lay'd together with Care and Art: Thus *Homer* witnesseth of *Patroclus's* Tomb (a),

Τοργώσαντο δ' ὄμμα, δειμείλια τε περιβάλοντο
Ἀμφὶ πυρῶν, ἔδαρ δὲ χυτῶν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχοντα.

They enclos'd th' Ground wherein the Grave was made,
And cast in Earth upon it.

Where by *δειμείλια* some understand the *lorica*, or enclos'd Ground round the Grave, sometimes term'd by the metaphorical Names of *δερμὶς*, *γαῖον*, &c. and call'd by *Pausanias* *πελοικοδομή*, and *κηπίς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c. For the ancient *μνημεῖα* were compos'd of two Parts, one was the Grave, or Tomb, which was likewise term'd *μνημεῖον* in a strict Sense of the Word, and is known by several other Names, mostly taken from its Form, as *ἀπὸ λαιῶν*, *τύμβος*, &c. The second Part was the Ground surrounding the Grave, which was fenc'd about with Pales, or Walls, but usually open at the Top, and therefore sometimes call'd *ὄψαιδρον*. Tombs of Stone were polish'd and adorn'd with greater Art; whence there is so frequent mention of *ἑστὸι τάφοι*;

Τύμβον κατέψιν ἑστόν (b). —

And see the polish'd Tomb. —

And again (c);

— — — Ἐπὶ ἑστῷ τύφῳ. —

— — — Upon the polish'd Tomb.

The Ornaments, wherewith Sepulchres were beautify'd, were numerous. Pillars of Stone were very ancient, as appears from the Story of *Idas's* striking *Pollux* with a Pillar broken from his Grandfather *Amyclas's* Monument (d);

— — — Τῷ δ' δευτέρῳ ἔπειτα
Πληγῶν ἄδαμῶς κείος ἐσκορύφεται,
Ἀγαλμα πῆλας Ἰ' Ἀμυκλαίων τάφῳ.

(a) *Iliad*. 4. (b) *Euripid*, *Alce*, v. 836. (c) *Idem* *Helen*, v. 992. (d) *Lysippon* *Cassand*, v. 557.

Next with a Pillar *udas* him shall strike,
A Pillar pluck'd from th' hallow'd Sepulchre
Of *Amyclas*.

Pindar calls it *ἀγυλὴ ἀΐδαο, ἔσδον νέτορον* (a), and *Theocritus* takes notice of the same Accident (b).

These Pillars were term'd *ἑλαιοὶ*, and frequently contain'd Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the Deceas'd, which were commonly describ'd in Verses. The *Sicyonians* had no such Inscriptions (c); *Lycurgus* also would by no means allow of *Talkative Gravestones*, nor suffer so much as the Names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who died in the Wars, or Women in Child-bed (d). Nor was it unusual at other Places to omit the Names of the Deceas'd, writing instead of them some moral Aphorism, or short Exhortation to the Living, such as this,

ΤΟΤΕ ΑΓΑΘΟΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The Virtuous and the Dead ought to be respected.

Besides this, especially where there was no Inscription, they commonly added the dead Man's Effigies, or some other Resemblance pertinent to the Occasion, and signifying his Temper, Studies, Employment, or Condition. Virgins had commonly the Image of a Maid with a Vessel of Water upon their Tombs (e); the former to represent the Deceas'd, the latter to denote a Custom the young Men had of carrying Water to the Sepulchres of unmarried Maids. A careful House-keeper was represented by such Figures, as are mention'd in the following Epigram of *Antipater* upon *Lysidice*,

Μαεῖναι τίς σε, τίς ἐπὶ σελήτιδ' ὤψεται,
Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὸν πόν' ἔχουσα νόον;
" Τὰ μὲν ἀνεγερῶναι με ποτ' εἰσα νύκτερος ἄρουρ;
" Ἀνία δ' αὐδάσει δώματος ἡνίοχον.
" Ἰππασῆς δ' ὅδε κημός αἰσεται ἐπολιμένον,
" Οὐ λόλον, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἐμπλεον ἡσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, *Lysidice*,

What is the meaning of this Imag'ry,

What mean these curious Figures round thy Tomb,

What are they all design'd for, and by whom?

" I'll tell you, Sir, and first that Bird of Night

" Shews how I us'd to spin by Candle-light;

" That well-carv'd Bridle on the Side is meant

" My well-rul'd Family to represent;

(a) *Nemean. Od. X.* (b) *Dioscuris.* (c) *Pausanias corinthiacis.* (d) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (e) *Pollux lib. VIII. cap. VII.*

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"My peaceful Temper next the Muzzle shews,
That I no Scold, or busie Tatler was.

H. H.

Diogenes the Cynick had a Dog engraven upon his Monument to denote the Temper of his Sect, or his own. *Isochrates's* Tomb was adorn'd with the Image of a Siren, *Archimedes's* with a Sphere, and Cylinder; whereby the charming Eloquence of the former, the Mathematical Studies of the latter were signify'd. Nor was it unusual to fix upon Graves the Instruments which the Deceas'd had us'd: The Graves of Soldiers were distinguish'd by their Weapons, those of Mariners by their Oars; and, in short, the Tools of every Art and Profession accompany'd their Masters, and remain'd as Monuments to preserve their Memory. Hence *Elpenor* is introduc'd by *Homer* (a) begging of *Ulysses* to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, as has been already observ'd (b): *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the like Office to his Trumpeter *Misenus* (c).

These, with many other Ceremonies, were design'd to perpetuate the Memory of the Deceas'd; whence their Graves were term'd *σῆματα*, *μνημεία*, *μνήματα*, &c. *Agamemnon* reckons it a great Happiness to *Achilles*, that he was honour'd with a Monument, which would continue his Name to Posterity (d);

ΟΛΒΕ. Πηλεὺς γὰρ, θεοῖς ἐπιτέκελ' Ἀχιλλεύ,
Ὁς δ' ἄνδρες ἐν Τροίῃ &c. —

You are thrice happy, God-like *Peleus's* Son,
Who did at *Troy* resign your Breath. —

And afterwards,

— — Μῆγαν καὶ ἀμόμωνα τῶμβον
Ἰδόμεν Ἀργείων ἱερῆς τερατὸς αἰχμητῶν
Ἀκτὴ ἐπὶ περὶ πλάτῃ Ἑλλησπόντῳ
Ὡς κεν τηλεφανὴς ἐκ ποντῶν ἀνδράσιν εἴη,
Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γέγασσι, καὶ δὲ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται.

To thy great Name did warlike *Greeks* rear
A large and never-fading Sepulchre,
And this they plac'd upon a rising Mount
Impending o'er the spacious *Hellspont*,
That so both Ages present and to come
From distant Shoars might see thy sacred Tomb.

H. H.

But later Ages grew so extravagant in these Structures, that their Law-givers were forc'd to keep them within Bounds, by inflicting severe Penalties upon such as exceeded their Prescriptions: *Solon* in

(a) *Odyss.* λ'. v. 75. (b) *Lib* III. c. XI. p. 114. (c) *Æneid* VI. (d) *Odyss.* λ'. v. 76.
particular

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particular is reported to have order'd that no Statues of *Mercury* (as had been customary, because *Mercury* was an Infernal God) or arch'd Roofs should be made in the *Athenian* Monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten Men were able to erect in three Days; and *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* enacted a Law, that not above one Pillar, and that not exceeding three Cubits in Height, should be plac'd upon any Monument (a).

It may not be improper to mention their Custom of praying for their Friends, and Men of Piety and Virtue, that the Earth might lie light upon them; for their Enemies, and all wicked Men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the Ghosts, that still haunted their Shrowds, and were in love with their former Habitations, had a very acute Sense of all the Accidents, which befell their Bodies. Hence the *Chorus* prays for *Alcestis* (b),

Κῆρα σοὶ
χθὼν ἐπάνω πῖσσει, γυναι.

I wish the Earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduc'd by the same Poet (c), arming himself against Death by this Consideration, that the Gods took care that such who died with Honour should have no Sense of any Pressure from the Earth, whereas Cowards shou'd be crush'd under it;

Εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,
Εὐψυχὸν ἀνδρᾶς πολεμίων θανόντ' ὕπο
Κῆρῃ καταμπίχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.
Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα σφραδὸν ἐμβαλλουσὶ γῆς.

For if the Gods (and sure they all Things know)
Have due Regard for Mortals here below,
They will not, cannot suffer those that die
By the too pow'rful Force o'th' Enemy,
If they with Courage have maintain'd their Post,
And for the publick Good their Lives have lost,
To be o'erburthen'd with the heavy Weight
Of Earth; but such as stand agast at Fate,
Base dastard Souls that shrink at ev'ry Blow,
Nor dare to look on a prevailing Foe,
These shall (nor is the Punishment unjust)
Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging Dust.

H. H.

Theseus prays this Punishment may be inflicted upon wicked *Phaedra* (d);

(a) *Cicero* de L. gibus lib. II. (b) *Eucipid. Alcest.* v. 462. (c) *Helen.* v. 837. *Senec. Hippolyt.* fine.

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— *Istam terra defossam premas
Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.*

And may the Earth that is upon her lay'd,
Lie heavy on her Corpse, and crush her cursed Head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this Order in the following Epigram (a);

Εἴη σοι χθὶ γῆς κῆπον κόβης, οἰκτρὲ Νέαςχες,
Οὐρα σε πνιδίως ἐξερύσῃσι κύνες.

Which *Marzial* translates thus (b);

*Sit tibi terra levis, mollique tegaris arena,
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

Let there be one, who lighter Dust, or Sand
Shall sprinkle o'er your Corpse with sparing Hand,
So to the Dogs you'll be an easier Prey.

Pass we now to the Monuments erected in Honour of the Dead, but not containing any of their Remains, and thence call'd *νεκροδεία*, *κρήνηα*.

Of these there were two sorts: One was erected to such Persons, as had been honour'd with Funeral Rites in another Place; of which we find frequent mention in *Pausanias* (c), who speaks of such honorary Tombs dedicated to *Euripides*, *Aristomenes*, *Achilles*, *Damron*, *Tyresias*, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtain'd a just Funeral; for the Ancients were possess'd with an Opinion, that the Ghosts of Men unbury'd could have no Admittance into the blessed Regions, but were forc'd to wander in Misery an hundred Years; and that when any Man had perish'd in the Sea, or any other Place where his Carcase could not be found, the only Method of giving him Repose, was to erect a Sepulchre, and by repeating three Times with a loud Voice the Name of the Deceas'd, to call his Ghost to the Habitation prepar'd for it, which Action was term'd *ψυχαγωγία*.

This Practice seems to have been very ancient: *Pelias* is introduc'd in *Pindar* (d) telling *Jason* he must recall the Soul of *Phryxus*, who died in *Colchis*, into his native Country; *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the same Office to *Deiphobus* (e),

*Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem
Constitui, & magna manes ser voce vocavi.*

(a) Antholog. lib. II. tit. sic τραπεζα. (b) Lib. IX. Epitaph. Philzen. (c) *At-*
ticus, *Messenicus*, *Eliac*. C. *Boeoticis*. (d) *Pythionic*. Od. IV. (e) *Æneid*. VI.
v. 505.

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Thy Tomb I rear'd on the *Rhæan* Coast,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wand'ring Ghost.

Ausonius has elegantly describ'd, and assign'd the Reason of this Custom (a);

*Hoc satis & tumulis, satis & telluris egenis;
Voce ciere animas funeris instar habet:
Gaudent compositi cineres sua nomina dici;
Frontibus hoc scriptis & monumenta jubent:
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulcri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepulchus erit.*

Small is the Priv'lege that th' unbury'd crave,
No Grave, or decent Burial they have,
We only 'stead of pompous Funeral
Aloud upon their wand'ring *Manes* call;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd
And empty Mon'ments with Inscriptions rais'd:
For he, whose *Manes* have been so recall'd,
Tho' his dead Corpse of fit Interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest
As he, whose Bones beneath a Tomb-stone rest.

H. H.

Many other Instances of this Nature may be met with in the Poets. The Sign, whereby Honorary Sepulchres were distinguish'd from others, was commonly *ixelson*, or a Wreck of a Ship (b), to signify the Decease of that Person in some foreign Country.

It may be expected, that I should add something concerning the Sacredness of Sepulchres. These, with all other Things belonging to the Dead, were had in so great Esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a Crime no less than Sacrilege, and thought to entail certain Ruin upon all Persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this Place; wherefore I shall only set down that of *Idas*, who upon breaking one of the Pillars in *Aphareus's* Sepulchre was immediately thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (b);

*Η γδ ὅδε γάλαν Αφαρήν ἐξανέχυσαν
Τύμβῳ ἀναρρήξας ταχέως Μεάνιος Ἰδας,
Μέλλε κασιγνήτοις βαλεῖν σφετέρῃσι φοῖνᾳ·
ἀλλὰ Ζῆς ἐπάμυνε, χερῶν δ' οἱ ἐκάλει τυτλᾶν
Μάρμαρον, αὐτὸν δ' ὀλογίῳ σπείραξε κεραυνῷ.*

For, to revenge fall'n *Lyncæus's* hasty Doom,
He tore a Pillar from the sacred Tomb,

(a) *Prefat. Parentalium.* (b) *Theocrit. Idyll. xlv. v. 207.*

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To dart at *Castor*, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce Revenger of his Brother's Blood;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strict Command
Swift Lightning struck the Marble from his Hand;
He strove to reach it, but his Soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common Destiny expir'd.

Mr. Creech.

It has been a Question, whether the *Cenotaphia* had the same religious Regard, which was paid to the Sepulcres where the Remains of the Deceas'd were reposit'd: For the Resolution hereof it may be observ'd, that such of them, as were only erected for the Honour of the Dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any Judgment upon such as profan'd them; but the rest, wherein Ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same Condition with Sepulcres, the Want whereof they were design'd to supply.

C H A P. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.

BEfore the Company departed from the Sepulchre, they were sometimes entertain'd with a Panegyrick upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as died in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounc'd by a Person appointed by the publick Magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the anniversary Day (a). These Customs were not very ancient, being first introduc'd by *Solon*, or (as some say) by *Pericles*; but were generally receiv'd not in Greece only, but at *Rome*. It was thought no small Accession to the Happiness of the Deceas'd to be eloquently commended; whence we find *Pliny* completing his Account of *Virginus Rufus's* Felicity in this, that his Funeral Oration was pronounc'd by one of the most eloquent Tongues of that Age (b).

It was farther customary for Persons of Quality to institute Games with all sorts of Exercises, to render the Death of their Friends more remarkable. This Practice was generally receiv'd, and is frequently mention'd by ancient Writers; *Miltiades's* Funeral in *Heraclitus*, *Brasidas's* in *Thucydides*, *Timoleon's* in *Plutarch*, with many others, afford Examples hereof. Nor was it a Custom of later Ages, but very common in the primitive Times; *Patroclus's* Funeral Games take up the greatest Part of one of *Homer's Iliads* (c), and *Agamemnon's* Ghost

(a) Cicero de Orat. (b) Lib II. Ep. I. (c) *Iliad*. 4.

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is introduc'd by the same Poet telling the Ghost of *Achilles*, that he had been a Spectator at great Numbers of such Solemnities (a);

Μήτηρ δ' αἰτήσασα δαίς, σπικαλλέ' αἶδλα
Θῆκε μέσῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι αἰεσίῃσιν Ἀχαιῶν·
Ἦδ' ἢ πολλῶν τάφῳ ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησα
Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποδιδυμένη βασιλῆος
Ζώνονταί τε νέοι, καὶ ἐπενύονταί αἶδλα·
Ἀλλὰ καὶ κῆρα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ἐτεδύπτεα θυμῷ,
Οἷ' ἐπὶ σοι κατέθηκε Θεὰ σπικαλλέ' αἶδλα
Ἀργυρόπιζα Θέτις. —

Your Mother full of Piety and Love
Craves first a Blessing from the Pow'rs above,
Then she doth rich Rewards and Prizes state,
While sprightly Youths the Games do celebrate;
I've been at many Games, great Piles survey'd,
Which eternize heroick Chiefs when dead,
But none can equal Wonders seem to be,
As those the pious *Thetis* made for thee.

F. A.

In the Age before, we find *Oedipus's* Funeral solemniz'd with Sports, and *Hercules* is said to have celebrated Games at the Death of *Pelops* (b). The first that had this Honour was *Argan*, the Son of *Arcas*, the Father of the *Arcadians*, whose Funeral, as *Pausanias* reports (c), was celebrated with Horse-races. The Prizes were of different sorts and Value, according to the Quality and Magnificence of the Person that instituted them. The Garlands given to Victors were usually of Parsly, which was thought to have some particular Relation to the Dead, as being feign'd to spring out of *Archemorus's* Blood, whence it became the Crown of Conquerors in the *Nemean Games*, which were first instituted at his Funeral (d).

'Twas a general Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all Things about them; this occasion'd Purifying after Funerals, which *Virgil* has thus describ'd (e);

Idem rer socios pura circumtulit unda,
Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicis olive,
Lustravitque viros. —

Then, carry'ng Water thrice about his Mates,
And sprinkling with an Olive-twigg, their Fates
Good *Chorineus* wisely expiates,

3

Several other ways of Purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to Funerals, and being describ'd in one of

(a) *Odyss.* α'. v. 85. (b) *Dionysius Halicarnass.* lib. v. (c) *Arcadicis.* (d) *Vide* *Archeolog. nostr.* lib. II. cap. pentult. & ult. (e) *Æneid.* lib. VI. v. 229.

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the precedent Books, have no Claim to any Mention in this Place. Till this Purification was accomplish'd, the polluted Person could not enter into the Temples, or communicate at the Worship of the Gods; whence *Iphigenia* speaks the following Words concerning *Diana* (a);

Τὰ τ' εἴη μὴ φοβέσθαι σοφίσματα,
 Ητις, βροτῶν μὲν ὡς τις ἀφίηται φόβος,
 Ἡ δὲ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶν δίῃν χρεῖσθιν.
 Βαρύνει ἀπείργει, μυσσάειν ὡς ἡγεμῶν.

The superstitious Tricks and Niceties
 Of strict *Diana's* Worship I dislike,
 Since of departed Friends the farewell Touch,
 All Murder done in Passion, or elſewiſe,
 And Acts of *Venery* ſhe doth reject,
 As great Pollutions of her ſacred Rites,
 Actors herein proſcribing from her Gifts.

F. A.

Nor was it *Diana* alone, of whom the Poet ſpeaks, that had ſuch an Averſion to theſe Pollutions; but the reſt of the Gods and Goddeſſes were of the ſame Temper. *Lucian*, in his Treatiſe concerning the *Syrian* Goddeſs, tells us, that, when any Perſon had ſeen a Corpſe, he was not admitted into her Temple till the Day following, and not then, except he had firſt purify'd himſelf; and the general Uſe of this Cuſtom (b) ſhews, that the reſt of the Cœleſtial Beings were equally afraid of Deſilement. This may farther appear from its being unlawful for thoſe Perſons to enter into the Temples, who were call'd *ὄψεσθότοιμοι*, or *δευτερεσθότοιμοι* (c), i. e. ſuch as were thought Dead, but after the Performance of their Funeral Rites recover'd; or ſuch who were reported to be Dead in ſome foreign Country, and unexpectedly return'd: Theſe Men were prohibited from worſhipping any of the Gods; *Hefſybius* mentions only the *Eumenides*, but others ſpeak of the Gods in general: Whence *Ariſtinus* was forc'd to ſend Meſſengers to conſult the *Delphian* Oracle what Method he ſhould uſe to be freed from Pollution, where he receiv'd this Answer;

Ὅρα μὲν ἂν λοχείας γυνὴ τίχεται τελεῖται,
 Τόσσῃ μὲν ἂν τελέσαντα δύνει μακάρεσσιν εὖδοισιν.

All Forms and Cuſtoms which Child-birth attend,
 The ſame muſt you to th' angry Gods commend.

Whereupon he was waſh'd, ſwadled, and treated in all other Reſpects as new-born Infants, and then receiv'd into Communion. But, as

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric. 280.* (b) *Suidas v. καλῶνσι.* *Ariſtophan. Scholiaſt. N. bibus.* (c) *Hefſybius in utraque voce.*

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my Author (a) proceeds, others make this Custom much ancients than *Aristimus*, carrying it up as high as the primitive Ages. And 'tis certain, the Opinion, that dead Bodies polluted all Things about them, was very ancient, as appears from the *Jewish Laws*.

The House was also purify'd; an Instance whereof we have in *Homer* (b), where *Ulysses*, having slain *Penelope's* Courtiers, and carry'd them out of his House, thus bespeaks his old Nurse;

Οἷσε δέειον, γενῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἷσε δέ μοι πῦρ,
Ορρα δειώσω μέγαρον. —

Fetch Brimstone hither, Nurse, and Fire, that I
My tainted Dwelling-house may purify.

Afterwards the Poet adds (c);

Οὐδ' ἀπίθῃσι φίλῃ τροφῇ Εὐρύκλεια,
Ἥνεγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θήιον· αὐτὰρ Οδυσσεὺς
Εὐ δειδείωσεν μέγαρον, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ αὐλῶν.

Straight trusty *Eurycle* perform'd his Will,
Then he with sulph'rous Smoke the House doth fill,
And chas'd th' Infection from polluted Rooms.

But the *Lacedæmonians* were taught by their Law-giver to contemn these superstitious Follies, and to think it unreasonable to fancy, that such as liv'd a virtuous Life, and conformably to their Discipline, should contract any Pollution by Death: On the contrary, they esteem'd their Remains worthy of Respect and Honour, and therefore thought no Places so fit to reposit them in, as these adjoining to the Temples of their Gods (d).

After the Funeral was over, the Company met together at the House of the deceas'd Person's nearest Relations, to divert them from Sorrow. Here there was an Entertainment provided (e), which was term'd *πεῖθεπνον*, *νεκρῶδεπνον*, *τάφος*, in Latin, *circumpotatio*, according to *Cicero*, who informs us, that the *Atrick* Laws prohibited the Use of this Ceremony at the Funerals of Slaves (f). The Custom was very ancient: The *Trojans*, having celebrated *Heitor's* Funeral, were splendidly entertain'd at King *Priam's* Palace (g);

Χείαντες δ' τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Εὐ σωμαγερόμῃσι δαίνυντ' εἰκυδία δαῖτα
Δώμασιν ἐν Πειρώμοιο διοτρεφίῃ βασιλῆος.

A Tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort
In pensive Crowds unto King *Priam's* Court,

(a) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Roman. haud longe ab istis. (b) *Odys.* x. 481. (c) *V.* 492. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgos*. (e) *Demosthenes* *Orat.* de *Corona*. *Lucianus* *Dialog.* de *lectu*. (f) *Lib.* II. de *Legibus*. (g) *Ilia.* a. line.

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Where a rich Banquet cheerful Mirth invites,
And sparkling Wine whets their pall'd Appetites.

F. A

The same may be observ'd in the Grecian Camp with this Difference,
that Achilles entertain'd them before Patroclus's Funeral (a);

Καὶ δ' ἴζον ὄρεα νηὶ ποδάρεος Αἰακίδαο
Μυεῖοι, αὐτὰς δ' τοῖσι τάρων μανοικία δᾶινυ·
Πολλοὶ δ' βόες ἀγροὶ δέχθ' ἔειον ἀμοῖ σιδήρεω
Σφαλ' ὄννοι, πολλὰ δ' ἴεις, καὶ μυκάδες αἶγες·
Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργιόδοτες ὕε δαλιδόντες αἰοισφῇ
Εὐόμοιοι τανύοντο διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστιοιο·
Πάντη δ' ἀμοῖ νέκυν καταλήρυτον ἔρρεν αἷμα;

While great Achilles doth prepare the Meat
For th' Fun'ral Banquet, thronging Grecians sit
About the Hero's Ship; whole Herds he kills
Of huge, fat Oxen roaring while he spills
Their Lives, that issue from their reeking Wounds;
Whole Flocks of Sheep he kills; the Air resounds,
While Goats and fatted Swine make hideous roar,
When purple Streams from their gash'd Throats do pour,
These having kill'd he roasts; the while the Blood
Around the Corpse in a great Current flow'd.

F. A.

By which last Words it appears, that the dead Person had some Interest in these Entertainments; and as the Blood of the Beasts was design'd for Patroclus's Ghost, so, even in later Ages, we are told the broken Morsels, which fell from the Tables were look'd on as sacred to the departed Souls, and not lawful to be eaten (b). To this Fancy Pythagoras's Aphorism, tho' perhaps containing a more mystical Sense, was an undoubted Allusion (c), Τὰ πρὸντα μὲ ἀναεῖσθαι, i. e. Take not up Things fall'n down; or, as others express it, Μὴ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀγ' ἐν τῷ τραπέζῃ κατὰ πρῶτον, i. e. Do not so much as tast Things fall'n under the Table. These Fragments were carry'd to the Tomb, and there left for the Ghost to feast upon; whence to denote extreme Poverty, it was usual to say that a Person *stole his Meat from the Graves*; To this Tibullus's Curse alludes,

*Ipsa fame stimulantem furens, escasque sepulcro
Quarant, & a sevis ossa relicta lupis.*

May she want Bread so much as ev'n to crave
The Scraps and musty Morsels of a Grave;
May she be glad to pick a Carcase Bone,
Which Wolves and Vultures once have fed upon.

F. A.

(a) *Iliad*. ῥ. v. 28. (b) *Athenæi Deipnosoph.* lib. X. (c) *Laertius Pythagora*.

The Entertainments of later Ages consisted not, like *Homer's*, of Flesh only, but all sorts of Pulse (a), Beans, Pease, with Lettices, Parsly, Eggs, and many other Things. The chief Subject of Discourse at these Meetings were the Praises of the Dead, especially if they had been eminent for any Virtue, or commendable Quality: Otherwise, so great was the Simplicity of primitive Ages, that they look'd upon it most expedient to say nothing; when by speaking they must unavoidably offend the dead Man, or transgress the Rules of Truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their Commendations, distributing to all Persons without Distinction; whence came the Proverb *Οὐκ ἐπαινε-
Σέμεν ἄν' ἐν νεκροῖς ἐπαινοῖς*, which was only apply'd to Villains of the first Rate, and such as had not the least Shadow of a good Quality to recommend them.

There was a Custom at *Argos*, obliging those that had lost any of their Kindred or Acquaintance, to sacrifice to *Apollo* presently after Mourning, and thirty Days after to *Mercury*, out of an opinion, that, as the Earth receiv'd their Bodies, so their Souls fell into *Mercury's* Hands: The Barly of the Sacrifice they gave to *Apollo's* Minister; the Flesh they took themselves, and having extinguish'd the sacrificial Fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boyl'd the Flesh, calling it *ἑσπυσμα* (b), from the *Fumes* ascending from the burn'd Sacrifice, which were term'd in Greek *νεῖμα*.

The Honours pay'd to the Sepulchres and Memories of the Deceas'd were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place Lamps in the subterraneous Vaults of the Dead; whither such, as would express an extraordinary Affection for their Relations, retir'd, and cloyster'd themselves up; an Example whereof we have in *Petronius's* *Ephesian* Matron.

They had a Custom of bedecking Tombs with Herbs and Flowers, amongst which Parsly was chiefly in use, as appears from *Plutarch's* Story of *Timoleon*, who, marching up an Ascent from the Top of which he might take a View of the Army, and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, was met by a Company of Mules loaden with Parsly; which (saith my Author) his Souldiers conceiv'd to be a very ill-boding and fatal Occurrence, that being the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead: This Custom gave Birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously Sick, *ἴσθαι σελίνου*, that he has need of nothing but Parsly; which is in effect to say, He's a dead Man and ready for his Grave. All sorts of purple and white Flowers were acceptable to the Dead, as *amaranthus*, which was first us'd by the *Thessalians* to adorn *Achilles's* Grave (c); *πρόδος λευκός* (d), which some will have to be the *Jasmin*, with Lillies, and several others; Hence *Virgil* (e),

(a) *Pantarchus* Problemat. (b) *Plutarchus* *Quæst. Græc.* p. 296. 297. edit. Paris. (c) *Philostratus* *Herodot.* (d) *Theophrastus* lib. VI. *οὐλμῆς, αἰθηναν* lib. XIV. (e) *Æneid.* V. v. 79.

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Purpureosque jacin flores, ac talia satur.

He, having purple Flowers strow'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent Book he alludes to the same Custom (a);

*Hæu, miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris, manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis.* —

Ah! could'st thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new Marcellus shall arise in thee;
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring
And all the curious Drap'ry of the Spring;
Let me with purple Flowers his Body strow,
This Gift, which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift at least I may bestow.

The Rose too was very grateful; whence *Anacreon* has these Verses in his Ode upon that Flower;

*Τόδε καὶ νοσήσιν ἀρχαί,
Τόδε καὶ νεκροῖς ἀμύνει,*

When Age and Vigor do decay,
The Rose their Strength repairs,
It drives ill *Maladies* away,
And can prolong our Years;
The Dead too in their Graves do lie
With peaceful Slumbers blest,
This is the *Amulet*, hereby
No Ills their Tombs molest.

F. A.

Nor was the Use of Myrtle less common; whence *Euripides* introduces *Electra* complaining that *Agamemnon's* Tomb had never been adorn'd with Boughs of that Plant,

*Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ τύμβος ἡ τιμασμένης
Οὐ πάποτε ἔχουσι, ἔκλωνα μυρσίνης
Ελας.* —

Ne'er with *Libations* and Myrtle-boughs
Were my dear Father's *Manes* gratify'd.

In short, Graves were bedeck'd with Garlands of all sorts of Flowers, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Daughter in *Sophocles* (b);

(a) *Æneid*, VI. γ. 883. (b) *Electra* γ. 886.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαῖον τάφον,
 Ὁρῶ κολωνὴν ἐξ ἀκρᾶς νεορρῦτες
 Πηγὰς γάλακτος, καὶ πλετοφῇ κύκλω
 Πάντων ὅσ' ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν δῆκλω πατρίσι.

No sooner came I to my Father's Tomb,
 But *Milk* fresh pour'd in copious Streams did flow,
 And Flow'rs of ev'ry sort around were strow'd.

These were commonly call'd *ἔσπερος* (a), either from their Design to express Love and Respect to the deceas'd Person; or from *ἔσπερος*, because they were usually compos'd of a Collection of several sorts of Flowers; or from *ἔσπερος*, as being lay'd upon the Earth; tho' neither of these last Reasons are constant, for the Garlands were sometimes compos'd of only one sort of Flowers, and frequently hung upon the Pillars, and not lay'd upon the Grave-stone. Several other Things were frequently plac'd upon Graves; as Ribbands, whence 'tis said that *Epaminondas's* Soldiers being disanimat'd at seeing the Ribband that hung upon his Spear carry'd by the Wind to a certain *Lacedæmonian* Sepulchre, he bid them take Courage, for that it portended Destruction to the *Lacedæmonians*; it being customary to deck the Sepulchres of their Dead with Ribbands (b). Another Thing dedicated to the Dead, was their Hair; *Electra* in *Sophocles* says that *Agamemnon* had commanded her and *Chrysothemis* to pay him this Honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, ὡς ἐπίετο,
 Λοιβαῖσι πρῶτον καὶ καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς
 Στέφαντες.

With Drink-off'rings, and Locks of Hair we must,
 According to his Will, his Tomb adorn.

Canace in *Ovid* (c) bewails her Calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her Lover's Tomb with her Locks, as has been already observ'd.

It was likewise customary to perfume the Grave-stones with sweet Ointments; to which Practice *Anacreon* has this Allusion,

Τί σε δὲ λίθον μυρίζων;
 Τί δὲ γῆν χέεν μάταια;
 Ἐμὲ μάλλον, ὡς ἔτι ζῶ,
 Μύεισον, ῥόδοις δὲ κρότα
 Πύκασον.

(a) *Phœvrorinus*, *Etymologicus* Auctor. (b) *Frontinus*, lib. I. cap. II. (c) *Epist. Canac.* ad. *Maecor*.

Why do we precious Ointments show'r,
Nobler Wines why do we pour,
Beauteous Flow'rs why do we spread
Upon the Mon'ments of the Dead?
Nothing they but Dust can shew,
Or Bones that hasten to be so,
Crown me with Roses while I live,

Mr. Cowley.

Whence *Leonidas* seems to have borrow'd the Sense of this Epigram,

Μη μύρα, μη στεφάνους λιβάνους σήλαισι χαείζω,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ ὀλέθρου, εἰς κενὸν ἢ σαπᾶν.
Ζῶντί μοι, εἴτε δάκρυ, χάρις αἰετ' ἔστω, δὲ μεδύσαν
Πηλὸν ποιήσεις, ὅχ' ὁ θάνατος τίεται.

When cold and lifeless in my Grave I'm lay'd,
No fragrant Oyl then pour, no Chaplains spread:
All expiatory Fires, all Rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless Ashes stain:
Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our Souls, 'twill Ease to Troubles give.

St. A.

To these Practices we find another added, viz. running naked about Sepulchres; for *Plutarch* (a) tells us, that *Alexander*, arriving at *Troy*, honour'd the Memories of the Heroes bury'd there with solemn Libations, anointed *Achilles's* Grave-stone, and (according to ancient Custom) together with his Friends, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands.

Beside the foremention'd Ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their Sacrifices, and Libations to the Dead; The Victims were black and barren Heifers, or black Sheep, as being of the same sort with those offer'd to the Infernal Gods, to denote the contrariety of those Regions to Light and Fruitfulness; whence *Homer* introduces *Ulysses* making a Vow to the Ghosts after this manner (b);

Πολλὰ δ' ἔγχευεν γαῖαν ἀμεινὰ καὶ λυγρὰ,
Ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἰδάλῳ σέβαν βῆν ἥ τις αἰὲν
Ρέξεν ἐν μεγάροισι, πύρρῳ τ' ἐμπλοσμένῳ ἑδλῶν
Τερεσίῃ δ' ἀπένευδεν δὴν ἰερδόμεν οἶον
Παιμέλῃαν, ὅς μῆλαις μεταπρέπει ἡμετέρῃσι,

A barren Cow to all the Pow'rs below
I did with solemn Protestation vow,

(a) *Alexandro*. (b) *Odys.* x. v. 29.

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If e'er I should again my Lordship see
After the perilous Wand'rings on the Sea,
Their Altars then I likewise swore to load
With Fruits and other Off'rings as were good:
But the best of our black Rams I cou'd choose
Tirefias I promis'd with chaste Vows.

3. A.

Beside their offering these Sacrifices in Ditches, and some other Customs spoken of in one of the former Books (a), it may be observ'd farther, that the first Thing they offer'd was the Hair upon the Victim's Fore-head, which for that reason was term'd ἀπαρχαί, and to offer it ἀπαρχιδαι. But however these Terms are sometimes us'd for the Sacrifices of the Ghosts; yet the Custom of offering these First-fruits was common to the Sacrifices of the Celestial and other Deities, as appears from several Instances: Homer mentions it at one of Minerva's Sacrifices (b);

Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
Εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τεύχεα ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

Having invok'd Minerva with his Prayers,
He on the Altar threw the Fore-head Hairs.

In another Place he speaks of it as acceptable to all the Gods (c);

Ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τεύχεα ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
Ἀργυρόδοντος ὕδρ', καὶ ἐπὶ πυρὶ παῶσι θεοῖσι.

Of a Sow's Fore-head having burn'd the Hairs,
To all the Gods He offers fervent Prayers.

But their ordinary Offerings were nothing but Libations of Blood, Honey, Wine, Milk, Water, &c. Solon forbade the Athenians ἐναγίζεω βῶν, to offer an Ox on this occasion (d). Upon the Sacrifice they commonly sprinkled Barly-flower. Some of these are mention'd in Homer (e),

Χαῖς χέομεν παῶσι νικύεσιν
Πρῶτα μελιχρήτω, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδὺν οἶνον,
Τὸ τεῖτον αὖθ' ὕδατι ἐπὶ δ' ἄλφειτα λευκὰ πάλιν.

We did with Reverence the Shades adore;
We first did Honey mix'd with Water pour;
Then Wine, then simple Water, and next Barly-Flour.

Honey was rarely omitted, being accounted θανάσι σύμβολον, a Symbol, or Emblem, of Death (f). Hence, as some think, the

(a) Lib. II. cap. IV. (b) Odys. γ'. (c) Ilad. ε'. (d) Plutarchus Solone: (e) Odys. λ'. v. 26. (f) Porphyrius de Antro Nympharum.

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Ghosts of the deceas'd came to be term'd μέλισσαι, the infernal Gods, μελίχιοι, and their Oblations μελίγμασα.

They were design'd to render the Ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore term'd χοαὶ ἡδωτήεσι, or δελκτήεσι. *Iphigenia* in *Eu-ripides* thus describes them (a),

Ω, τάσδε
Χοάς μέλλω, κρατῆρά τε
Τῶν φιδιμῶν
Υδραίνειν γαίης ἐν νύτοις,
Πηγὰς τ' ὑγείων ἐκ μόρων,
Βάκχῃ τ' οἰνηρὰς λοιπὰς,
Εἰσάδαν τε πόνημα μελισσῶν,
Α νεκροῖς δελκτήεα κεί-
τ'.

To whom I in this sacred Chalice bear
These solemn Liquids as an Offering.
This Blood in crimson Streams shall stain the Ground,
With Wine, and th' Product of the sed'ious Bee
The common Peace-atonement for the Dead.

F. A.

These were sometimes offer'd upon Altars, which were commonly plac'd near the ancient Sepulcres, with Tables for the sacrificial Feasts; sometimes they were pour'd forth upon the Ground, or Grave-stone, and, together with a certain Form of Words, offer'd to the Deceas'd. Thus *Helen* desires *Hermione* to address *Clytemnestra* in her Name (b);

Ω τέκνον, ἔξελθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δόμων πάρος,
Καὶ λάβε χοὰς τάσδ' ἐν χερσίν, κόμας τ' ἑμὰς,
Ελθῶσα δ' ἀμφὶ Κλυταιμνήστρας τάφον
Μελίκρατ' ἀφ' οὗ γάλακτος, οἶνον τ' ἀχνύω,
Καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπ' αὐρῇ χώματος λίξον τάδε,
" Ελένη σ' ἀδελφὴ ταῦσδε δαρεῖται χοαῖς.

Daughter *Hermione*, come forth and take
These Off'rings to thy dear Aunt's Sepulchre,
These Locks of my Hair, and this Honey mix'd
With Milk, and this Wine to pour o'er her Grave,
Which having done, stand on it's Top, and say,
" Thy Sister *Helen* to declare her Love
" Offers these Rites to thy dear Memory.

F. A.

The Water thus employ'd was term'd λουτρὸν, χθόνιον λουτρὸν, and at *Athens* ἑπίπνιμα (c). When Persons dy'd, who had been mar-

(a) *Iphigen. Tauric.* γ. 159. (b) *Euripid. Oreste* γ. 112. (c) *Eustathius Odys.* α. 17'd,

ry'd, there was a Custom for Women to carry Water to their Graves, who from pouring it forth were term'd ἐσχυρῆσαι (a). When a young Man or Maid dy'd, the Water was carry'd by a Boy (b), or (which to some appears more probable) by a Boy to the Sepulchres of young Men, by a Maid to the Sepulchres of Maids; whence came the Custom of erecting Images representing Maids with Vessels of Water upon the Sepulchres of such as dy'd in their Virginity, as was observ'd in the foregoing Chapter, tho' I have there interpreted this Custom so as to agree with the former Opinion. As for those that dy'd in their Infancy, they were honour'd with no Libations, nor had any right to the rest of the Funeral Solemnities (c).

These Honours were pay'd the Dead the ninth and thirtieth Days after Burial (d), and repeated when any of their Friends arriv'd, that had been absent at the Solemnity, and upon all other Occasions, which requir'd their surviving Relations to have them in Memory. But some Part of the Month *Antbestion* seems to have been especially set apart for these Ceremonies in several of the *Grecian Cities*. *Athenaus* reports in particular of the *Apolloniata* (e), that they pay'd the Dead the customary Honours in this Month: *Hesychius* (f) likewise reports, that the same Custom was observ'd at *Athens*, and that they term'd the Days appointed for these Solemnities *μυαπαὶ ἡμέραι*, which were by others call'd *Σωπεδῆς* (g), as being polluted by their Dedication to the Dead, whose Ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous Habitations, to enjoy the kind Entertainment of their Friends (h); the want hereof was thought a great Calamity, and therefore it is reckon'd by *Cassandra* amongst the manifold Misfortunes of the *Trojans*, that they should have no surviving Friends to offer Sacrifices at their Tombs,

Οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφους.
Εὐ' ἄρισ αὐτῶν αἷμα γῆν δαψήσεται.

Nor shall one Friend remain
To stain their desert Sepulchres with Blood.

Upon these publick Days they call'd over the Names of all their dead Relations one by one, excepting such as died under Age, or forfeited their Title to these Honours by dissipating their paternal Inheritances, or other Crimes. There was likewise another Time, when they call'd over the Names of the Dead, which, being omitted in the fore-going Chapters, I shall speak of in this Place: It was when they lost their Friends in foreign Countries, whence before they departed they call'd the Names of all that were missing out of their Company three times: Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* declares he did, when he lost some of his Men in a Battle with the *Cicones* (i);

(a) *Etymologist Auctor.* (b) *Idem.* (c) *Plutarchus liber consulat. ad uxorem.* (d) *Pollux lib. III. cap. X.* (e) *Διονυσίου. lib. VIII.* (f) *Voce Μυαπαί.* (g) *Suidas.* (h) *Lucianus Emilianus.* (i) *Odys. l. v. 64.*

Οὐδ' ἀγα μοι τροτίεω νῆες κίον ἀμφιέλισσας,
Πεῖν τινα τ' δειλῶν ἐταίρων τεῖς ἴκασον αὖσαι,
Οἱ δ' ἄνον ἐν πεδίῳ Κικόνων ὑπο δνιοδύτες.

My high-built Ships I launch'd not from the Shoar,
A better Fate and Voyage to explore,
Till I had singly thrice call'd o'er my Friends,
Who by Ciconians came t' untimely Ends.

F. A.

Hercules in Theocritus calls Hylas three times (a);

Τεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὖσεν ὅσον βαδὺς ἤρυγε λαμῖος.

His much lov'd Hylas perish'd in the Flood
He call'd on thrice as loud as e'er he cou'd.

The Reasons of this Custom were, according to John Tzetzes (b), partly, that such as were left behind might upon hearing the Noise repair to their Ships; and partly to testify their Unwillingness to depart without their Companions;

Τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δνῆσκοντας εἰς γλῶτ' ἀλλοτεῖαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν τεταμέναις ἀνεκάλυν,
Ὡς Ομηρεὺς ἐν δαξείβειλῳ τ' Ὀδυσσεύας.
Τὺτο δ' ἐδραν εἰς μνήμονες τυγχάνοντες φιλίας,
Καὶ αἰς δ', εἰ ἀπλεῖσθαι τις, πρὸς τ' οὐκ ἐμὴν ἐμῶν.

It was a Custom 'mongst all ancient Greeks,
That He, who, trav'ling into foreign Parts,
Did die, should by surviving Friends be call'd
Thrice, as a Token of their mutual Love,
Hence all that were alive then joyn'd their Voice,
As Homer in his *Odysey* attests.

F. A.

To return, they had anniversary Days, on which they pay'd their Devotions to the Dead: These were sometimes term'd *Nekusis*, as being celebrated upon the Festival of *Nemesis*, who was thought to have especial Care for the Honours of the Dead (c); sometimes *Ωραία* (d), as also *Γενέσια* (e), the reason of which Name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary Day of a Man's *Nativity*, which after his Death was solemniz'd with the same Ceremonies, that were us'd upon the Anniversary of his Death (f), which were properly term'd *Nekusis*: Hence it is, that these two Words are commonly thought to signify the same Solemnity.

(a) *Idyll. γ. v. 58.* (b) *Chiliad v. Hiss XIV.* (c) *Moschopulus Suidas.* (d) *Hesychius, Phavorinus.* (e) *Suidas, &c.* (f) *Suidas, Hesychius, Phavorinus, Moschopulus, &c.*

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The Honours of the Dead were distinguish'd according to the Quality and Worth of the Person, they were conferr'd on. Such as by their Virtues, and publick Services had rais'd themselves above the common Level, had *ἡρωικὰς τιμὰς*, the Honours of Heroes; the Participation hereof was term'd *ἀριεῖδαι*, or *τετάρχηναι τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν, ἰσοθίων, or ἰσολυμπίων*. Others, who had distinguish'd themselves from the former, were rais'd a Degree higher, and reckon'd among the Gods, which Consecration was term'd *θεοποίησις*, and was very different from the former; to worship the former Persons being only term'd *ἐναγίζεν*, but the latter *θύεν*. The latter Honour was very rare in the Heroick Times, but in subsequent Ages, when great Examples of Virtue were not so frequent, and Men more addicted to Flattery, it became more cheap; insomuch that those Persons, whom former Ages had only worship'd as Heroes, were afterwards accounted Gods; an Instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in *Lampface*, one of *Plutarch's* Heroines (a) The *Athenians* are especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse Distributions of these Honours, and it is generally observ'd that that Nation exceeded all the rest of the *Grecians* in the Arts of Flattery and Superstition, as appears from several Instances in the precedent Books.

I shall observe in the last Place, that these and the rest of the Honours of the Dead were thought most acceptable, when offer'd by their nearest Friends; when by their Enemies, they were reject'd with Indignation: Whence *Sophocles* introduces *Electra* advising her Sister *Chrysothemis*, that she should by no means offer *Clytemnestra's* Gifts to *Agamemnon* (b),

Ἄλλ', ὦ φίλη, τέτων μ', ὧν ἔχεις χερσίν,
Τύμβῳ προσέλθης μηδὲν ἢ ῥ' σοι δέμης,
Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρῆς ἐπὶ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
Κτείσματ', εἰδὲ λυτὰ προσφέρειν πατρὶ.

Dear Sister, don't attempt his Tomb t' approach
With a Design of offering those Gifts;
Since the Infernal Manes do detest,
As heinous, Rites pay'd by an Enemy:

F. A.

For Men were thought to retain the same Affections after Death, which they had entertain'd when alive. This appears farther from the Story of *Eteocles* and *Polymices*, *Oedipus's* Sons; who having kill'd each other in single Combat, and being burn'd in the same Pile, the Flames of their Bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal Hatred of the Brethren, as we are inform'd by *Bianor's* following Epigram;

Οἱ Νίποδος παιδῶν Θύκη τάφος, ἀλλ' ὁ πανάλης
Τύμβῳ ἐτι ζώντων αἰδάνεται δορῶτων.

(a) Lib. de Mulierum claris factis. (b) *Electra* v. 432.

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Καὶ ἐν αἰσῇσι θάλασσαν, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς

Μαγάρται, καὶ ἄλλων χά τὰς ἀντίπαλούς

καὶ πύρ πύρ ἤλασαν ἐναντίον ἑλκεύουσιν

Παῖδες, ἀκοιμήτων ἀψύμενοι δορυφόρων.

Within thy Walls, O Thebes, two Brothers lie,

Who, tho' deceas'd, cease not their Enmity;

For from their Bodies on the Pile do fly,

Enrag'd Corpuscles jostling in the Sky,

With pointed Fury eagerly they meet,

Then in Aversion scornfully retreat,

Unhappy Youths, by th' Fates deny'd to have

The peaceful Slumbers of a quiet Grave.

F. A.

Eucyphon has furnish'd us with the parallel Example of *Mopsus* and *Amphilochus*, who, having slain each other, were bury'd in the opposite Sides of an Hill, lest their Ghosts should be disturb'd by having their Sepulchres within sight of one another (a);

Αἰπὺς δ' ἀλίσφατος ὄχμος ἐν μεταχειρί

Μεγάρταις ἀγνῶν ἡρώων σάθῃσεται,

ὧς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ νεετέρων ἰδεῖν

Διώτες, φόνων λυδέντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and craggy Mount *Megarsus* nam'd

Shall stand amidst the sacred Monuments,

Lest the griev'd *Manes* should offended be

To see each other's Tomb by Slaughter stain'd.

F. A.

CHAP. IX.

Of their Love of Boys.

WH^O it was that first introduc'd the Custom of loving Boys into Greece, is uncertain: However (to omit the infamous Amours of *Jupiter*, *Orpheus*, *Lajus* of *Thebes*, and others) we find it generally practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*, and that not only in private, but by the publick Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws: For they thought there could be no means more effectual to excite their Youth to noble Undertakings, nor any greater Security to their Common-wealths, than this generous Passion. This the Invaders of their Liberties so often experienc'd, that it

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 443.

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became a receiv'd Maxim in the Politicks of Tyrants, to use all their Endeavours to extirpate it out of their Dominions; some Instances whereof we have in *Athenus* (a). On the contrary, free Commonwealths, and all those States, that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a View of some few of them.

First we shall find it to have been so generally practis'd, so highly esteem'd in *Crete*, that such of their well-born and beautiful Youths as never had any Lovers, incurr'd the publick Censure, as Persons some way or other faulty in their Morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's Affections would be plac'd upon them. But those that were more happy in being admir'd, were honour'd with the first Seats at publick Exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing Badge of Honour, a sort of Garment richly adorn'd; this they still retain'd after they arriv'd to Man's Estate, in Memory they had once been *χλειροι*, *eminent* (b), which was the Name the *Cretans* gave to Youths who had Lovers, the Lovers themselves were call'd *φιλήτορες*. One Thing was remarkable in this Place, that the Lovers always took their Boys by force; for having plac'd their Affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his Relations, and withal certify'd them what Day they design'd to take him: If the Lover was unworthy of the Boy, they refus'd to yield him up; but if his Quality and Virtues were answerable, they made some slight Opposition to satisfy the Law, and pursu'd him to his Lodgings, but then gave their Consent: After this the Lover carry'd the Boy whither he pleas'd, the Persons that were present at the Rape, bearing him company: He entertain'd him some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions, then return'd him home: At his Departure, 'twas order'd by Law, that the Boy should receive a Suit of Armour, an Ox and a Cup, to which the Lover usually added out of his own Bounty several other Presents of Value. The Boy, being return'd home, sacrific'd the Ox to *Jupiter*, made an Entertainment for those that had accompany'd him in his Flight, and gave an account of the Usage he had from his Lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allow'd him Satisfaction (c). 'Tis farther affirm'd by *Maximus the Tyrian*, that during all the Time of their Converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Virtue pass'd between them (d); and however some Authors are inclin'd to have hard Thoughts of this Custom, yet the Testimonies of many others, with the high Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approv'd, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations. The same is put beyond Dispute by what *Strabo* tells us (e), that 'twas not so much the external Beauty of a Boy, as his virtuous Disposition, his Modesty, and Courage, which recommended him.

From the *Cretans* pass we to the *Lacedaemonians*, several of whose Constitutions were deriv'd from *Crete*. Their Love of Boys was

(a) L b. XIII. (b) *Strabo* lib. X. (c) *Idem*. (d) *Dissert* X. (e) *Loc. cit.* remark.

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remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole Conduct and excellent Consequences of it every where admir'd. There was no such Thing as Presents pass'd between the Lovers, no foul Arts were us'd to insinuate themselves into one another's Affections; their Love was generous and worthy the Spartan Education; it was first entertain'd from a mutual Esteem of one another's Virtue, and the same Cause, which first inspir'd the Flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it. It was not tainted with so much as a Suspicion of Immodesty; *Agessilaus* is said to have refus'd so much as to kiss the Boy he lov'd (a), for fear of Censure: And if a Person attempted any Thing upon a Youth beside what consist'd with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Laws (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemn'd him to *Disgrace* (b), whereby he was depriv'd of almost all the Privileges of free Denizons. The same Practice was allow'd the Women toward their own Sex, and was so much in Fashion among them, that the most stay'd and virtuous Matrons would publickly own their Passion for a modest and beautiful Virgin (c), which is a farther Confirmation of the Innocency of this Custom. *Maximus the Tyrian* (d) assures us the *Spartans* lov'd their Boys no otherwise than a Man may be enamour'd with a beautiful Statue, which he proves from what *Plutarch* (e) likewise reports, that tho' several Men's Fancies met in one Person, yet did not that cause any Strangeness, or Jealousy among them, but was rather the Beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all joyntly conspir'd to render the belov'd Boy the most accomplish'd in the World: For the End of this Love was, that the young Men might be improv'd in all virtuous and commendable Qualities, by conversing with Men of Probity and Experience; whence the Lover and the Belov'd shar'd the Honour and Disgrace of each other; the Lover especially was blam'd if the Boy offended, and suffer'd what Punishment was due to his Fault (f); *Plutarch* has a Story of a *Spartan* fin'd by the Magistrates, because the Lady whom he lov'd, cry'd out effeminately, whilst he was fighting (g). The same Love continu'd, when the Boy was come to Man's Estate; he still preserv'd his former Intimacy with his Lover, imparted to him all his Designs, and was directed by his Counsels, as appears from another of *Plutarch's* Relations concerning *Cleomenes*, who, before his Advancement to the Kingdom, was belov'd by one *Xenares*, with whom he ever after maintain'd a most intimate Friendship, till he went about his Project of new modelling the Common-wealth, which *Xenares* not approving departed from him, but still remain'd faithful to him, and conceal'd his Designs (h).

If we pass from *Sparta* to *Athens*, we shall find that there *Solon* forbad Slaves to love Boys, making that an honourable Action, and as it were inviting (these are *Plutarch's* (i) Words) the worthy to practise, what he commanded the unworthy to forbear. That Law-

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.* *Plutarchus* Institut. *Laced.* (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (d) *Dissert.* X. (e) *Lycurgo.* (f) *Aelian.* Var. Hist. lib. XIII. (g) *Lycurgo.* (h) *Plutarchus* *cleomenes.* (i) *Solone.*

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giver himself is said to have lov'd *Pisistratus* (a), and the most eminent Men in that Common-wealth submitted to the same Passion. *Socrates*, who died a Martyr for disowning the Pagan Idolatry, is very remarkable for such Amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incurr'd the least Suspicion of Dishonesty; for what else could be the Cause, that, when *Callias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Aristophanes*, *Anytus* and *Melinus*, with the rest of his Enemies, accus'd him for teaching *Critias* to tyrannize, for Sophistry, for Contempt of the Gods, and other Crimes, yet never so much as upbraided him with impure Love, or for writing, or discoursing upon that Subject. And tho' some Persons, especially in latter Ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the Practice of the old *Greeks*, have call'd in question the Philosopher's Virtue in this Point, yet both he, and his Scholar *Plato* are sufficiently vindicated from that Imputation by *Maximus the Tyrian* (b), to whom I refer the Reader. The Innocency of this Love may farther appear from their severe Laws enacted against immodest Love, whereby the Youths, that entertain'd such Lovers, were declar'd infamous, and render'd incapable of publick Employments, and the Persons that prostituted them condemn'd to die; several other Penalties were likewise order'd to deter all Men from so heinous and detestable a Crime, as appears from the Laws of *Athens* describ'd in one of the fore-going Books (c).

There are many other Examples of this Nature, whereof I shall only mention one more: It shall be taken from the *Thebans*, whose Law-givers, *Plutarch* tells us (d), encourag'd this excellent Passion to temper the Manners of their Youth. Nor were they disappointed of their Expectation, a pregnant Evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ισὴν φάλαγξ*, *sacred Band*; it was a Party of three hundred chosen Men, compos'd of Lovers and their Belov'd, and therefore call'd *sacred*; it gain'd many important Victories, was the first that ever overcame the *Spartans* (whose Courage till then seem'd irresistible) upon equal Terms, and was never beaten till the Battle at *Cheronea*; after which King *Philip* taking a view of the Slain, and coming to the Place, where these three hundred, who had fought his whole *Phalanx*, lay dead together, he was struck with Wonder, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he said weeping, *Let them perish, who suspect that these Men either did, or suffer'd any Thing base.*

Before I conclude this Chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the Lover was call'd by the *Spartans* εἰσπνίλος, εἰσπνιλος, or, as others write it, εἰσπνήλης; the Belov'd was term'd by the *Thebans* αἵτης. Thus *Theocritus* (e);

Δοιὼ δὴ τινε τὰδε μετ' ἀμφοτέροισι ἡνέδην
 Φῶδ' ὅ μ' ὡς εἰσπνίλος, φαίνε χαρὶ μυκλαῖσδων.
 Τὸν δ' ἔτερον πάλιν ὡς κεν ὁ Θεωαλὸς εἴτοι αἵται.

(a) Idem loc. cit. (b) Dissert. VIII, IX, X, XI. (c) Lib. I. p. 172, 173. (d) *Pelopida*. (e) *Idyl. C. v. 12.*

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The Greek Scholiast derives both the Names *ἔρως* & *ἔρως* from the Lovers being inspir'd with Affection by his Belov'd, and other ancient Grammarians agree with him herein.

CHAP. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-potions, Incantations, &c.

LOvers had several ways of discovering their Passion, and expressing the Respect they had for their Belov'd. Every Tree in the Walks they frequented, every Wall of their Houses, every Book they us'd, had inscrib'd upon it the belov'd Name with the Epithet of *καλὴ*, or *καλός*. Whence *Lucian* (a), relating a Story of one desperately in Love with *Venus Cnidia*, after other Expressions of his Passion, adds that there was never a Wall, or Tree, but what proclaim'd *Ἀφροδίτη καλὴ*, VENUS FAIR. *Callimachus's* Lover has the same Fancy, only that he wishes his Mistress's Name written on Leaves; it we may credit the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b),

Ἄλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοις κκομμένα ποτα φέρον
Γεγραμμένα, Κύνιπτιν ὡς ἔρῳσι καλῶ.

May the kind Trees on Leaves such Letters bear
As shall proclaim my dear *Cydippe* FAIR.

'Twas in Allusion to this Practice, that one in *Euripides* declar'd he should never entertain a good Opinion of the Female-sex, tho' the Pines in Mount *Ida* were fill'd with their Names (c). *Aristophanes* had an Eye to the same Custom, when, jesting upon an old *Athenian*, that was mightily in love with deciding Causes, he says that upon every Place he writ *καμὲς καλὰς*, which Word signifies the Cover of the judiciary Urn (d),

Ἄλλ' ἴδ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς γειγερμένους

Τὸν Πυελάμυτος ἐν θυρᾷ Ἀήμον καλόν,

ὅτι παρὶ γὰρ τῆς πλυσίας Κηρὸς καλός,

Lovers usually deck'd the Doors of their Belov'd with Flowers and Garlands; for thinking the Persons their Affections were plac'd on

(a) *Amator*. (b) *Acharn*. (c) *Eustathius* *Ilud.* 2. p. 490. Edit. *Basil.* (d) *Vespis.*

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to be the very Image of the Deity of Love, their House could be no less than *Cupid's Temple* (a), which was accusom'd to receive those Honours. From the same Original they seem to have deriv'd that other Custom of making Libations before their Mistresses Doors, and sprinkling them with Wine; of which we have mention in the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* (b), where he reports that many of the *Thessalian* Gentlemen were in love with the beautiful *Nais*, and publickly own'd their Passion by sprinkling the Doors of her House with Wine.

When a Person's Garland was unty'd, it was taken for a Sign of being in love (c); and for a Woman to compose a Garland was another Indication of her Passion (d),

Εάν τις πλέκη
Γυνή σέφανον, ἔρᾶν δοκεῖ.

*The wreathing Garlands in a Woman is
The usual Symptom of a Love-sick Mind.*

They had several Methods of discovering whether their Love would prove successful, that of the *κρίταρος* was very frequent at Entertainments, which be hereafter describ'd. Two other ways we have in *Theocritus* (e),

Εγὼν περὶν, ὅλα μιν μεμαυρῶ εἰ φιλεῖς με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τηλέφρον ποτεμάξατο τὸ πλατάγημα,
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπαλῶ ποτὶ παχεῖ ἐξεμαρύνθη.
Εἶπε κ' Ἀγρῖῳ τάλανδ' ἀποκινύμεναι,
Ἀπὸ ποιολεγεῖν, παραβᾶντι, ἔπει' ἔγωγε
Τὴν ὁλος ἔγκειμαι, τὴν δὲ μιν λόγον εἶναι ποῖν.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove,
Whether I should be happy in my Love;

I press'd the *Long-live*, but in vain did press,

It gave no lucky Sound of good Success;

To *Agrio* too I made the same Demandy

A cunning Woman she, I cross'd her Hand;

She turn'd the *Stave* and *Shew'd*, and told me true,

That I should love, but not be lov'd by you.

Mr. Creech

Both these Customs I have already describ'd in one of the precedent Books (f), which the Reader may consult.

When their Love was without Success, they had several Arts to procure the Affections of their Belov'd. The *Thessalian* Women were famous for their Skill in this as well as other Magical Practices. The means, whereby it was effected, were of divers sorts: It was some-

(a) *Athenæus* lib. XV. (b) *Pluto* Act. IV. Sc. I. (c) *Athenæus* lib. cii. (d) *Aristophanes* *Thestophor*. (e) *Idyll*, III. v. 28. (f) *Lib*, II. cap. XVIII. p. 319.

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times done by Potions call'd *philtres*, which are frequently mention'd in Authors of both Languages. *Juvenal* speaks thus, (a),

*Hic magicos affert cunctus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtres, quibus valdeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This Pedlar offers Magick Charms, the next
Philtres, by which the Husband's Mind's perplex.

Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly depriv'd such as drunk them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life by one of them; *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way, and *Caius Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a *Philtre* given him by his Wife *Cæsonia*; which Story is mention'd by the same Poet (b),

*Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Qui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulsi
Insudit.*

Some nimbler Juyce would make him foam and rave,
Like that *Cæsonia* to her *Caius* gave,
Who, plucking from the Fore-head of the Fole
His Mother's Love, insus'd it in the Bowl.

Mr. Dryden.

Ovid likewise assures us, that this was the usual Effect of these Potions,

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtres puellis,
Philtres nocent animis, vimque furoris habent,*

All pois'nous Drugs, and Necromantick Arts
Ne'er move the scornful Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And Vexat Rites and Mysteries profane.

F. A.

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several Sorts, divers of which apply'd by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a piece of Flesh upon the Fore-head of Colts new-foal'd, of a black or brown Colour, in Bigness and Shape like a Fig, which the Mares bite off as soon as they have foal'd; but, if they be prevented, forsake their Offspring: Whence it was thought a prevalent Medicine to conciliate Love, especially when reduc'd to

(a) Satir. VI. v. 609. (b) Loc. cit.

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(a) *Athenens lib. XV.* (b) *Plato Alc. IV. Sc. I.* (c) *Athenens lib. cix.* (d) *Aristophanes Thesmophor.* (e) *Idyll. III. v. 28.* (f) *Lib. II. cap. XVIII. p. 319.*

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Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly depriv'd such as drunk them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life by one of them; *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way, and *Caius Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a *Philtre* given him by his Wife *Cassonia*; which Story is mention'd by the same Poet (b),

*Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cassonia pulli
Insudit*

Some nimbler Juyce would make him foam and rave,
Like that *Cassonia* to her *Caius* gave,
Who, plucking from the Fore-head of the Fole
His Mother's Love, insus'd it in the Bowl.

Mr. Dryden.

Ovid likewise assures us, that this was the usual Effect of these Potions,

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vimque furoris habent,*

All pois'nous Drugs, and Necromantick Arts
Ne'er move the scornful Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And *Venus* Rites and Mysteries profane.

F. A.

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several Sorts, divers of which apply'd by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a piece of Flesh upon the Fore-head of Colts new foal'd, of a black or brown Colour, in Bigness and Shape like a Fig, which the Mares bite off as soon as they have foal'd; but, if they be prevented, forsake their Offspring: Whence it was thought a prevalent Medicine to conciliate Love, especially when reduc'd to

(a) Satir. VI. v. 609. (b) Loc. cit.

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Powder, and swallow'd with some Drops of the Lover's Blood. 'Tis frequently mention'd by the Writers of Natural History; *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Columella*, with many others have thought it worth their Notice: The Poets are full of its Effects; whence *Dido* in *Virgil* (to omit other Instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recall *Aeneas* to her Affection (a),

*Quæritur & nascens equi de fronte revulsus
Et matri præreptus amor.*

She from the Fore-head of a new-foal'd Colt
Th' excrescent Lump doth seek.

The same Word is frequently taken in another Sense, and is describ'd by *Pliny* to be *virus distillans ab inguine equæ coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from *Pausanias's* Story of a Horse's Statue dedicated by one *Phormis* an *Arcadian*, which, being infected by a Magician with the *Hippomanes* I am speaking of, so enrag'd all the Stone-horses that pass'd that Way, that they would break their Bridles in pieces, and throw their Riders to come at it (b), and could not without great Difficulty and many Stripes be forc'd from it. Several of the Poets speak of its Effects; *Ovid* (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equæ.*

She knows the Virtue of each Herb to move
The latent Seeds of a coy Lady's Love;
She knows the Rhomb, what Feats in Magick are
From th' poisonous Issue of a lustful Mare.

F. A.

Virgil will have it to proceed from *Lusitanian* Mares impregnated by the Wind (d),

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis (quia vere calor vedit ossibus).*

Ore omnes versa in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceperantque leves auras; & sæpe sine ullis

Conjagiis, vento gravida (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulos, & depressas convalles

Diffugiunt; non, Euræ, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,
In Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster

Nascitur, & pluvio contristat frigore calum
Hinc demum, Hippomanes vero quadinomine dicunt

Pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus.

(a) *Æneid* IV. v. 515. (b) *Eliac.* prope finem. (c) *Lib. I. Eleg. VIII.* (d) *Georgic. III. 271.*

*Hippomanes, quod saepe male legere novercas,
Miseruntque verbas, & non innoxia verba.*

When at the Spring's approach their Marrow burns,
(For with the Spring their genial Heat returns)
The Mares to Cliffs of rugged Rocks repair,
And with wide Nostrials snuff the western Air:
When (wondrous to relate) the parent Wind
Without the Stallion propagates the Kind:
Then fir'd with am'rous Rage they take their flight
Thro' Plains, and mount the Hills unequal Height;
Nor to the North, nor to the rising Sun,
Nor Southward to the rainy Regions run,
But boring to the West, and hovering there,
With gaping Mouths they draw prolifick Air,
With which Impregnate from their Groins they shed
A slimy Juice by false Conception bred;
The Shepherds know it well, and call'd by Name
Hippomanes, to note the Mother's Flame:

This, gather'd in the planetary Hour
With noxious Weeds, and spell'd with Words of Pow'r
Dire Stepdames in the magick Bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly Draughts the poisonous Juice.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Story is attested by Aristotle. Others make *Hippomanes* to be a Plant in *Arcadia*, which also was powerful in producing the foremention'd Effects (a).

*Ἰππομανὲς φυτὸν ἐστὶν κατὰ Ἀρκάδι τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσαι
καὶ πῶλοι μαίνονται ἐν ᾧ, καὶ θοαὶ ἵπποι
ὡς καὶ Δελφὸν ἰδοῦσι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος περῆσαι
μαίνονται ἰκέλον, ἀπαρὰς ἐκ τοῦ παλαίστρας.*

Hippomanes, a Plant *Arcadia* bears,
This makes Steeds mad, and this excites the Mares;

And oh! that I could see my *Delphid* come
From th' *oly* Fencing-house to raving Home.

Mr. Creech.

Τρυγξ, is the Name of a small Bird, the Latin of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *corquilla*, *frustilla*, or with *regulus*. This Bird the Writers of Fables tell us (b) was once the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitbo*, or *Echo*, and, having inveigled *Jupiter* into *Io*'s Love, was transform'd by *Juno*; Upon this she became the Darling of *Venus*, and, retaining the same Inclinations she had formerly, still serv'd to promote

(a) *Theocritus* Idyll. C'. v. 48. (b) *Suidas*, *Isacius Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem* v. 310. ubi *Commentarius* noster adpendus.

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the Affairs of Love: The first Time the Goddess made use of her was in the *Argonautick Expedition*, when she invented Love-magick, with Charms and Potions, a chief Ingredient whereof was this Bird, which she communicated to *Jason* to gain him Access to *Medea's Affections*: Hence *Pindar* (a),

Μαρία δ' ὄρνιν Κυπριγενέα φέρον
Πρώτον ἀνδρώποισι, λιτάς τ' ἑταί-
δας ἐκδιδάσκοντες σοφὸν Αἰσονίδα
Ορφε Μυθῶναι τάξιον ἀφίλει-
τ' αἰδῶ.

The Goddess *Venus* first disclos'd the Use,
 To *Jason* first the magick Charm display'd,
 Told how the Bird wou'd fire the Maid,
 And glowing Love into her Breast infus'd;
 Nor Duty, nor parental Love shou'd bind,
 Too weak and feeble is that Force;
 When *Love* steers the Lover's Course,
 A safe Admittance he is sure to find.

H. H.

The Part most valu'd by Enchanters, was the Tongue, which they look'd on as having a sovereign Virtue in Love-potions: Sometimes they fasten'd the whole Bird to a Wheel of Wax, which they turn'd over the Fire till both were consum'd, thus inflaming the Party, in whom they had a mind to create Love. Others there are, that will have *ivy* to signify nothing but a musical Instrument, and some take it for all sorts of Allurements.

To these may be added several Herbs, and Insects bred out of putrid Matter, with other Animals, such as the Fish call'd *ixerus*, or remora; the Lizard, with another not much unlike it call'd *stellio* and *stincus*, the Brains of a Calf, the Hair upon the Extremity of a Wolf's Tail, with some of his secret Parts, the Bones of the left Side of a Toad eaten by Ants, for these were thought to generate Love, whereas those on the right Side caus'd Hatred. Others took the same Bones, when the Flesh was devour'd by Ants, and cast them into a Vessel of Water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linnen Cloath, and hung about any Person, inflam'd him with Love, the others with Hatred. Other Parts of the Toad were us'd in poisonous Compositions; whence *Juvenal* (b),

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubesc.
 But now with poisonous Entrails of a Toad
 They urge their Husband's Fate.

(a) *Python, Od. IV.* (b) *Sat. VI. v. 652.*

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To these others add the Blood of Doves, the Bones of Snakes, Scritch-Owl's Feathers, Bands of Wool twisted upon a Wheel (which were very much us'd on these Occasions, for their Resemblance to the soft Tyes of Love) especially such as had been bound about one that hang'd himself; some of these are mention'd by *Propertius* (a),

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Stamine & a rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis ranae portenta rubescit,
Et lecta e scelis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventa per busta jacentia pluma,
Cunctaque funesto lanca vitia viro.*

Were there to Merits but a due Regard,
I shou'd not fear my Rival's being preferr'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rful Charms,
By Spels, and Magick tears him from my Arms;
The poy's'nous Bones of swelling Toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested Snakes;
Then strait where Owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd Feathers up with Care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen Band,
That late bound him that dy'd by his own Hand;
Thus, what her Merits can't, her magick Charms
His frozen Breast with am'rous Fire warms.

B. H.

Several other of the Ingredients of Love-potions are mention'd in *Laelius's* Verses cited by *Apuleius* (b),

*Philtrea omnia undique erunt,
Antipathes illud quaritur,
Trochisci, iynge, rania,
Radicula, herba, furculi,
Aurea ilices, bichordila,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry Part they magick Draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd *Antipathes* they seek,
Pills, Fillets, and those Love-enforcing Birds,
Roots too, and baneful Herbs, and sappy Sprigs,
With scarlet Oaks, and the *Hippomanes*.

Other sorts of Ingredients were Rags, Torches, and, in short, all Relicks, and whatever had any relation to dead Corpses, or Funerals. Sometimes a Nest of young Swallows was plac'd in a convenient Vessel, and bury'd in the Earth, till they were famish'd;

(a) Lib. III, Eleg. V. (b) *Apolog.*

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then they open'd the Grave, and such of them, as were found with Mouths shut, were thought conducive to allay the Passion of Love, but the rest, which perish'd with Mouths gaping for Food, were thought to excite it. To the same end they us'd Bones snatch'd from hungry and ravenous Bitches, which were believ'd to derive some part of the eager Desire of those Animals into the Potion: Hence *Horace* gives us this elegant Description of an Enchantress's Practices (a),

Canidia brevibus implicata viperis

Crines & incommum caput,

Fubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,

Fubet cupressos funebres;

Et uncta turpis ova rana sanguine,

Plumamque nocturnæ strigis;

Herbasque, quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia

Mittit venenorum serax,

Et ossa ab ore rapta jejuna canis,

Flammis aduri Colchicis.

Canidia then do's for the Charm prepare,

And binds with Snakes her uncomb'd Hair:

Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry Tomb,

Bring Cypress, and wild Fig-tree home;

Let Eggs first steep'd in Blood of Toads be sought,

And Feathers from the Scritch-Owl brought;

Bring ven'mous Drugs such as *Iolchos* yields,

And Poyson from *Iberian* Fields;

Bring Bones from Jaws of hungry Bitches torn,

And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,

As first *Medea* did inform.

H. H.

To these they added another Ingredient more powerful than any of the rest, which the Poet has thus describ'd in the same Ode (b),

Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,

Ligionibus duris humum

Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus;

Quo posset inossus puer

Longo die bis terve mutata dapis

Memori spectaculo,

Cum prominere ore, quantum exstant aqua

Suspensa mento corpora;

Exsulta uti medulla, & aridum jecur

Amoris esset poculum.

Interminato cum semel fixa sibo

Intabuisse pupula.

(a) *Epod. V. v. 14.* (b) *V. 29.*

Veja, who ne'er Remorse of Conscience felt,
Nor blush'd at her own horrid Guilt,
Toils at the Spade, and digs the fatal Pit,
In which th' unhappy Lad she set;
Where choicest Dainties long as Life should last
Oft feast his Eyes, deny'd his Taste;
Just o're the Brim appears his sickly Head,
As their's, who in the Rivers wade;
That there his Marrow drain'd and Liver dry
Might with Love-potions her supply;
As soon as e'er his fainting Eye-balls shew'd
Approaching Fate for want of Food.

H. H.

Let us pass now to some other Arts they had of exciting Love : Some thought the Udder of an *Hyena* ty'd about their left Arm, a good Expedient to entice to their Affections any Woman they fix'd their Eyes on : Others took *πίτυρα*, a sort of small and hard Olives, or (as others interpret it) Barley-bran, which either by it self, or made up in Past, they cast into the Fire, hoping thereby to inspire the Flames of Love: Hence *Simatha* in *Theocritus* (a),

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτυρα. —

Now I strew the Barley-bran.

Sometimes they us'd *ἄλριτα*, or Flower, which the *Scholast* upon *Theocritus* will have term'd *θυλήματα*. That Poet has describ'd this Custom, when he introduces his Enchantress thus calling out to her Maid (b);

Ἀλφιτὰ τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πάσῃ,
Θέστυλι Δελφαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπότησαι;
Ἡ ῥά γέ τοι, μυσσά, καὶ τὴν ἐπίχαρμα τέτυμαι,
Πάσῃ ἅμα, καὶ λέγε ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφίδος ὄσια πάσῃ.

First burn the Flow'r, then strew the other on,
Strew it; how? where's your Sense and Duty gone?
Base *Thestylis*, and am I so forlorn,
And grown so low, that I'm become your Scorn?
But strew the Salt, and say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

Instead of Bran, or Flower, 'twas usual to burn Lawrel, as we learn from the same Enchantress, who proceeds thus,

(a) V. 33. (b) Ibid. v. 18.

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Δείφρις ἐμ' ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δείφριδι δάφναν
 Αἰδῶ· καὶ ὡς αὐτὰ λακίει, μέγα καπνυρίσασα,
 Κηξαρτῆος ἄφθνι, καὶ δὲ σπυρδὸν εἰδομένη αὐτῆς,
 Οὕτω τοι καὶ Δείφρις ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάκε' ἀμαυρίσῃ.

First *Delphid* injur'd me, he rais'd my Flame,
 And now I burn this Bough in *Delphid's* Name;
 As this doth blaze, and break away in Fume,
 How soon it takes! let *Delphid's* Flesh consume.

Mr. Creech.

'Twas likewise frequent to melt Wax, thereby to mollify the Person's Heart, whom they desir'd: Hence she goes on,

Ὡς τῦτον ἢ κατὰ ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάχω,
 Ὡς τάχοιδ' ὑπὸ ἔρωτος ὁ Μυρτιάδος αὐτίκα Δείφρις.

As this devoted Wax melts o'er the Fire,
 Let *Myndian Delphis* melt with soft Desire.

Sometimes they plac'd Clay before the Fire together with Wax, that, as one melted whilst the other harden'd, so the Person that then rejected them might have his Heart mollify'd with Affection, and enflam'd with Desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his Heart might be render'd incapable of any Impression from other Beauties, but easy of Access to themselves: This seems to be *Virgil's* meaning in the first of the following Verses, the later two contain some of the Customs before describ'd out of *Theocritus*,

Limus ut hic durefcit, & hac ut cera liquefcit,
Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore:
Sparge molam, & fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a);

As Fire this Figure hardens made of Clay,
 And this of Wax with Fire consumes away,
 Such let the Soul of cruel *Daphnis* be
 Hard to the rest of Women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred Mole of Salt and Corn,
 Next in the Fire the Bays with Brimstone burnt,
 And, whilst it crackles in the Sulphur, say,
 This I for *Daphnis* burn, thus *Daphnis* burn away.

Mr. Dryden.

It was customary to imitate all those Actions, they had a mind the Person they lov'd should perform: They turn'd a Wheel round,

(a) Eclog. VIII, 80:

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playing he might fall down before their Doors, and rowl himself on the Ground. Thus Theocritus's Enchantress, *ed. inglis. 1710*

Κ' αὖ δ' ἄνωδ' ὀδὸν πόρτας ὁ χαλκίους, ἐξ Ἀργείας
Ὡς κείνος δινεῖτο ποδ' ἀμετέραις δέλφιδιν.

And, Venus, as I whirl this brazen Wheel,
Before my Doors let perjur'd Delphid rowl.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an Image of Wax, and, calling it by the Name of the Person to be inflam'd with Love, to place it near the Fire, the Heat whereof affected the Image, and the Person represented by it at the same Time (a). Virgil's Enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the Altar,

*Terque hac altaria circum
Effigiem duco.*

Thrice round this Altar I the Image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his Affections,

*Terna tibi hac primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumda.*

Three Threads I of three different Colours bound
About your Image.

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted Medicaments upon some Part of the House where the Person resided: Thus Theocritus's Enchantress commands,

Θέουσα, νῦν δὲ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θύρα ταύτης, ὑπὸ μαζόν
Τὰς τήνῃ φλῆκας καδυπέτερον, ἅς ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἔστι
Ἐκ θυμῷ δέδεμαι (ὃ δέ μιν λόγον ἐδέξατο ποιεῖ)
Καὶ λέγ' ἐπιθύσδουσα, τὰ δέλφιδος ὅστ' ἐπὶ πάσσῃ.

Now take these Physions I procure you more,
And strew them at the Threshold of his Door,
That Door where violent Love hath fix'd thy Mind,
Tho' he regards not, cruel and unkind,
Strew them, and spitting say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

If they could get into their Hands any Thing that belong'd to the Person, whose Love they desir'd, it was of singular Use: The

(a) *Wierus lib. V. c. XI.*

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Same Enchantress burns the Border of *Delphid's* Garment; that the Owner might be tortur'd with the same Flame,

Τὰτ' ἀπὸ τὰς χλαῖνας τὸ κρηπιδὸν ὅλως Δελφίς,
Ὡγὰ νῦν τίλλοισα κατ' ἄγρῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.

This Piece from dear false *Delphid's* Garment torn,
I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn,

Virgil's Enchantress deposits her Lover's Pledges in the Ground underneath her Threshold,

*Has olim exuvias imibi perfidus ille reliquit,
Pignora cara sui; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
Terra, tibi mando; debent hæc pignora Daphni.*

These Garments once were his, and left to me;
The Pledges of his promis'd Loyalty;
Which underneath my Threshold I bestow,
These Pawns, O sacred Earth, to me my *Daphnis* owe.

Mr. Dryden.

The Design of which Action seems to be the retaining her Lover, and securing his Affection from wandering.

Virgil has thus describ'd another Method in the Nymph's Command to her Woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque suæ,
Transque caput jace; ne respexeris: His ego Daphni
Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, nil carmina curat.*

Bear out these Ashes, cast them in the Brook;
Cast backwards o'er your Head, nor turn your look;
Since neither Gods, nor God-like Verse can move,
Break out, ye smother'd Fires, and kindle smother'd Love.

Mr. Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one expedient more, which was their tying *Veneral* Knots to unite the belov'd Person's Affection with their own,

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
Necte, Amarylli, modo; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three Knots the Fillets, knit them freight;
And say, *These Knots to Love I consecrate.*

Her Caution about the Number of Knots is observable, for most of their Actions in these Rites were confin'd to the Number three; *Theocritus's* Enchantress is no less exact in this Circumstance;

Ες τρεῖς ἀνέπαυδα, καὶ τρεῖς τάλαι, πόντια, παῖδι.

Thrice, thrice I pour, and thrice repeat my Charms.

Virgil has assign'd the Reason hereof to be the Pleasure the Gods were thought to take in that Number,

— *Numero Deus impari gaudet.*

Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

Whether this Fancy owe it's Original to the suppos'd Perfection of the Number three, because, containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems natural to signify all Things in the World; or whether to the Esteem the Pythagoreans, and some other Philosophers had for it, on the account of their Trinity; or, lastly (to mention no more Opinions) to its Aptness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into three Classes, Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal, I shall leave to be determin'd by others: Thus much is certain, that the Ancients thought there was no small Force and Efficacy in unequal Numbers; whence we find *Vegetius* advising, that the Ditches round Encampments should be at the least nine Feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal Number (a); Shepherds are likewise advis'd to take care that the Number of their Sheep be not even (b); but the Number three was acceptable to the Gods above all others, whence we find three *Fatal Sisters*, three *Furies*, three Names and Appearances of *Diana* according to the Poet,

— — *Tria virginis ora Dianæ.*

Three different Forms does chaste *Diana* bear.

The Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were three; and for the same reason we read of *Jupiter's fulmen trifidum*, *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they had for this Number.

Many of their other Practices were the same with those us'd at common Incantations: The Charm, or Form of Verses, had little Difference beside the proper Application to the present Occasion; *Virgil's* Nymph speaks of her Verses as of the same sort, and endu'd with the same Efficacy as *Circe's*;

— — *Nil hic nisi carmina desunt:*

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;
Carmina vel cælo possunt deducere Lunam,

(a) Lib. III. cap. VIII. (b) Geoponic. l. b. XVIII.

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*Carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssæi,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur anguis.*

— We want but Verse, restore, my Charms,
My ling'ring *Daphnis* to my longing Arms;
Pale *Phæbe* drawn by Verse from Heav'n descends,
And *Circe* chang'd with Charms *Ulysses's* Friends,
Verse breaks the Ground, and penetrates the Brake,
And in the winding Cavern splits the Snake.

Mr. Dryden.

And the Herbs and Minerals us'd in other magical Operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as 'twas thought) some wonderful Powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous Effects: Whence we find *Virgil's* Nymph alluring *Daphnis* to her Love by the very same Medicaments, which *Maris* had found effectual in performing other magical Feats,

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mibi læta venena
Ipse dedit Mœris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sepe lupum fieri, & se condere situis
Mœtin, sepe animas imis excire sepulchris,
Atque sacas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These poy'snous Plants for magick Use design'd
(The noblest, and the best of all the baneful Kind)
Old *Maris* brought me from the *Pontick* Strand,
And cull'd the Mischief of a bounteous Land:
Smear'd with the pow'rful Juices on the Plain
He howls a Wolf among the hungry Train;
And oft the mighty *Necromancer* boasts,
With these to call from Tombs the stalking Ghosts:
And from the Roots to tear the standing Corn,
Which, whirl'd aloft, to distant Fields is born.

Mr. Dryden.

The Gods likewise (to mention no more Instances of their Agreement) were the same that superintended all magical Arts, as we learn from *Theocritus's* *Strophia*, who is introduc'd invoking the *Moon* and *Hecate* to her Assistance,

— Ἄλλῃ, Σελάνῃ,
Φαῖνε καλὸν, τὴν δὲ ποταίσσομαι ἄσυχᾶ, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χρονίᾳ δ' ἑκάτα, τὰν κ' σκύλακες τρομέοντι
Ερχομένην· νεκρῶν ἀνὰ τ' ἡέρα, κ' μέλαν αἶμα,
Καὶ, ἑκάτα διασπλήνῃ, κ' ἐς τέλα· ἔμμεν ὑπάδει,
Φάρμακα παῖδ' ἱερδοῖσα χερσὶνά μῃτε τι Κίρκης,
Μῃτε τι Μηδείας, μῃτε ξανθᾶς Πειριμήδας.

Moem,

— Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret Pray'r;
To thee and *Hecate*, whom Dogs do dread
When stain'd with Gore she stalks amidst the Dead:
Hail, frightful *Hecate*, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd *Medea's* Skill.

Mr. Creech.

Thus far concerning their Arts in exciting Love. It may be en-
quir'd in the next place, whether they had any means to allay the
Passion, when once rais'd? Now it appears, that it was common to
set the Patient at liberty by the Help of more powerful Medicaments,
or *Damons* superiour to those that had bound him; whence we find
Canidia in *Horace* complaining, that all her Enchantments were ren-
der'd ineffectual by Art superiour to her own,

*Quid accidit? cur dira barbara minus
Venena Medae valent,
Quibus superba fugit ultra pellicem,
Magni Creontis filiam;
Cum palla, tabo munus imbutum, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Aequi nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix fefellit me locis.
Indormit antro omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum:
Ah, ah, solutus ambulat venefica
Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading Charms,
Shall *Calchas* foster greater Harms?
What! shall the Present spell'd with magick Rage,
Medea's vengeful Breast assuage;
Since the fallacious Gift to Flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy Rival burn'd?
Then what am I? there's not an Herb doth grow,
Nor Root, but I their Virtues know,
And can the craggy Places shew:
Yet *Varus* slights my Love, above my Pow'r,
And sleeps on Rosy Beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some Rival's greater Skill
Defends him from my weaker Spell.

H. H.

But Love inspir'd without the Assistance of Magick scarce yielded
to any Cure: *Apollo* himself could find no Remedy against it, but
is introduc'd lamenting in these Words (4),

(4) Ovid. Metam. l. v. 321.

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*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferque per orbem
Dicor, & herbarum est subiecta potentia nobis;
Hei mihi! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis,
Nec profunt domino, quæ profunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what Herbs, and Simples grow
In Fields and Forests, all their Pow'rs I know,
And am the great Physician call'd below;
Alas! that Fields and Forests can afford
No Remedies to heal their love-sick Lord!
To cure the Pains of Love no Plant avails,
And his own Physick the Physician fails.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Poet professes in another Place, that no Art was ever able to set a Lover at Liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas
Nec fugiet vivo sulphure villus amor.
Quid te Phasiacæ juverunt gramina terra,
Cum cuperes patriâ, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides herba,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulis aura rates,*

Not all the Pow'r of Verse with Magick join'd
Can heal the Torture of a love-sick Mind;
Altars may smook with expiatory Fire,
Too weak to make a well-fix'd Love retire,
Love by Repulse still works the Passion higher.
What help, *Medea*, did thy Potions yield?
Not all the Drugs that stock'd the *Colchian* Field,
Cou'd Ease to your distracted Breast afford,
When forc'd from home you lov'd the foreign Lord:
Nor greater the Relief that *Circe* found,
When left by her *Ulysses* homewards bound,
Nor Herbs, nor Poysons cou'd her Grief allay,
When envious Blasts had stol'n her Dear away.

H. H.

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of this Cure, there is not wanting Variety of Prescriptions adapted to the several Causes and Occasions of the Malady; as appears from the old Nurse's Words to *Myrrha* desperately in Love (b),

*Seu furor est, habeo quæ carmine sanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, magico lustrabere ritu:
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

(a) De remedio amoris. (b) *Metam.* l. v. 397.

Madness by sacred Numbers is expell'd,
And Magick will to stronger Magick yield;
If the dire Wrath of Heav'n this Fury rais'd,
Heav'n is with Sacrifice, and Pray'r appeas'd.

Mr. Hopkins.

The Antidotes may be reduc'd to two sorts; they were either such as had some natural Virtue to produce the design'd Effect; such are *agnus castus*, and all the Herbs reputed Enemies to Generation (a): Or, secondly, such as wrought the Cure by some occult and mystical Power, and the Assistance of *Demons*; such are the sprinkling of Dust wherein a Mule had row'd her self (b), the tying Toads in the Hide of a Beast lately slain (c), with several others mention'd by *Pliny*; amongst which we may reckon all the Minerals and Herbs, which were look'd on as Amulets against other Effects of Magick, for those were likewise proper on such Occasions: Whence the Poets usually mention *Caucasus*, *Colebis*, and other Places famous for Magical Plants, as those which alone could furnish Remedies and Antidotes against Love: I shall only set down one Instance, wherein the Poet, enquiring what should be the Cause his Mistress had forsaken him, puts this Question among others (d),

An que

Leda Prometheis dividit herba jugis.

What! do those odious Herbs, the Lover's Bane,
Growing on *Caucasus* produce this Pain?

By *Prometheus's* Mountain he means *Caucasus*, which was remarkable for Herbs of sovereign Power, that sprung out of *Prometheus's* Blood.

The Infernal Gods were call'd upon for Assistance, as may be learn'd from *Virgil's Dido*, who signifies her pretended Design to dispell the Remains of her Love for *Aeneas* in these Words (e),

*Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
Perficere est animus, sinemque imponere cutis;*
Dardaniique regum capitis permiscere flamma.

Thus will I pay my Vows to *Sygyian Jove*,
And end the Cares of my disastrous Love,
Then cast the *Trojan* Image on the Fire,
And, as that burns, my Passion shall expire.

Mr. Dryden.

(a) Vide *Archæolog. Hæc. lib. II. cap. III.* (b) *Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. XXV. cap. XVI.* (c) *Idem lib. XXXII. cap. X.* (d) *Propert. lib. I. Eleg. XII.* (e) *Aeneid. IV. v. 638.*

Silius introduces *Anna*, *Dido's* Sister, telling how she had endeavour'd to render the same Gods propitious (4),

Nigro forte *Jovi*, cui *tertia* regna laborant,
Atque *atri* *socia* *ibalami* nova *sacra* parabam,
Quis *agram* mentem, & *trepidantia* corda levaret
Infelix *germana* *tari*.

To grisly *Jove* of *Hell* I *Off-rings* paid,
And to the swarthy *Consort* of his *Bed*;
In pity of my love-sick *Sister's* *Grief*,
And in Assurance of a blest'd *Relief*,
To charm her *Cares* to sleep, her *Fears* to rest,
And still the *Tumults* of her troubled *Breast*.

Not long before the same Person, relating how the *Diviners* assay'd to restore *Dido* to her right *Mind*, says, they invoked the Gods of *Night* (whereby she means the *Shades* below) to aid them,

Hæu! *sacri* *vatum* *errores*, dum *numina* *Noctis*
Elicium, *spondentque* *novis* *medicamina* *curis*.

O soothing *Priest-craft!* O the close *Disguise*
Of *Cheat*, *Imposture*, and well-*varnish'd* *Lyes!*
With a pretended *Zeal* the *Shades* they implore,
The Gods of *Night* demurely they adore,
With promis'd *Cures* they gull our easy *Minds*,
A solemn *Vow* their holy *Knav'ry* binds.

I shall only mention one Expedient more; whereby they cur'd themselves of *Love*: 'Tis the *Water* of *Selennus*, a *River* that falls into the *Sea* near *Argyra* in *Achaia*: The *Story* is thus; *Selennus*, a beautiful young *Shepherd* in those *Parts*, was belov'd by *Argyra*, the *Nymph*, from whom the *Town* and *Fountain* of that *Name* were call'd; but, the *Flower* of his *Age* being over, the *Nymph* deserted him, upon which he pin'd away, and was transform'd into a *River* by *Venus*; after this he still retain'd his former *Passion*, and (as the *Patrensiens* report) for some time convey'd his *Waters* thro' a subterraneous *Passage* to *Argyra's* *Fountain*, in the same manner that *Alpheus* was said to join himself with *Aretusæ*, till by *Venus's* Favour the Remembrance of her was caus'd to vanish quite out of his *Mind*; Hence it came to pass, that as many as wash'd themselves in this *River*, were made to forget their *Passion*: Thus *Pausanias* (b).

Thus much concerning their *Love*. I am not ignorant, that *Enlargements* might be made in every *Part* of this *Chapter*; but what

(a) Lib. VIII. (b) *Achaica*, p. 442, & 445. Edit. Hanov.

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has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, without trespassing too far upon his Patience.

CHAP. XI.

Of their Marriages.

THE first Inhabitants of Greece liv'd without Laws and Government, no Bounds were prescrib'd to their Passions, their Love (like the rest of their Desires) was unconfin'd, and promiscuous Mixtures, because forbidden by no human Authority, were publickly allow'd. The first that restrain'd this Liberty was *Cecrops*, who, having rais'd himself to be King over the People afterwards call'd *Athenians*, amongst many other useful Constitutions, introduc'd that of Marriage (a). Others refer the Honour of this Institution, together with the Invention of Dancing, to *Erato* one of the Muses; but some rather understand that Story of the Marriage-solemnity, the regular Conduct whereof, they say, was first order'd by *Erato*. However that be, it was in some time receiv'd by all the *Grecians*, for no sooner did they begin to reform their salvage and barbarous Course of Life, and join themselves in Towns and Societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly Lusts of Men by establishing lawful Marriage, with other Rules of good Manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, being very much encourag'd by their Laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanc'd, and in some Places punish'd; For the Strength of States consisting in their Number of People, those that refus'd to contribute to their Increase, were thought very cold in their Affections to their Country. The *Lacedæmonians* are very remarkable for their Severity against those that deferr'd Marrying, as well as those who wholly abstain'd from it (b): No Man among them could live without a Wife beyond the Time limited by their Law-giver, without incurring several Penalties; as first, the Magistrates commanded such once every Winter to run round the publick Forum naked; and to encrease their Shame they sung a certain Song, the Words whereof aggravated their Crime, and expos'd them to Ridicule. Another of their Punishments was to be excluded from the Exercises, wherein (according to the *Spartan* Custom) young Virgins contended naked (c). A third Penalty was inflict'd upon a certain Solemnity, wherein the Women dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the Time with their Fists (d). Lastly, they were depriv'd of that Respect and Observance,

(a) Vide *Archæolog.* hujus lib. I. cap. II. (b) *Stobæus* LXV. de laude Nuptiarum, (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (d) *Albenaus* lib. XIII.

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which the younger sort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore, saith *Plutarch* (a), no Man found fault with what was said to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one that had commanded Armies, who coming into the Place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room, told him, *Sir, you must not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.* To these we may add the *Athenian Law* (b), whereby all that were Commanders, Orators, or intrusted with any publick Affair, were to be Marry'd, and have Children, and Estates in Land; for these were look'd on as so many Pledges for their good Behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the Management of publick Trusts.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in *Greece*, for Marriage was thought to be a Conjunction of one Man with one Woman, whence some will have γάμος deriv'd ἐξ τοῦ δύο αὐτὰ εἶναι, from two becoming one. When *Herodotus* reports that *Anaxandridas* the *Spartan* had two Wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the Custom of *Sparta* (c); The rest of the *Grecian Cities* did, for the most part, agree herein with the *Lacedaemonians*; only upon some emergent Occasions, when their Men had been destroy'd by War, or other Calamities, Toleration was granted for Marrying more Wives; an Instance whereof we have at *Athens* in *Euripides's* Time, who, as some say, conceiv'd an hatred against the whole Sex, for which he is famous in Story, by being harass'd with two Wives at once (d): *Socrates* is said to have been marry'd to *Xantippe* and *Myrto* at the same time (e), and *Athenaus* concludes it was then reputed no Scandal, because we never find any of his Enemies casting it in his Teeth (f); but some think the Matter of Fact may be justly call'd in question, and in *Plutarch's* Opinion, *Panætius* of *Rhodos*, ἡναντίον ἀνείκελον, has fully confuted it in his Discourse concerning *Socrates* (g).

The Time of Marriage was not the same in all Places, the *Spartans* were not permitted to marry till arriv'd at their full Strength (h); and tho' I do not find what was the exact Number of Years they were confin'd to, yet it appears from one of *Lycurgus's* Sayings, that both Men and Women were limited in this Affair, which that Law-giver being ask'd the reason of it, said his Design was, that the *Spartan Children* might be strong and vigorous. The *Athenian Laws* are said once to have order'd, that Men should not marry above Thirty-five Years of Age. For human Life being divided by *Solon* into Ten Weeks (ἐξ δέκαδ' ἔτος) he affirm'd, *In barum hebdomadam quinta maturitatem ad stirpem relinquendam, homini inesse.* That in the Fifth of these Weeks, Men were of Ripeness to multiply their kind (i). But this depended upon the Humor of every Law-giver, nothing being generally agreed to in this Matter: *Aristotle* (k),

(a) Loc. citat. (b) *Dinarchus* in *Demosthenem*. (c) Lib. V. (d) *Gellius* Noct. Attic. lib. XV. cap. XX. (e) *Diogenes Laertius* *Socrate*. (f) Lib. XIII. (g) *Plutarchus* *Pericle*. (h) *Xenophon* de *Repub. Lacedem.* (i) *Consortinus* de die natali cap. XIV. (k) *Polit. lib. VII. cap. XVI.*

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thought Thirty-seven a good Age, *Plato* Thirty, and *Hesiod* was much-what of the same Judgment, for thus he advises his Friend,

Ἡραῖος δὲ γυναῖκα τὴν ποτὶ οἶκον ἀγεῖν,
Μήτε τεῖνκόντων ἐτίων μάλα πολλὰ ἀπολέπων,
Μήτ' ἐπιδεῖς μάλα πολλὰ γάμος δὲ τοῖς ὤλειος ἔτος (a).

The Time to enter on a marry'd Life
Is about *Thirty*, and then bring home your Wife;
But don't delay too late, or wed too young,
Since Strength and Prudence to this State belong.

F. A.

Women marry'd sooner than Men; Some of the old *Athenian* Laws permitted them to marry at *Twenty-six*, *Aristotle* at *Eighteen*, *Hesiod* at *Fifteen*,

Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡβῶν, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοῖτο (b).
A Wife when *Fifteen* choose, than let her wed
Fth' Prime for *Hymen's* Rites, for th' Joys of th' Marriage-bed.

Where the Poet advises that Women be permitted to grow to Maturity in four Years, *i. e.* four after ten, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the fifteenth: Others think he means they must continue unmarried four Years after their Arrival at Woman's Estate, *i. e.* at fourteen Years, and marry in the fifth, *i. e.* the nineteenth. But as the Women were sooner marriageable than Men, so their Time was far shorter, it being common for Men to marry much older than Women could expect to do, as *Lysistrata* complains in *Aristophanes* (c),

ΔΥ. Πῶς τῶνδε κορῶν ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις γηρασκυσὼν ἀνιῶμαι.
ΠΡ. Οὐκὼν γ' ἄνδρες γηρασκυσίν; ΔΥ. Μὰ Δί' ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπ' αὖτας ὁμοίον,
Ὁ γὰρ ἡκὼν μὲν, καὶ ἡ πολὺς, ταχὺ παῖδά κεῖν γεγάμικεν.
Τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς μικρὸς ὁ καιρὸς, καὶ τῷτο μὴ πηλὰς ἔηται
Οὐδεὶς ἐδέλει γῆμαι ταύτῳ, ὅτ' ἰδομένη δὲ κἀθίηται.

LY. It's some Concern to me, when I reflect
On the poor Girls, that must despair of Man,
And keep a stale and loath'd Cœlibacy.

PR. What? ha'n't the Men the same hard Measures then?

LY. Oh! no, they have a more propitious Fate,
Since they at *Sixty*, when their Vigor's past,
Can wed a young and tender Spouse to warm
Their aged Limbs, and to repair their Years:
But Women's Joys are short and transient,
For, if we once the golden Minutes miss,
There's no recalling, so severe's our Doom;

(a) *Egg* & *Hæus* C. 313. (b) *Ibid.* 316 (c) *Lysistrata.*

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We must then long in vain, in vain expect,
And by our Ills forewarn Posterity.

F. A.

The Times or Seasons of the Year most proper for Marriage were, according to the *Athenians*, some of the Winter-months, especially *January*, which for that reason was call'd *γαμηλίον* (a). Hence the Person in *Terence*, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in *Greece*, affirms the Soothsayers had forbidden to enter upon Matrimony till Winter (b),

*Aruspex utruit ante brumam autem quid novi
Negotii incipere*——

Until the seasonable time of Year,
When frosty Weather binds all Things, the Priest
Counsell'd us by all means to put off Marriage.

The most convenient Season was when there happen'd a Conjunction on of the Sun and Moon, at which time they celebrated their Festival call'd *Θεογάμια*, or Marriage of the Gods (c). *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides*, having ask'd *Agamemnon* when he design'd to give *Iphigenia* in Marriage to *Achilles*, he answers, that the Full-Moon was the fittest Time;

Όταν σεληνίης εδοχίης έαδν κύκλος (d).
When the Full-Moon darts forth her lucky Raics.

Themis in *Pindar* advises that *Thetis* be marry'd to *Peleus* in the same Season (e), for by *Διχαμνίδες* *εσπείρας* he means the Full-Moon, which happens in the middle of Lunar Months, which were us'd in the old *Grecian* Computations. The Poet's Words run thus,

*Εν διχαμνίδεσσι
Δε εσπείρας, έρατον
Λύοι κεν χαλινόν υ-
ψ' ηρώι παρδενίας.*

When crescent *Phæbe* is about to shine
In a full Orb with radiant Light,
Then may he marry, then may she invite
The Hero both their Loves to joyn,
Then let them blend, and tye, their Joys, their all combine.

F. A.

This Custom seems to have proceeded from an Opinion they had of the Moon's Power in Generation. Some prescribe other Days;

(a) *Olympiodorus* in *Meteora* *Aristotelis*, *Eustathius* in *Ilad.* 6'. (b) *Phormione*, (c) *Hesiodi Scholastes* *Met.* (d) *Iphigen*, in *Aulid.* v. 717. (e) *Isthm.* *Od.* 1. p. 751. Edit *Benedicti*.

Hesiod

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Hesiod thinks the Fourth most convenient, because (as one of the Scholiasts observes) it was dedicated to Venus and Mercury (a),

Εν τῇ τετάρτῃ μῶνδ' ἀγεῖν εἰς οἶκον ἀκοῖτιν,
Οἶκονδε κείνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργων τε σὺν τῷ δέσποτι.

On the fourth Day of the Moon's Age your Wife
Bring home to enter on the Cares of Life,
But first take heed your self to certify
In the respective Signs of Augury,

F. A.

The Sixteenth, or, as some, the Eighteenth, is mention'd as most unfit of all others (b),

Εκτη δ' ἢ μέγαν μάλ' ἀσύνφορος ἐστὶν οὗτοισιν,
Ἀνδρῶν γόνος τ' ἀγαθῆ, κόρη δ' ἢ σὺνφορος ἐστὶν
Οὔτε φρεῖν δαί πρῶτ', ἔτ' ἀρ' γάμος ἀντιβοκλῆσαι.

Whatever Trees you plant the sixteenth Day,
They'll never thrive, but wither and decay,
But if your Wife's deliver'd of a Son,
His Life with lucky Prospects is begun;
But Girls, if born, or marry'd now will see
Their Years annoy'd with Woe and Misery.

F. A.

Several other Days were look'd on as favourable, or otherwise, in this and all other Affairs, which it would be too tedious to enumerate in this Place.

Most of the Greeks look'd on it as scandalous to contract within certain Degrees of Consanguinity. *Hermione* in *Euripides* speaks of the Custom of Brethren's marrying their Sisters with no less Detestation than of Sons marrying their Mothers, or Fathers their Daughters (c),

Τοῦτον πᾶν τὸ βάρβαρον γένος·
Πατὴρ τε θυγατρί, παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται,
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ· διὰ φόνου δ' οἱ φιλτάτοι
Χωρεῖσι καὶ τ' ἄλλῃ γ' ἐξέσθην νόμος.

Such Things Barbarians act, such Villanies
Are the Result of Lust, or perverse Will,
Where no Laws cement, and no Right confines,
Fathers their Daughters, Sons their Mothers force
To an incestuous Bed, and hurry'd on
By boyling Lusts Brothers with Sisters joyn;

(a) *Huic* v. 35. (b) v. 18. (c) *Andromach.* v. 173.

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All Things are free, the most exalted Love
Can't gainst incentive Lust secure your Life.

J. A.

Several of the barbarous Nations seem to have overlook'd the Rules of Decency, and allow'd unlawful and incestuous Mixtures; the *Persians* are especially remarkable for such Practices; for their *Magi*, the most sacred Persons among them, were the Offspring of Mothers and their Sons: Hence *Catullus* (a),

*Nascetur Magus ex Gelli matrisque nefando
Conjugio, & discat Persicum aruspicum:*

*Rom. 22. Nam Magus ex matre & gnato gignatur oportet,
Si vera est Persarum impia religio.*

Gellius hath Issue by his Mother got,
Nor is it in his Heraldry a Blot;
The Boy must strait be made profoundly Wise
In all the Magick Trumpery and Lyes,
What must the *Persian* Religion be,
Where such an *Ad* is no Impiety?

F. A.

The *Lacedemonians* were forbidden to marry any of their Kindred, whether in the direct Degrees of Ascent, or Descent, but a collateral Relation hinder'd them not, for Nephews marry'd their Aunts, and Unkles their Nieces, an Instance whereof *Herodotus* gives us in *Anaxandridas*, who marry'd his Sister's Daughter (b). The Marriages of Brothers and Sisters were utterly unlawful, tho' countenanc'd by several Examples of their Gods: An ample Account hereof may be seen in *Byblis's* Words, when in love with her Brother *Caunus*, where, notwithstanding the Greatness of her Passion, she confesses that no Examples were sufficient to license her incestuous Desires (c),

*Dii melius! Dii nempe suas habuere sorores:
Sic Saturnus Opim junctam sibi sanguine duxit,
Oceanus Tethyn, Junonem Rector Olympi,
Sunt superis sua jura: Quid ad caelestia ritus
Exigere humanos, diversaue fœdera vento?
Aut nostro vetitus de corde fugabitur ardor;
Aut, hoc si nequeo, peream precor ante, ioroque
Mortua componar, positaque det oscula frater;
Et tamen arbitrium quaris res ista duorum,
Finge placere mihi, scelus esse videbitur illi:
An non Æolidæ thalamos timuere sororum:
Unde sed hos novi? Cur hæc exempla paravi?
Quo feror? obscæna procul hinc discedite flamma.*

(a) Epigram. XCI. (b) Lib. V. (c) Ovid. Metam. lib. IX. 498.

The Gods forbid; yet those, whom I invoke,
 Have lov'd like me, have their own Sisters took,
 Great *Saturn* and his greater Offspring *Jove*,
 Both stock'd their Heav'n with incestuous Love;
 Gods have their Privilege; why do I strive
 To strain my Hopes to their Prerogative?
 No, let me banish this forbidden Fire,
 Or quench it with my Blood, or with't expire,
 Unstain'd in Honour, and unhurt in Fame,
 Let the Grave bury both my Love and Shame;
 But, when at my last Hour I gasping lie,
 Let only my kind Murderer be by,
 Let him, while I breath out my Soul in Sighs,
 Or gaze't away, look on with pitying Eyes,
 Let him (for sure he can't deny me this)
 Seal my cold Lips with one kind parting Kiss;
 Besides 'twere vain should I alone agree
 To what another's Will must ratify;
 Cou'd I be so abandon'd to consent,
 What I have past for good and innocent,
 He may perhaps as worst of Crimes resent:
 Yet we amongst our Race Examples find
 Of Brothers, who have been to Sisters kind;
 Fam'd *Canace* cou'd thus successful prove,
 Cou'd crown her Wishes in a Brother's Love.
 But whence cou'd I these Instances produce?
 How came I witty to my Ruin thus?
 Whither will this mad Phrenzy hurry on?
 Hence, hence, you naughty Flames, far hence be gone,
 Nor let me e'er the shameful Passion own.

Mr. Oldham.

Yet 'twas not reputed unlawful in several Places for Brothers to marry their half Sisters; and sometimes their Relation by the Father, sometimes by the Mother was within the Law. The *Lacedæmonian* Law-giver allow'd Marriages between those that had only the same Mother, and different Fathers (a). The *Athenians* were forbidden to marry Sisters by the same Mother, but not those by the same Father, as we are told by *Philo the Jew* (b). An Instance here of we have in *Archepolis Themistocles's* Son, who marry'd his Sister *Mnesiptolema* (c); as likewise in *Cimon*, who, being unable thro' his extreme Poverty to provide a suitable Match for his Sister *Elpinica*, marry'd her himself: Nor was this contrary to the Laws, or Customs of *Athens*, as *Athenæus* (d) is of Opinion, for, according to *Plutarch's* (e) Account, it was done publickly, and without any Fear of the

(a) *Philo Judæus* lib de specialibus legibus ad præceptum VII. contra mæchos.
 (b) Libro de legibus specialibus. (c) *Plutarchus Themistocle*. (d) Lib. XII. (e)
Cimone.

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Laws; *Cornelius Nepos* likewise (a) assures us, it was nothing but what the Custom of their Country allow'd; we find indeed that *Cimon* is sometimes tax'd for his Familiarity with *Elpinice*, but this is only to be understood of his taking her after she had been marry'd to *Callias*; for it appears from the fore-cited Authors, that *Cimon* first marry'd her himself, then gave her to *Callias* a rich *Atbenian*; after which he again became familiar with her, which indeed was look'd on as Adultery, she being then another Man's Wife.

Most of the *Grecian* States, especially those that made any Figure, requir'd their Citizens should match with none but Citizens; for they look'd upon the Freedom of their Cities as too great a Privilege to be granted upon easy Terms to Foreigners, or their Children. Hence we find the *Atbenian* Laws sentencing the Children of such Matches to perpetual Slavery, an Account whereof has been given in one of the fore-going Books (b). This was not all, for they had a Law, that if a Foreigner marry'd a Free-woman of *Athens*, it should be lawful for any Person to call him to account before the Magistrates call'd *Thesmothetae*, where if he was convicted, they sold him for a Slave, and all his Goods were confiscated, and one third Part of them given to his Accuser. The same Penalty was inflicted upon such Citizens as gave foreign Women in Marriage to Men of *Athens*, pretending they were their own Daughters, save that the Sentence of Slavery was chang'd into Ignominy, whereby they were depriv'd of their Voices in all publick Assemblies, and most other Privileges belonging to them as Citizens. Lastly, if any Man of *Athens* marry'd a Woman that was not free of that City, he was fin'd a thousand *Drachms* (c). But these Laws were not constant and perpetual. Sometimes the Necessity of the Times so far prevail'd, that the Children of strange Women enjoy'd all the Privileges of free-born Citizens. The old Law, which prohibited the Men of *Athens*, to marry Strangers, having been some time disus'd, was reviv'd by *Pericles*, and afterwards at the instance of the same Person abrogated by a Decree of the People (d), but again renew'd in the Archonship of *Euelides*, at the Motion of *Aristophan*, when it was enacted, that no Persons should be free Denizens of *Athens*, unless both their Parents were free (e).

Virgins were not allow'd to marry without the Consent of their Parents; whence *Hero* in *Musaeus* (f) tells *Leander*, they could not be honourably joyn'd in Marriage, because her Parents were against it,

Ἀμφαδὸν ἢ δούλειον γάμος ὁσίος, κελδομαι,
Οὐ γὰρ ἐμοῖς τοῦτ' ἐνδύσειν.

My Parents to the Match will not consent,
Therefore desist, it is not pertinent.

(a) *Cimone*. (b) Lib. I. cap. IX. (c) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Neaeram*. (d) *Plutarchus* *Pericle*. (e) *Demosthenes* in *Eubulidem*. (f) V. 179.

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Hermione in *Euripides* (a) professes she had no Concern about her Marriage, but left that wholly to her Father,

Νυμφόμικτον ἔῃ τ' ἐμὸν πατὴρ ἴμδε
Μίεμυαν ἔξει, κικ' ἱμὲν περὶεν τάδε.

I'm not concern'd, my Father will take care

Of all Things that respect my Nuptials.

The Mother's Consent was necessary as well as the Father's, and therefore *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* was not to be given in Marriage to *Achilles*, till *Clytemnestra* approv'd the Match (b). Nor were Men permitted to marry without consulting their Parents; for even the most early and ignorant Ages were too well acquainted with the Right which Parents have by Nature over their Children, to think these had Power to dispose of themselves without their Parents Consent. *Achilles* in *Homer* refuses *Agamemnon's* Daughter, and leaves it to his Father *Peleus* to choose him a Wife (c),

Ἦν γδ δὴ με σάωσι θεοί, καὶ δίκαν' ἴκωμαι,
Πηλὸς δ' αὖ μοι ἔπειτα γυνῆα γαμήσεται αὐτός.

If by Heav'n's Blessing I return a Bride,
My careful Father will for me provide.

And *Pamphilus* in *Terence* is betroth'd by his Father *Simo*, who is introduc'd thus speaking (d):

— hac fama impulsus Chremes
Ulro ad me venit, unicam genitam suam
Cum dote summa filio uxorem ut daret;
Placuit: despondi: hic nuptiis datus est dies.

When Virgins had no Fathers, their Brothers dispos'd of them; Thus we find *Creon* promising his Sister *Jocasta* to any Person who should destroy the *Sphinx*, that infested *Thebes*; and *Orestes* gave his Sister *Electra* to his Friend *Pylades*. When they had neither Parents, nor Brethren, or if their Brethren were not arriv'd to Years of Discretion, they were dispos'd by their Grandfathers, those especially by the Father's Side; when those fail'd, they were committed to the Care of Guardians call'd ἐπίτροποι, or κνείν (e). Sometimes Husbands betroth'd their Wives to other Persons upon their Death-beds; as appears from the Story of *Demothene's* Father, who gave his Wife *Cleobule* to one *Aphobus* with a considerable Portion; when he was dead, *Aphobus* took the Portion, but refus'd to marry the Woman, whereupon *Demothene* made his Complaint to

(a) *Andromache*. (b) *Iphigenia in Aulide*. (c) *Iliad* i, v, 393. (d) *Andria* Act. I. Scen. I. (e) *Demothene* in *Stephanum* tellum.

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the Magistrates, and accus'd him in an elegant Oration (a). And that this Custom was not usual, appears from the same Orator's Defence of *Phormio*, who being a Slave, and faithful in his Business, his Master gave him both his Liberty, and his Wife.

They had several Forms of betrothing, such as this cited by *Clemens the Alexandrian* (b) out of *Menander*, Παῖδ' οὖν ἀρεῶν τῇ γυναικὶ δίδωμι σοι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα. i. e. I give you this my Daughter to make you Father of Children lawfully begotten. The Dowry was sometimes mention'd, as we find in *Xenophon* (c), where *Cyaxares* betrothes his Daughter to *Cyrus*, Δίδωμαι σοι, ὦ Κύρε, αὐτὴν ταύτην τῇ γυναικί. θυγατέρα ἔσται ἐμὴν, ἐμὴν δίδωμαι δ' αὐτῇ ἑγὼ καὶ ὅσα ἐστὶν Μῆδ' αὖτε πάντα. i. e. I give you, *Cyrus*, this Woman, who is my Daughter, with all Media for her Dowry. The Persons to be marry'd plighted their Faith to one another, or to their Relations. Thus *Clitophon* and *Lucippe* swear to each other (d), the former to be constant and sincere in his Love, the latter to marry him, and make him Master of all she had. *Ovid* makes the next Ceremony after betrothing to be the Virgin's Oath to her Lover,

Promissi pater hanc, hæc & juravit amanti.

Her Father promis'd, she an Oath did take
Her faithful Lover never to forsake.

The Ceremony in promising Fidelity was kissing each other, or giving their right Hands, which was the usual Form of ratifying all Agreements. Hence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* calls for *Achilles's* right Hand to assure her of his sincere Intention to marry her Daughter (e),

Δεξιὰν γ' ἐμὴν χεῖρα
Συνάψον, ἀσχλὼ μακαρίων ὑμῶν.

Joyn your right Hand to mine, a sacred Tye
Of this our Compact.

The *Thebans* had a Custom for Lovers to plight their Faith at the Monument of *Jolans*, who was a Lover of *Hercules*, and assisted him in his Labours (f), and was therefore believ'd to take care of Love-affairs, when advanc'd into Heaven.

In the primitive Ages Women were marry'd without Portions from their Relations, being purchas'd by their Husbands, whose Presents to the Woman's Relations were call'd her Dowry. Thus we find *Shechem* bargaining with *Jacob* and his Sons for *Dinah*; Let me find grace in your Eyes, (saith he) and whatsoever ye shall say unto me I will give: Ask me never so much Dowry and Gift, and I will give according as ye shall say unto me; but give me the Damsel to wife (g). Several In-

(a) Orat. in *Aphobum*. (b) *Stromat.* lib. II. (c) *Xenophon* lib. VIII. (d) *Achill. Par.* lib. V. (e) *Iphigen. in Aulid.* v. 831. (f) *Plutarchus Pelopida.* (g) *Gen.* XXXIV, 2.

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stances may be produc'd to the same purpose, were not this Custom too well known to need farther Confirmation; only thus much must be observ'd, that when Civility and good Manners came to be establish'd in any Place, it was usually laid aside; for *Aristotle* makes it one Argument to prove that the ancient *Grecians* were an unciviliz'd People, because they us'd to buy their Wives (a). No Sooner therefore do we find them beginning to lay aside their barbarous Manners, but this Practice was left off, insomuch that *Medea* in *Euripides* complains that Women were the most miserable of all rational Creatures, because lying under a Necessity of purchasing their own Masters at a dear Rate (b). So frequent became the Custom for Women to bring Portions to their Husbands, that some make the most essential Difference between *γυνή* and *παλλακή*, i. e. *Wife* and *Concubine*, to consist in this, that Wives had Dowries, whereas Concubines were usually without. Whence one in *Plautus*, the Scene of whose *Action* is laid in *Greece*, speaks thus (c),

Sed ut inops

*Infamis ne sim, ne mihi hanc famam differam, ne
Germanam meam sororem in concubinatum tibi
Sic sine dote dedisse magis, quam in matrimonium.*

Tho' I am low i'th World, and am but mean,
I'll offer some small Matter for her Dowry,
Lest this Asperſion should be thrown abroad,
That she as *Mistress* not as *Wife*, is to you.

Hence Men who were content to marry Wives who had no Fortune, commonly gave them *περικαῖα*, an Instrument in writing, whereby the receipt of their Dowry was own'd. The rest of their Distinction was chiefly founded upon this; for she, that had a Dowry, thought it a just Title to a greater Freedom with her Husband, and more Respect from him than such as ow'd their Maintenance to him. Hence *Hermione* in *Euripides* is enrag'd, that the Captive *Andromache* should pretend to be her Rival in *Pyrrhus's* Affections,

*Κόσμον μ' αὐτοὶ κρατὶ χρυσίας χλιδῆς,
Σταλμόντε κρατὸς τῶνδε ποικίλων πέπλων
Οὐ τ' Ἀχιλλεύς, καὶ Πηλεὺς ἀπὸ
Δόμων ἀπαρχὰς δευρὲς ἔχουσ' ἀνικνύω.
Ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακωνίης Σπάρτιατιδος χ' ὄρος
Μενέλαος ἡμῖν ταῦτα δωρεῖται πατὴρ.
Πολλοὶς σὺν ἄνδρσι, ὡς ἐλευθεροῦμαι,
Τίμης μ' ἐν τοιοῖς ἀνέδομαι λόγοις.
Σὺ δ' ἔσα δάλη, καὶ δοκίμητος γυνή,
Δόμους καταχθῆν, ἐκβαλὼν ἡμᾶς, θέλει
Τίσθ' (d).*

(a) Politic. lib. II. cap. VIII. (b) *Euripidis Med.* 230. (c) *Tyrannus*. (d) *Euripidis Andromach.* 147.

This rich Attire, these costly Ornaments,
 My various Change of Cloaths, and all my Jewels
 Ne'er did *Achilles*, or old *Peleus* give;
 No, they are only kind, indulgent Tokens
 Of my dear Father's Blessing; these I brought
 From *Sparta* with a Fortune great and noble
 To shew my Quality, and that I might
 Speak freely without any slavish Awe;
 And dost thou think, thou dirty, servile Woman,
 To paramount, to cast me out, and gain
 Th' Ascendant o'er my Lord's Affections.

So sensible was *Lycurgus* of this, and some other Inconveniences attending this Custom, that partly for fear Wives should domineer over their Husbands, and partly out of a Desire that Men should choose Wives more for the sake of their Persons than their Money, and that no Woman's Poverty should hinder her of an Husband, he quite banish'd it out of *Sparta* (a). *Solon* agreed herein with *Lycurgus*, for all the Dowry he permitted the *Asbenian* Wives to have, was a little inconsiderable Household-stuff, and three Suits of Cloaths: "For (says *Plutarch*) he would not have Marriages for Gain, or an Estate, but for pure Love, kind Affection, and to get Children (b)". But some are of Opinion that this Ordinance had no relation to Dowries, but only to those Gifts, which the Bride brought with her, call'd *ἐπαχλῖα*, of which an account will afterwards be given. And that *Solon* did not prohibit other Dowries, appears hence, that Men who had no Sons, were allow'd to entail their Estates upon Daughters; and every Heire's (the *Asbenians* call'd them *ἐκκλησίαι*) was oblig'd to marry her nearest Relation, lest her Estate should go out of the Family; but in Consideration of her Dowry she had the Privilege, when her Husband was impotent, to lie with his nearest Kinsman; which Law was contriv'd against those, who, conscious of their own Inability, would match with Heire's for the Portion's sake, and make use of Law to put a Violence upon Nature; yet (saith my Author) 'twas wisely done to confine her to her Husband's nearest Kinsman, that the Children might be of the same Family: A farther Privilege Heire's had above other Women was, that their Husbands were oblig'd to lie with them thrice a Month (c). When there were any Orphan Virgins without Inheritance, whom they term'd *Σκῆναι* (d), he that was next in Blood was oblig'd to marry her himself, or settle a Portion on her according to his Quality; if he was *Περικλοῦς*, one of the first Rank, five *mina*, or Five hundred *Drachms*; if *Ἰπποκλῆς*, of the second Rank, Three hundred; if *Ζυγίτης*, of the third Rank, One hundred and fifty: But if she had many Relations equally ally'd, all of them contribu-

(a) *Justin* lib. III. *Plutarch* Apophthegm. *Laconie*. *Ellian*. Var. Hist. lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone*. (c) *Idem* loc. citato. (d) *Eustathius* in *Ilad.*
 ex *Aristophanis* *Grammatico*.

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ted their Proportions to make up the Sum : If there were more than one Virgin, their nearest Kinsman was only oblig'd to marry, or give a Portion to one of them ; and, upon his Refusal to do this, any Person was allow'd to indict him before the *Archon*, who was oblig'd to compel him to his Duty, and, if he refus'd to put the Law in Execution, was fin'd a Thousand Drachms, which were consecrated to *Juno* the Goddess of Marriage (a). Terence has several Hints at these Customs, for his Scenes being laid in *Athens*, he frequently describes the Usages of that City. Thus in *Phormio* (b),

*Lex est, ut orba, qui sint genere proximi,
Eis nubant, & illos ducere eadem hac lex jubet.*

It's an establish'd Form in *Attick* Laws,
That the next male Kinsman without Demurr
Must be t' an Orphan Girl in Wedlock join'd.

In the same Comedy (c), he expressly mentions the five *Mine* given by Men of the first Quality,

*Esi mihi facta injuria est, verumtamen
Potius quam lites sceler, aut quam te audiam
Eisdem ut cognata si sit, id quod lex jubet
Dorem dare, abdace hanc, minas quinque accipe.*

Tho' I've been herein bubbled, here's the Sum,
Five mine, as the Law enjoyns, and take her
As my Kinswoman ; this I'll rather do
Than sacrifice my Patience to your Talk,
Or enter once the Clutches of the Law.

It may be observ'd farther, that afterwards, when Money became more plentiful, the Relations of these Virgins encreas'd their Dowries ; for we are told by *Eustathius* (d), that the *Pericles* gave ten mine, and Men of inferior Quality without doubt rais'd their Contributions proportionably. When Virgins had no Relations to provide for them, and were descended from Men that had been serviceable to their Country, it was common for the State to take care of them : A remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Aristides*'s two Daughters, to each of which the City gave three Hundred Drachms for her Portion (e) : Nor is it to be wonder'd (saith my Author) that the *Athenians* should make Provision for those that liv'd in their City, when hearing that the Grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* (a famous Patriot that oppos'd *Pisistratus*'s Sons) was in a low Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and like to want an Husband, because without a Portion ; they sent for her to *Athens*, marry'd her to

(a) Demosthenes Orat. ad Macartatum de Hagnana hereditate. (b) Act. I. Sc. II. (c) Act. II. Sc. III. (d) *Ibid.* p. (e) Plutarchus Aristide.

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a Person of great Quality, and gave her a Farm belonging to the City for a Dowry. Indeed however generous the Love of the more ancient *Athenians* was, their Successors commonly made Money the chief Tye of their Affections; and the later *Spartans* were of the same Humor even whilst the Laws of *Lycurgus* were still in being; for we find that, whilst *Lysander* was in a flourishing Condition, and pass'd for a wealthy Man, several Persons engag'd themselves to his Daughters, who, seeing afterwards how poor and honest he dy'd, broke off their Contract: 'Tis true the *Spartans* punish'd them severely for their Perfidiousness, but that seems done rather out of respect to *Lysander's* Memory (a), than to their ancient Constitution, which, as soon as Riches began to be possess'd and admir'd at *Sparta*, seems to have been laid asleep. The *Grecians* indeed, notwithstanding the Prohibition of some of their Laws, were generally Lovers of Money, and seem to have match'd rather for the sake of that, than other more commendable Qualifications. Nor was this a late Corruption, but entertain'd even in the primitive Times; for we find *Andromache* call'd by *Homer* (b) πολύδωρος, i. e. according to *Eustathius*, πολυπρεπικος, possess'd of a large Dowry; and before the Use of Money was common, Virgins increas'd their Husband's Estates, by adding Sheep and Oxen to their Flocks and Herds, wherein the Riches of those Ages chiefly consisted; whence (as the same Author observes) they are sometimes honour'd with the Epithet of ἀλφειόκοιαι. And from the Expences Fathers were at on this account came the Proverb,

Παῖς μοι τρίτοβρύς ἐν, μὴ τρίτοβρύα.

Which is nothing but a Father's Wish, that his Children might rather be Boys than Girls. As to the Quantity of Dowries, nothing can be determin'd, the Humors of Persons, and their particular Exigences, being the Laws they were usually directed by in such Cases; only it may be observ'd, that in *Crete* Sisters were put off with half the Share of their Brothers (c). The Dowry was nam'd προῖξ, sometimes μέλιν, ὅθεν το μελίωσεν ὁ ἄνδρα, or ἱδνα, ἡ ἱδνα, ὅθεν τὸ ἱδνα, as design'd to procure the Favour and good Will of the Person they were given to, sometimes φέρν from φέρω, because brought by the Wife to her Husband. Some of the same Names are us'd for the Man's Dowry or Portion, as *Eustathius* has observ'd. When the Wife had a Dowry, it was commonly expected her Husband should make her a Settlement to be a Maintenance for her: in case he should happen to be parted from her by Death, or Divorce. This was usually an House or Land, and was anciently call'd ἀποτίμημα (d), being a Return equivalent to the Dowry; afterwards it was frequently term'd ἀντιφέρν, i. e. a Recompence for her Dowry, or ἀποδόλον from ἀποδόλλειν, because it was ἀποδοῦν τῇ φέρνῃ, given instead of her Dowry. But where no such

(a) *Putarchus* *Lysandro*. (b) *Ilad.* 7. (c) *Alexander ab Alex. Gen. Dier.* lib IV. cap. VIII. (d) *Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Pollux.*

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Security was given, Husbands that divorc'd their Wives were oblig'd to return their Dowry. The same Obligation reach'd their Heirs upon refusal to maintain the Wives of those, whose Estates they inherited: Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer*, having suffer'd many Affronts, and sustain'd great Losses by his Mother *Penelope's* Gallants, yet thinks it not prudent to dismiss her to her Father *Icarus*, because that could not be done without returning her Portion (a),

Καὶ δὲ τί μὲ πῶς ἀποδῶναι
Ἰσάελ, αἶν' αὐτὸς ἐκὼν ἐν μητέρα πέμψω.

I could not now repay so great a Sum
To the old Man, should I dismiss her Home
Against her Will.

Which Words seem to intimate farther, that if the Woman departed of her own accord, the fore-mention'd Obligation became void. Yet, in case the Woman departed from her Husband in a manner which was allow'd by the Laws, her Dowry was restor'd to her. This we find to have been the practice at *Athens*.

In the same City it was the Custom, when any Man's Estate was confiscated, that the Wife's Dowry should first be assign'd to her.

In the same City it was decreed, That he who did not restore to his Wife, when divorc'd, her Dowry, should pay Nine *Oboli* every Month whilst it was detain'd for Interest. If this was neglected, an Action, term'd *οὔσι δίκην*, was preferr'd against him in the *Odeum* by the Woman's (*ἐπιτροχός*) Guardian (b). This is to be understood of the Dowries of those of the lowest class of Citizens, to whom, as hath been before observ'd, *Solon* allotted an Hundred and Fifty *Drachma*: For it being the custom for one *μυρ*, which is equivalent to an Hundred *Drachma*, to bring in an Interest of Six *Oboli* every Month, the Interest of an Hundred and Fifty *Drachma*, must amount to Nine *Oboli*.

Hence the Payment of the Dowry was also attested by sufficient Witnesses, and also by a written Instrument call'd *περικα*. If these could not be produc'd, the Husband was not oblig'd to allow his Wife a separate Maintenance. If the Woman deceas'd without Children, her Dowry was repay'd to the Person by whom she had been endow'd (c). For the Dowry was intended as a Maintenance to the Children, and therefore when the Woman's Sons came to be of Age, they enjoy'd their Mother's Dowry whilst she was living, only allowing her a competent Maintenance (d). What other Things Wives brought to their Husbands above their Portions, were call'd *ἐπιπροσέτιμα*, *ἐπιπροσέτιμα*, *ἐπιπροσέτιμα*, and by later Greeks *ἐξέπρετα*.

Before Men marry'd, 'twas customary to provide themselves an House to settle in; to which practice *Hesiod's* Advice is an Allusion,

(a) *Odyss. C. v. 132.* (b) *Demosthenes in Nearam.* (c) *Conf. Iliad Orat. de*
Varied: Pyrrhi. (d) *Demosthenes in Phanippum, & in Stephanum Tellem.*

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Οἶκον μὲν πρῶτιστά, γυναῖκά τε (a),

First see you have a Settlement, and Wife.

The Woman in *Theocritus* asks her Lover, whether he was making an House ready for her.

Τεύχεα μοι θαλάμῳ, τεύχεα καὶ δώμῳ, καὶ αἰνὰς;

What? are you furnishing an House! have you
Provided Beds?

To which he replies,

Τεύχω σοι θαλάμους.

Beds I procure, don't fear.

Protesilaus in *Homer*, being call'd to the *Trojan War* soon after his Marriage, is said to have left δῶμον ἡμιτελῆ, his House half finish'd (b),

Τὸ δ' ἐν ἀμφιδρυφῇ ἀλοχῇ θυλάκι ἐλάσσει,
καὶ δῶμος ἡμιτελής.

At *Phylace* he left behind his Spouse

There to lament in an half finish'd House.

Some indeed will have οἶκος to be meant of his Family, which is call'd ἡμιτελής, because he left it before he had any Children (c). The same Ambiguity is found in *Valerius Flaccus*, who has thus imitated *Homer* (d),

Conjux miseranda Caico
Linguitur, & primo domus imperfecta cubili.

Nigh where *Caicus* in clear Streams doth glide
His solitary House and Wife abide,
Unblest with th' Offspring of the bridal Night,
Who might solace the Thoughts, the pensive Mind delight,

Caullus has express'd the same Thought thus (e),

Conjugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore
Protesilaëam Laodamia domum

(a) *Epp.* 6. 23. vide *Furneb.* Adv. lib. XXI. (b) *Iliad.* 6. v. 700. (c) *Schol.* *antes veteris loc. cit.* (d) *Lib.* VI. (e) *Epigram.* ad *Mellium*.

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*Inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro
Hostia caelestes pacificasset veros.*

As fair *Laodamia* once did come,
Inflam'd with Passion, to th' unfinish'd Home
Of her dear Lord, before the Sacrifice
Had e're appeas'd the heav'nly Deities,

But the former Sense seems more agreeable to the way of Speaking in those Times, it being then the constant Custom to build an House before Marriage. Hence Women, whose Husbands dy'd soon after Marriage, are said to be left *Widows in a new built House*; as the Greek Scholiast observes upon that Verse of *Homer* (a),

Χηρῶσας δὲ γυναῖκα μυχῷ θαλάμοιο νέστοι.

The *Athenian* Virgins were presented to *Diana* before it was lawful for them to marry: This Ceremony was perform'd at *Brauron*, an *Athenian* Borough; it was call'd *ἀρχαία*, the Virgins themselves *ἄρχαι*, and the Action *ἀρχαία*, the Custom being instituted to appease the Goddess, who had been incens'd against some of the *Athenians* for killing a *Bear*, the Story whereof is describ'd at large in one of the precedent Books (b). Another Custom there was for Virgins, when they became marriageable, to present certain Baskets full of little Curiosities to *Diana*, to gain Leave to depart out of her Train (Virgins being look'd on as that Goddess's Peculiar) and change their State of Life: To which Custom *Theocritus* has this Allusion (c),

Ἦνδ' ἀτὰρ ὑπέκλειο Κανφορέα ἄμμιυ Ἀναξο
Ἀλκας ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδος.

Anaxo *Eubul's* Daughter full of Love,
Came to me with a Basket for *Diana's* Grove.

The Action was *κανφορεῖν*, and the Virgins *κανφορέα*, from the Baskets they carry'd. The *Baotians* and *Loerians* had a Custom for Persons of both Sexes before their Nuptials to offer Sacrifice to *Eucelia*, who had an Image and Altar in their Market-place: This *Eucelia* some will have to be the Daughter of *Mavarius*, and Sister of *Patroclus*; others rather think her the same with *Diana* (d); 'tis not improbable that *Diana* receiv'd this Surname from *Patroclus's* Sister, or that she was worship'd by the Name of *Diana Eucelia*; for, *Diana* being the Goddess of Virginity, 'tis not to be wonder'd, that one honour'd for the Preservation of her Virginity, should be worship'd under her Name; since 'twas common to attribute to those, that

(a) *Iliad*, l. v. 36. (b) *Lib. II. cap. XX. in Braurōni.* (c) *Idyll, C. v. 66.* (d) *Symonides, Aristide.*

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were first eminent for any sort of Virtue, or excellent Quality, the Actions of all that afterwards imitated them. Hence we have several *Jupiter's*, *Minerva's*, *Bacchus's*, *Hercules's*, &c. the famous Exploits of many Persons distant as well in Time, as Place, being ascrib'd to one Hero. To return, we find *Diana* concern'd in the preparatory Solemnities before all Marriages, for a marry'd Life being her Aversion, 'twas thought requisite for all that enter'd upon it, to ask her Pardon for dissenting from her. This was done by Prayers, and several sorts of Sacrifices, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides*, pretending he was going to match *Iphigenia* with *Achilles*, speaks thus to *Clytemnestra* (a),

Εκτιμῶ πᾶσα δωμάτων πατρὸς μίτα,
Ὡς χερσὶς παύσειν νύτρεπισμῶναι,
Προχῦται τε βάλλειν πῦρ καθάρσιον ἐν χερσὶν,
Μόχοι τε, πρὸ γάμων δὲ θεᾷ πιστὴν χερσὶν
Ἀρτιμίδι, μέλανος αἵματος φουσμήματα.

Send *Iphigenia* quickly forth with me,
Hymen is now propitious, all Things wait
To grace the solemn Gladness of this Day,
The Holy-water's ready, with the Cakes
To cast upon the Fire, the Calves are brought,
Whose Blood in grateful Vapours must arise
T' atone the Breach of chaste *Diana's* Rites.

F. A.

These were call'd γαμήλιοι, εὐχαὶ, προγάμια, προτέλαιοι εὐχαὶ, or προτέλεια, for τέλος and γάμος are Terms of the same Signification (b), the former denoting Marriage either as a general Name for all sorts of Rites and Ceremonies; or (as some say) because the longing Expectations of marry'd Persons are thereby consummated, and brought to an End; or because Persons, that are marry'd, become complete and perfect Men, and renounce all the Customs and Desires of Childhood, whence γῆμαι, to marry, is term'd τελειωθῆναι, to be made perfect (c); marry'd Persons are call'd τέλειοι (d), and are said to be ἐν βίῳ τελείῳ. The same Epithet is commonly given to the Gods, that had the Care of Marriage, whence we read of *Jupiter* τέλειος, *Juno* τέλεια (e), &c. These Gods were likewise render'd propitious before the Nuptials, and the Sacrifices with other Devotions offer'd to them were all known by the same Names with those offer'd to *Diana*; *Juno's* were call'd (beside their general Name) *Ηεγτέλεια* from her own Name, which in Greek is *Hex*. Several other Deities had their Share in these Honours, *Minerva* surnam'd παρθένος, the *Virgin*, had a peculiar Title to them at *Athens* upon the same account they were paid to *Diana*, and 'twas not permitted a Virgin to marry, till she had paid her

(a) *Epigen* in *Aulid.* 1110. (b) *Eustathius* in *Iliad* c. (c) *Eustathius* in *Iliad* μ. (d) *Bisetus* in *Aristoph. Thesmophor.* (e) *Suidas*, aliique complores.

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Devotion to this Goddess's Temple in the Cittadel (a). Venus likewise, and all the rest of the γαμήλιοι θεοί, Gods superintending Marriage, were invoc'd (b). The Lacedæmonians had a very ancient Statue of Ἀφροδίτη Ηγε, i. e. Venus Juno, to which all Mothers sacrific'd, when their Daughters were marry'd (c). The most ancient Athenians paid the same Honour to Heaven and Earth, which were believ'd to have a particular Concern in Marriages, the latter of these being render'd fruitful by the benign Influences of the former, and therefore a fit Emblem of Marriage (d). The Fates, and Graces, being thought first to joyn, and then preserve the Tye of Love, were Partakers of the like Respect (e); and 'tis probable that several other Deities at different Places, and for different Reasons claim'd a Share therein. The Day, wherein this Ceremony was perform'd, was usually that which immediately went before the Marriage (f); 'tis commonly call'd γαμήλια, κερῶτις (g) from the Custom they had of shaving themselves on this Occasion (h), and presenting their Hair to some of the fore-mention'd Deities, or other Gods, to whom they had particular Obligations. Pollux (i) mentions some, who offer'd their Hair to Diana, and the fatal Sisters. At Træzen the Virgins were oblig'd to consecrate their Hair to Hippolytus, the Son of Theseus, who died for his Chastity, before they enter'd into Marriage-bonds (k). The Megarensian Virgins offer'd their Hair with Libations at the Monument of Iphinoë, Daughter of Alcibiou, who died a Virgin; the Delians to Hecaterge and Opis (l); the Argians and Athenians (to trouble you with no more Instances) to Minerva: Statius has mention'd this Ceremony (m), speaking of that Goddess's Temple,

— Hic more parentum
Iasides, thalamis ubi casta adolesceret etas,
Virgineus libare comas, primosque solebant
Exulare soros.

When maiden Blushes could claim no Pretence,
And vig'rous Age had sully'd Innocence,
As anciently, the Argives hither came
To vent their Passion, and their Love proclaim,
They paid Diana then their Virgin Hair
To excuse the first Embraces of their Dear.

J. A.

But these Names (γαμήλια and κερῶτις) were at Athens peculiar to one Day of the Solemnity call'd Απαύρια, wherein Fathers had their Children enter'd into the publick Register, at which Time they offer'd Sacrifices for their Prosperity, with a particular Respect

(a) Suidas &c. (b) Etymologici Auctor., &c. (c) Pausanias Laconicus. (d) Proclus in Timæum Platonis Comment. V. (e) Pollux lib. III. cap. III. Etymologici Auctor. γαμήλι. (f) Hesychius (g) Etymologici Auctor. (h) Pollux loc. cit. &c. (i) Onomast. lib. III. cap. III. (k) Lucianus de Dea Syria. (l) Pausanias Atticus. (m) Thebaid. II.

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to their Marriages, and commonly shav'd off some of their Hair to be dedicated to some of the Deities, especially her to whose Honour that Festival was celebrated. But tho' the Time of presenting their Hair might not be constantly the same, yet the Custom it self seems to have been universally observ'd not only by Women but Men, who rarely fail'd of performing this Ceremony upon their Arrival to Years of Maturity. Some of their Locks were carefully preserv'd for this Use, and therefore when *Penibent* in *Euripides* threatens *Bacchus* to shave his Hair, the young God tells him it would be an impious Action, because he design'd it for an Offering to some Deity (a).

Ἦδε δὲ πλόκαμος, πλὴν δὲ δ' αὐτῇ τείρου.

(This Lock is sacred, this I do preserve
As some choice votive Off'ring for the God.)

The Hair was call'd *πλόκαμος θεοπλήνης*, because presented to a God, as an Acknowledgment of his Care in their Education. The Deity thus honour'd was commonly *Apollo*, as *Plutarch* reports, when he tells us, that *Theseus*, according to the Custom of the Grecian Youth, took a Journey to *Delphi* to offer the First-fruits of his Hair to the God of that Place (b). But this could not concern the poorer sort, to whom such Journeys would have been too expensive, nor were those of better Quality under any strict Obligation to pay this Honour to *Apollo*, it being not unusual to do it to other Gods, such especially as were thought to have protected their Infancy from Danger, and preserv'd them to Manhood. Instances are needless in a Thing so well known, only it may be necessary to observe, that the Deities of Rivers were commonly thought to have Title to this Respect, which Concept seems to have proceeded from the Opinion of some Philosophers, who thought all Things were first produc'd out of Water, and still nourish'd, and render'd fruitful by it, whence the Poets took Occasion to give the Epithet *νεγρεβος* to watery Deities, as well as *Apollo*, those being no less instrumental in the Growth and Encrease of living Creatures than the Sun, whose Influences without Moisture can contribute nothing to the Production, or Preservation of Life: Hence both were look'd on as deserving their Returns of Gratitude for the first Gift, as well as Continuance of Life (c). I shall only trouble you with the following Example of Hair presented to Rivers, whereby what I have said concerning the Reason of this Custom will be confirm'd: for *Achilles*'s preserving his Hair as a Present to *Sperchius* on Condition he should return home in safety, and afterwards shaving it when he found the Fates had decreed that he should be slain before *Troy*, plainly shew that they us'd to preserve their Hair to the Gods, as a grate-

(a) *Boeth.* v. 524. (b) *Theseus.* (c) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* v. ubi hanc rem satis enarrat.

Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, concerning the Marriage of their Daughter Iphigenia,

ΚΑΤ. Πρωτεύει δ' ἡδὴ παῖδες ἑορταῖας θεῶν;

ΑΓΑ. Μάλλω γ', ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ καθίσταμεν τύχην.

ΚΑΤ. Καί ποτα δαίμονες πῶς γάμος εὐόσσει;

ΑΓΑ. Θύσας γε δούμας, ἀπὸς μὲν ἑχέλιον θύσας θύοις (α).

CLY. Well, have you kill'd the Victims for the Goddesses;
My Daughter's Wedding to initiate?

AGA. I'll see that done, for that is my Design:

CLY. And then the Wedding-dinner? AGA. That we'll have,
When to the Gods the Victims offer'd are,

F. A.

When the Victim was open'd, the Gall was taken out, and thrown behind the Altar (b), as being the Seat of Anger and Malice, and therefore the Aversion of all the Deities who had the Care of Love, as well as those who became their Votaries. The Entrails were carefully inspected by Soothsayers, and if any unlucky Omen presented it self, the former Contrast was dissolv'd as displeasing to the Gods, and the Nuptials prevented. The same happen'd upon the appearing of any ill-boding Omen without the Victim; thus we find in *Achilles Tatius* that *Elitophon's* design'd Marriage with *Calligona* was hinder'd by an Eagle, that snatch'd a Piece of the Sacrifice from the Altar (c). The most fortunate Omen, which could appear was a Pair of Turtles, because of the inviolable Affection those Birds are said to have for each other. The same may be observ'd of *κορώνες*, which were thought to promise long Life, or Happiness, by reason of the Length of their Lives which is proverbially remarkable, and the Perpetuity of their Love, for when one of the Mates is dead, the other remains solitary ever after (d); for which reason, the Appearance of those Birds single boded Separation, or Sorrow to the marry'd Couple, whence (as we are told by *Horapollo*) it was customary at Nuptials to sing *Κῆρ ἐκλήγει κορώνων*, whereby the Maids were put in mind to watch that none of these Birds coming single should disturb the Solemnity; or perhaps, it might be done to avert the pernicious Influences of that unlucky Omen, if it happen'd to appear. Another Remedy against evil Omens was this, they wrote over their House-doors ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ, LET NO EVIL ENTER. To this Sentence they sometimes joyn'd the Master of the House's Name, as appears from a new-marry'd Person, who wrote thus upon his House,

Ο ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΣ
ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΕΙ ΜΗΔΕΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΩ ΚΑΚΟΝ.

(α) *Eurip. d. Iphigen. in Aulid. v. 718.* (b) *Callus Rhodiginus lib. XXVIII. cap. XXI. Plutarchus d. conjugal. praecept.* (c) *Lib. II.* (d) *Alexand. ab Alex.*

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I. e. Here dwells Hercules, the victorious Son of Jupiter, Let no evil enter
 This gave occasion to *Diogenes's* Jest, for seeing upon the Door of a
 vicious Fellow the fore-mention'd Prayer, *Then* (said he) *let not the*
Master of the House enter (a).

The Bride-groom's Garments were all dy'd, as *Suidas* (b) has ob-
 serv'd out of *Aristophanes*. However that be, both the marry'd
 Persons, and all their Attendants were richly adorn'd, according to
 their Quality;

Σοὶ ὦ γάμος χρίδν λῦ, ἴνα καὶ καλὰ ἔαυτῶν
Εἰμὲν ἐννύδα, τὰ ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ σ' αἶψαν.

The Time was nigh completed, when a Bride
 You was to be, and richly dress'd in Cloaths,
 With your Attendants on that solemn Time.

They were likewise deck'd with Garlands of various Herbs and
 Flowers; whence *Clytemnestra* in *Euripides* speaks thus to *Achilles*
 about her Daughter *Iphigenia* (c),

Αἶψ' ἀμύμων, ὦ θεῶν ἄδ', ἤν' ἔμην δασυπέπλη,
Τῇ τε λυχέειν δ' αὐτῇ σῶ, μάτλη μί, ἀλλ' ὅμως
Σοὶ κατασέλασ' ἔγ' αὖ νιν ἦγον ὡς γαμειδύλῳ.

Thou darling Offspring of a Goddess; help,
 Pity, redress, avenge my woful Loss
 In my dear Child, thy Wife, but oh! in vain,
 Tho' I had crown'd her to be wedded to thee.

F. A.

The Herbs were usually such as some way or other signify'd the Af-
 fairs of Marriage, as those sacred to *Venus*, or (which are mention'd
 by the Scholiast (d) upon *Aristophanes*) *στρυμύκειον, μήκρον, ἀήσαμον*,
 &c. Cakes made of *Sesame* were likewise given at Marriages, that
 Herb being *πολυχόρος*, remarkable for it's Fruitfulness, according
 to the same Author. The *Boeotians* us'd Garlands of wild *Asparagus*
 which is full of Prickles but bears excellent Fruit, and therefore was
 thought to resemble the Bride, who had given her Lover some trou-
 ble in courting her, and gaining her Affections which she recompens'd
 afterwards by the Pleasantness of her Conversation. The House
 where the Nuptials were celebrated, was likewise deck'd with Gar-
 lands: A Pestil was ty'd upon the Door, and a Maid carry'd a Sieve
 (e), the Bride her self bearing *ἐρύκετον, ἐρύκετρον, or ἐρύκντρον*
 (f) an earthen Vessel, wherein Barley was parch'd, to signify her
 Obligation to attend the Business of her Family.

(a) *Diogenes Laertius* in *Diogene*. (b) *V. Bar.* (c) *Iphigen. in Aulid* 763.
 (d) *Pacc.* (e) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. III. (f) *Idem* lib. I. cap. XII. *Hesychius*.

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The Bride was usually conducted in a Chariot from her Father's House to her Husband's in the Evening (a); that Time being chosen to conceal her Blushes. Thus we find in Catullus's *Epithalamium*:

Vesper adeſt, juvenes conſurgite, veſper Olympo
Expeſtata diu vix tandem lumina tollis:
Surgere jam tempus, jam pingues linquere menſas:
Jam veniet virgo, jam dicetur Hymeneus.

She was plac'd in the Middle, her Husband ſitting on one Side, and one of his moſt intimate Friends on the other, who for that reaſon was call'd *παρθένης*. This Cuſtom was ſo frequent, that, when the Bride went to her Husband's Houſe on foot, the Perſon, who accompany'd her, retain'd the ſame Name. The ſame was call'd *νυμφότης*, *νυμφόριος*, and *νυμφόριος* (b), tho' this is more commonly uſ'd in the feminine Gender, and ſignifies the Woman that waited upon the Bride, ſometimes call'd *νυμφότρια*. When the bridegroom had been marry'd before, he was not permitted to fetch the Bride from her Father's Houſe, but that Care was committed to one of his Friends, who was term'd *νυμφαγωγός* (c), or *νυμφοςάγωγος*, which Words are likewiſe taken for the Perſon that aſſiſted in making up the Match, and managing the Concerns which related to the Marriage, who, if Women, were call'd *νυμφαγωγίς*, *νυμφαγωγίς*, &c. One Thing farther may be obſerv'd in the Bride's Paſſage to her Husband's Houſe, viz. That Torches were carry'd before her, as appears from the Meſſenger in Euripides, who ſays he call'd to mind the Time when he bore Torches before Menelaus and Helena (d),

Νῦν ἀναμνήσας τὸν ἀνδρῶν πάλιν,
καὶ λαμπρῶν μεμνήμεθ', ἅς, τετερόβης
ἵπποις τευχάζων, παρέβρον σὺ δ' ἐν Νίφει
ἔω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν δῶμ' ἔκλεπες ὄλβου.

I call to mind as yesterday the Pomp
Of your Proceſſion on the Wedding-day;
How you were carry'd in a Coach and Four,
While I with Torches blazing in the Air
Drove fore-moſt on from your dear Parent's Houſe;
That happy Nurſry of your tender Years.

These Torches were uſually carry'd by Servants, as appears from the following Words of Heſiod (e)

Ἦλθε δ' ἀπ' αἰδομένην δαΐδων δάλας ἐμύχαζε
Χερσὶν ἐνὶ δούλων.

(a) Suidas v. Ζεύς. Eustathius illud. x. p. 765. (b) Hesychius v. Νυμφόριος. (c) Hesychius, vide Pollucis Onomast. lib. III. item Suidam, Phlegonem ceteroque Lexicographos. (d) Helen. v. 728. (e) Scut. Herculis. v. 275.

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The *Servants* then did flaming Torches bear,
Which darted forth a quiv'ring Light from far.

They were sometimes attended with Singers and Dancers, as *Homer* acquaints us in his Description of *Achilles's* Shield (a),

Εν δὲ δῶο ποίησε πόλεις μέγαν ἄνδρῶν
Καλὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει γάμοι τ' ἔσαν, εἰλαπίναιτε,
Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων, δαΐδων θαλαμῶν ἄρσας,
Ἡγίσιον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολλὰς δ' ὑμῶναιος ὄρεσας
Κῦρσι δ' ὀρχήσασθαι ἐδίδον ἐν δ' ἄρ' αὖ τοῖσιν
Αὐλοῖ, φέρεμιν γὰρ τε βολὴν ἔχον αἱ δ' ἡγῶναι
Ἰσάμεναι δαΐματα ἐν δὲ προδύοισιν ἐλάτῃ.

With nice and curious *Tombes* next appear
Two stately Cities; in one Nuptials are,
Here polish'd Art with Nature doth agree
In framing Figures of Festivity,
Feasts, Revels, Balls the Sculpture represents
With various sorts of *Musick*-instruments,
Lamps shine with Brightness on the solemn State,
While the brisk *Bride-groom* leads his charming *Mat,*
Measures young Men observe with active Feet,
While the Pomp do's advance along the Street,
The *Musick* plays, *Hymen, Hymen,* they cry,
While aged Matrons stand admiring by.

The Song they were entertain'd with in their Passage, was call'd *ἑλματιον μέλος*, from *ἑλμα*, the *Coach* they rode in, the *Axle-tree* whereof they burnt, when arriv'd at their Journey's End; thereby signifying, that the Bride was never to return to her Father's House. The *Rhodians* had a peculiar Custom of sending for the Bride by a publick *Cryer*. When the *Bride-groom* enter'd the House with his Bride, it was customary to pour upon their Heads *Figs*, and divers other sorts of Fruits, as an Omen of their future Plenty (b). The Day of the Bride's Departure from her Father was celebrated in the manner of a Festival, and call'd *Προμνησθῆναι* (c). It seems to have been observ'd at her Father's House before she departed, being distinct from the nuptial Solemnity, which was kept at the *Bride-groom's* House, and began at Evening, the usual Time of the Bride's Arrival there.

The Bride, being come to the *Bride-groom's* House, was entertain'd with a sumptuous Banquet, call'd by the same Name with the Marriage, viz. *γάμος*, as *Pollux* hath observ'd from the following Verse in *Homer*,

(a) *Iliad* c. 18. v. 496. (b) *Aristophanis Scholiast* in *Plutium* p. 78. (c) *Harpocration* *Suidas*.

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Εἰλαπίνῃ, ἢ γάμος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ τὰδε γ' ἔστιν.

A shot-free Banquet, or a Marriage-feast,
Not such as is by Contribution made.

Whence δαίειν γάμον is to make a nuptial Entertainment: Thus
Homer (a),

— Δαίσειν δὲ γάμον μὲ Μυρμιδόνεσσιν.

To make a Marriage-feast for th' Myrmidons.

The same Poet has this Expression in other Places (b),

— Δαίνωτα γάμον πολλοῖσιν ἔτησιν.

Making a nuptial Banquet for his Friends.

What was the Design of this Entertainment we learn from *Athena-*
us, (who to pass by the Joy and Mirth it was intended to promote)
tells us, there were two Reasons for it: The first was the Respect
due to the Gods of Marriage, who were invoc'd before the Feast,
and had no small Share in it, and 'tis thought by some that most
of the *Grecian* Festivals were first observ'd on this Ground. The
second End of this Entertainment was, that the Marriage might be
made publick (c), for all the Relations of the marry'd Couple were
invited as Witnesses of their Marriage, and to rejoyce with them:
Whence the young Man in *Terence* concludes, the Marriage he
there speaks of could not be presently consummated, because
Time was requir'd to invite Friends, and to make necessary Pre-
parations (d),

Ducenda est uxor, ut ais; concedo tibi:

Spatium quidem apparandis nuptiis.

Vocandi, sacrificandi dabitur paululum.

That he's oblig'd to marry her I grant,

But then some Time before must be allow'd

For the procuring of all Requisites;

His Friends must be invited to the Wedding,

And he address the Gods with Sacrifice:

H. H.

During the Solemnity, the Company diverted themselves, and
honour'd the Gods of Marriage with Musick and Dances; we seldom
read of a Marriage without them. All the Songs were call'd ὕμν-
αιος, or ὕμνους. Thus both *Homer* and *Hesiod*,

(a) *Iliad.* τ. (b) *Odys.* δ. (c) *Athenaeus* lib. V. cap. I. initio. (d) *Phorm.*
Act. IV. Sc. IV.

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Πολὺς δ' ὑμναῖος ὄργαζεν.

Many Hymens sung.

The Romans us'd the same Term (a).

Hymenaeum, turbas, lampadas, tibicines.

Your Hymens, Hubbubs, Flambeaus, and Scrapers.

This Name was taken from the frequent Invocations of *Hymen*, or *Hymeneus*, the God of Marriage, always made in these Songs; as in this Verse of *Catullus*,

Io Hymen, Hymenae Hymen ades, o Hymenae.

This *Hymeneus*, we are told, was an *Argian*, whom (b) they receiv'd into the Number of their Gods, and thus remember'd for a generous Action in delivering certain *Asbenian* Virgins from the Lust and Cruelty of some *Pelasgians*. Others derive the Word *ὑμνῶν* *vaiew*, from the marry'd Couple's inhabiting together; others, lastly from *ὑμῶν* which signifies the *membrana virginalis*.

About the Time of their Entertainment there were several significant Ceremonies relating some way, or other to the State of Marriage. One at *Asbens* was this: There came in a Boy cover'd with Thorn-boughs and Acorns, carrying a Basket full of Bread, and singing *Εὔρω καὶ δέρον ἀμεινον*, i.e. *I have left the worse, and found the better*: Which Saying was us'd at one of their Festivals, when they commemorated their Change of Diet from Acorns to Corn but seems at this time to have signify'd also the Happiness which the marry'd Persons were entering upon, and that Marriage was preferable to a single Life. The *Lacedaemonians* had a Custom of carrying about a sort of Cakes made in various Figures, and call'd *κνέφες*, whilst they danc'd and commended the Bride in Songs (c).

When the Dances were ended, the marry'd Couple were conducted to the Marriage-bed which was, call'd in *Latin* *lectus genialis*, in *Greek* *κλῆν νυμφίδιον*, or *γαμικὴ*, or (when the Persons were first marry'd, and in their youth) *κνέφιδιον λεγος*. It was richly adorn'd as the Quality of the Person would bear; The Covering was usually of Purple, whence the Poet (d),

Purpureumve tuum consternens veste cubile.

Spreading a Garment o'er thy purple Bed.

Apollonius speaks of the same Colour, and of Flowers wherewith they us'd to straw it (e),

(a) *Terentius Adelph.* (b) *Homeri Scholiastes* *Ilad.* s. v. 593. (c) *Alphenus* *lib. X.* (d) *De nuptiis Pelei & Thetidis* v. 1402. (e) *Argon.* *lib. v.* 1141.

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Ενθα τὸτ' ἐσόρεσαν λίκτρον μέγα τοῖοδ' ὕπερθε
 Χρύσειον αἰγλήεν κῶας βάλλον, ὅρα πέλοιτο
 Τιμήεις τε γάμος καὶ αἰδοῖμος· ἄνδρα δὲ σφι
 Νύμφαι ἀμεργόμεναι κἀκοῖς ἐν ποικίλῃ κλῆποις
 Εσφόρεον. —————

Then richly they adorn'd the Marriage-bed,
 A costly purple Skin they o'er it spread,
 And that the Nuptials they might celebrate
 With more magnificent and pompous State,
 The beauteous Nymphs brought in their snowy Breasts
 Flowers of various Colours. —————

H. H.

In the same Room there was commonly plac'd a Side-bed call'd κλί-
 νη ὀψέως (a), ἢ τὸ ἑ παῖδα μὴ ἀδυμῆσαι, as Pollux ac-
 counts for the Custom (b). But, before they went to Bed, the
 Bride bath'd her Feet, whence Trygeus in Aristophanes (c), intending
 to marry Opora, no sooner brings her to his House, but commands
 his Servants to provide a Vessel of Water, then to make ready the
 Bed,

Ἄλλ' εἰσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν,
 Καὶ τὸ πύελον κατὰκλυζε, καὶ δέμας ἴδως,
 Στέρουδ' ἰμοὶ καὶ τῇδε κνείδιον λίχθ'. —————

Bring home my Bride as soon as possible,
 Then wash the Vessel, and the Water warm,
 And next prepare for us the nuptial Bed.

This Water the Athenians always fetch'd from the Fountain Cal-
 lirhoe, afterwards call'd Ἐννεακρυες from nine Cisterns supply'd by
 it with Water; the Person that brought it was a Boy nearly ally'd
 to one of the marry'd Couple, whom they term'd λυτροφόρος from
 his Office (d). This being done, the Bride was lighted to Bed with
 several Torches, for a single Torch was not enough, as may be
 observ'd from the Miser in Libanius (e), that complains he could
 not light the Bride to Bed with one Torch. Round one of the
 Torches the marry'd Person's Mother ty'd her Hair-lace, which
 she took from her Head for this Use. Seneca alludes to this Cu-
 stom (f),

————— Non te duxit in thalamos parens
 Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
 Ornabit ades, nec sua latas faces
 Vittæ revinxit. —————

(a) Hesychius. (b) Lib. III. cap. III. (c) Pace. (d) Suidas, Pollux loc.
 cit. (e) Declamat. XXXVII. (f) Theb. v. 503.

Your

Your Mother did not at the Wedding wait,
Nor you into your Chamber introduce,
Nor with her Hand the bridal House adorn'd,
Nor with her Hair-lace ty'd the joyful Torch.

H. H.

The Relations of the marry'd Persons assisted in the Solemnity, and it was look'd on as no small Misfortune to be absent; the Mothers especially were assiduous in lighting Torches, when their Son's Wives enter'd the Houses. *Jocasta* in *Euripides* severely chides *Polynices* for marrying in a foreign Country, because She with the rest of his Relations and Friends, were depriv'd of their Offices at his Nuptials (a).

Σὲ δ', ὦ τέκνον, ὃ γάμοισι δὴ κλύω
Ζυγόντα, παιδοπαίδν ἀδούαν
Ξίνοισιν ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν,
Ξίνον τε κῆδος ἀμείπειν.
Ἀλασα ματρί τᾶδε,
Λαίῳ τε σὺ παλαιῷ,
Γάμων ἐπακτὰν ἄταν.
Εἰ γὰρ δ' ἔτι σοι στυγὲς ἀνῆλθα οὔς
Νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις,
Ὡς πρέπει ματρί μαχαρία,
Ἀνυμώματα δ' Ἰσμιλῶδες ἐκπιδύειν
Ἀντερόρεν χλιδάς,
Ἀνα δ' Ὀηθαίαν πόλιν.
Εἰσιγάδῃ σὰς εἰσόδους νύμφας.

But, you, my Son, not without Grief I hear,
Are join'd in Wedlock in a foreign Land,
There taste the Pleasures of the genial Bed,
And on a Stranger propagate your Kind;
This, this is Matter of most killing Grief
To me, and your good Grandfire *Laius*,
When we reflect upon those coming Ills,
That must undoubtedly attend the Match:
For neither I, as well becomes the Care
Of happy Mothers, lighted up the Torch,
And blest the Nuptials by that pious Act;
Nor old *Ismenus*, rich in rowling Streams,
Furnish'd out Water for your nuptial Washings,
Nor was the Entrance of your Bride proclaim'd
Thro' Theban Streets, but all as unconcern'd,
As when no Native do's bring home his Bride.

H. H.

(a) *Phœniss.* v. 339, in quem locum vide *Scholiastam*.

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The Bride's Mother had no less a Right to this Office, for we find *Clytemnestra*, tho' professing all due Submission to *Agamemnon*, when desir'd by him to absent her self from *Iphigenia's* Marriage, steadfastly refusing it as a Thing against all Justice, notwithstanding his Promise to perform her Part of the Ceremony (a),

ΚΛ. Ημᾶς ὃ πρὸς χερὶ τῶνικαῦτα τυγχάνει;

ΑΓ. Χάρις πρὸς Ἀργός, παρδίνος τε τιμήλει.

ΚΛ. Λιπῆσα παῖδα; τίς δ' ἀναστήσει φλόγα;

ΑΓ. Ἐγὼ παρέξω σῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πέπει.

ΚΛ. Οὐκ ὁ νόμος ἔτος, καὶ σὺ ὃ φαῦλ' ἤγῃ τάδε.

CL. Whither, mean time, shall wretched I repair?

AG. To *Argos*, let those Maids employ your Care.

CL. And leave my Child? Who then the Torch will light?

AG. That be my Care, I will perform that Rite.

CL. And is that fit, let *Agamemnon* judge.

H. H.

After a little disputing, they proceed thus,

ΑΓ. Πῖθῃ. ΚΛ. Μὰ τ' ἀνασταν Ἀργείαν θῶν.

Ἐλθὼν δ', τὰξω πρῶτον, τὰ ν. νόμοις δ' ἔγῃ.

Α χερὶ παρῆναι νυμφίοις παρδίνος.

AG. Without more Reasonings my Demands obey.

CL. By *Juno*, that o'er *Argos* bears the Sway,

Sooner wou'd wretched *Clytemnestra* bleed

Than give consent to so unjust a Deed;

Affairs abroad better my Lord become,

'Tis fit that I shou'd manage Things at home.

H. H.

The marry'd Couple being shut together in the Chamber, the Laws of *Athens* oblig'd them to eat a Quince, whereby was intimated that their first Conversation ought to be pleasing and agreeable (b). The Husband then loos'd his Wife's Girdle, whence *λευνὴ ζώνη* is to deflowr, and *γυνὴ λυσιζώνος*, a Woman who has lost her Virginity. This Girdle was not (as some seem to fancy) worn by Maids only, but us'd as well after Marriage as before, being design'd to secure the weaker Sex from the sudden Attempts of Men inflam'd with Lust, whence *Nonnus* calls it *σάβρα*, and, when he introduces the *Says* endeavouring to embrace certain Virgins, we find their Honour secur'd by it (c). The same appears farther from the Mention which Authors make of untying Women's Girdles in Child-birth, and from calling such Girls only *ἀμύττοι*, i. e. not having a Girdle, as were not arriv'd to Maturity.

(a) *Iphigen.* in *Aulid.* v. 731. (b) *Plutarchus Solone*, & in *conjugal. præcept.*

(c) *Lib. XII.* circa finem.

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At this Time the young Men and Maids stood without the Door, dancing and singing Songs call'd *ἐπιθαλάμια* from *θαλάμος*, the *Bride-chamber*, and making a great Noise by shouting and stamping with their Feet, which was term'd *κλυπία*, or *κλυπίον* (a), and design'd to drown the Maid's Cries. Lest the Women should go to her Assistance, one of the Bride-groom's Friends stood Sentinel at the Chamber-door, and from his Office was call'd *θυρωρός* (b). This Song, as likewise all the rest, was term'd *Τυφίαιος*, and consisted of the Praises of the Bride-groom and Bride, with Wishes for their Happiness, as may appear (to pass by other Instances) from *Theocritus's Epithalamium of Helena*, which begins thus,

Εν ποῦ ἄρα Σπάρτα, ξανδότειχι πάρ Μενελάω,
Παρθενικαὶ θάλλοντα κόμαις ὑκινδον ἔχουσαι,
Πρόθε νιογενεσθῶ θαλάμῳ χορὴν ἐσάσαντο,
Δώδεκα τὰι πρῆται πόλιος μέγα χρέμα Λακωνῶν,
Αἰνὰ Τρωάδῳ κατεκλῆξατο τὰν ἀγαπατῶν
Μναστήσας ἑλέαν ὁ νεώτερος Ἀρτίος υἱός·
Λείδον δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἐν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι
Ποσὶ πεπλήκτοισι, πρὶ δ' ἰαχε δῶμ' ὑμεναῖω.

At Sparta's Palace twenty beauteous Maids,
The Pride of Greece, fresh Garlands crown'd their Heads
With Hyacinth and twining Parsly drest,
Grac'd joyful Menelaus's Marriage-feast,
When lovely Helen, great in conqu'ring Charms,
Resign'd her willing Beauty to his Arms:
They danc'd around, Joy flow'd from ev'ry Tongue,
And the vast Palace sounded with the Song.

Mr. Creech.

They return'd again in the Morning, saluted the marry'd Couple, and sung *ἐπιθαλάμια ἑγερτικά*, for that was the Name of the Morning Songs, which were design'd to awake and raise the Bride-groom and Bride; as those sung the Night before were intended to dispose them to Sleep, and are on that account term'd *ἐπιθαλάμια κοιμητικά*. This Custom appears from *Theocritus's Chorus of Virgins*, who conclude the fore-cited *Epithalamium* with a Promise to return early in the Morning,

Εὐδετ' ἐς ἀλλήλων σέρον φιλότητα πνέοντες
Καὶ πόθον ἔγρεδε ὃ πρὸς αὐ, μὴ τι λῶσῃς
Νόμισθα καί μιν ἐς ὄρεσιν, ἑταῖ κα πρῶτος αἰοιδός
Ἐξ ὧν ἀς κελεύσῃσι ἀναγών εὐτεῖχα δαίμων
Τυμῶν, ὦ Τυφίαιε, γάμῳ ἐπὶ τῷδε χαρῆς.

Sleep in each other's Arms, and raise Desire,
Let ardent Breathings fan your mutual Fire,

(a) Hesychius. (b) Pollux lib. III. cap. III.

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But rise betimes, forget not, we'll return
When first the crowing Cock shall wake the Morn,
When thro' his feather'd Throat he sends his Voice:
O Hymen, Hymen, at this Feast rejoyce.

Mr. Creech.

The Solemnity lasted several Days: The Day before the Marriage was term'd *παραλία*, as preceding that whereon the Bride did *αὐλιζεῖσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge with the Bride-groom: The Marriage Day was call'd *γάμος*; the Day following, according to *Pindar*, *ἐπιόδης*, which Word signifies a Day added to any Solemnity; *Hesychius* (a) calls it *παλία*, which may, perhaps, be deriv'd from *παλιν*, because the former Day's Mirth was, as it were, repeated, whence the Romans call'd it *reposita*; unless for *παλία* we might be allow'd to read *παλαιά*, and then it would be the same with *Asbenaus's* *ἑωλὸς ἡμέρα* (b), for *ἑωλὸς* denotes any Thing that has ceas'd to be new, whence *Tully* calls a Book *ἑωλόν*, when Men's first and eager Enquiry after it is cool'd, and *Asbenaus* in another Place has oppos'd *ταῖς ἀκμαίαις γάμων ἡμέραις* to the *τῷ ἑωλῷ συμποσίαις* (c); others call the second Day *ἐπαύλια*, or *ἱπαύλια*: The third Day was term'd *ἀπαύλια*, or rather *ἀπαύλια*, because the Bride, returning to her Father's House, did *ἀπαυλιζεῖσθαι τῷ νυμφίῳ*, lodge apart from the Bride-groom, tho' some place this upon the seventh Day after Marriage; others will have it so call'd, because the Bride-groom lodg'd apart from his Bride at his Father-in-Law's House; 'tis possible both may be in the right, and that both Bride-groom and Bride might lie at her Father's House, but in different Beds. Others make *ἀπαύλια* to be the same with *ἐπαύλια*, whence a seeming Difficulty arises, since those two Words import Contraries, one seeming to denote the Bride's Lodging apart from the Bride-groom, the other *with* him; but this may be easily solv'd by applying *ἐπαύλια* to her Lodging *with* her Husband, and *ἀπαύλια* to her Departure from her Father's House (d). On the Day call'd *ἀπαύλια* (whenever that was) the Bride presented her Bride-groom with a Garment call'd *ἀπαυλητήρια*. Gifts were likewise made to the Bride and Bride-groom by the Bride's Father and Friends, call'd sometimes *ἀπαύλια*, sometimes *ἐπαύλια*: These consisted of golden Vessels, Beds, Couches, Plates, Ointment-boxes, Combs, Sandals, and all sorts of Necessaries for House-keeping, which were carry'd in great State to the House by Women, who follow'd a Person call'd *κνηφόρος* from carrying a Basket in the manner usual at Processions, before whom went a Boy in white Apparel with a Torch in his Hand. It was also customary for the Bride-groom and his Friends to give Presents to the Bride, which they call'd *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* (e), and *Hesychius* will have the third Day to be call'd *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*, because then the Bride first appear'd publicly un-

(a) Γάμος (b) Lib. III. cap. XV. (c) Lib. IV. (d) Vide *Pollucem* lib. III. cap. III. *Hesychium*, *Suidam* *Etymologicis* *Auctorem*, *Phavorinum*, &c. in *ἱπαύλια* & *ἐπαύλια* (e) *Suidas*.

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veil'd. *Suidas* tells us the Gifts were so call'd, because she was then first shewn to her Bride-groom: For the same Reason they are sometimes call'd *διδόντες*, *ἐπλήσια*, *ἀδελφάματα*, and *μεσοφθι-κτῆσια*, because the Bride-groom had then Leave to converse freely with her; for Virgins before Marriage were under strait Confinement, being rarely permitted to appear in publick, or converse with Men; and, when allow'd that Liberty, wore a Veil over their Faces; this was term'd *καλυπτεν*, or *καλύπτει*, and was not left off in the Presence of Men till this Time, whence some think the Bride was call'd *νύμφη* and *ῥύον*, i. e. *πρώτως*, *φαίνεσθαι*, that being the first Time she appear'd in a publick Company unveil'd (a): Hence the Poets speak of *Pluto's* Gifts to *Proserpina*, when she unveil'd her self, as we read in those Verses of *Euphorion* cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* (b),

Τῇ ῥά ποτε Κερνίδης δῶκεν πόρε Περσεφονείῃ
Εἰνὶ γάμοις, δὲ πρῶτον ὀπωπήσασθαι ἔμελλε,
Νυμφιδίῃ ἀνέροιο ᾧδ' ἀκλίνυσα καλύπτειν.

Pluto to Proserpine a Present gave
When first she laid aside her maiden Veil,
And at the Marriage shew'd her self uncover'd.

There is a Story of the Sophister *Hermocrates* relating to this Custom, that, having a Woman not very agreeable impos'd upon him by *Severus* the Roman Emperor, and being ask'd his *ἀνακαλυπτήσια* when she took off her Veil, he reply'd *ἐγκαλυπτήσια μὲν ἐν τοιαύτῳ λαμβάνων*, It would be more proper to make her a Present to keep her Veil on, unless her Face was more agreeable.

The Ceremonies of the *Spartan* Marriages being different from all others, I have reserv'd them for this Place, and shall set them down in *Plutarch's* own Words (c), “ When the *Spartans* had a mind “ to marry, their Courtship was a sort of Rape upon the Persons “ they had a Fancy for, and those they chose not tender and half “ Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for an “ Husband. Matters being agreed between them, the *Νυμφότεια*, “ or Woman that contriv'd and manag'd the Plot, shav'd off the “ Bride's Hair close to her Skin, dress'd her up in Man's Cloaths, “ and left her upon a Mattress; This done, in comes the Bride- “ groom in his every-day Cloaths, sober and compos'd, as having “ supp'd at his Ordinary in the common Hall, and steals as privately “ as he can, into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin “ Girdle, and takes her into his Embraces; thus having stay'd a “ short Time with her, he returns to the rest of his Comrades, with “ whom he continues to spend his Life, remaining with them as “ well by Night as by Day, unless he steals a short Visit to his Bride, “ and that could not be done without a great deal of Circumpection

(a) *Phurnutus de Natura Deorum in Neptuneo*. (b) *Phanissis*. (c) *Lycurgo* p. 48. Edit. Paris,

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"and Fear of being discover'd: Nor was she wanting (as may be suppos'd) on her Part, to use her Woman's Wit in watching the most favourable Opportunities for their Meeting, and making Appointments when Company was out of the way. In this Manner they liv'd a long Time, insomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before they saw their Faces by Day-light: The Interview, being thus difficult and rare, serv'd not only for a continual Exercise of their Temperance, and further'd very much the Ends and Intentions of Marriage, but was a means to keep their Passion still alive, which flaggs, and decays, and dies at last by too easy Access and long Continuance with the belov'd Object".

C H A P. XII.

Of their Divorces, Adulteries, Concubines, and Harlots.

THE *Grecian* Laws concerning Divorces were different; some permitted Men to put away their Wives on slight Occasions; the *Cretans* allow'd it any Man that was afraid of having too great a Number of Children; the *Athenians* likewise did it upon very small Grounds, but not without giving a Bill, wherein was contain'd the Reason of their Divorce, to be approv'd (if the Party divorc'd made an Appeal) by the chief Magistrate (a). The *Spartans*, tho' marrying without much Nicety in Choice, seldom divorc'd their Wives: For we read that *Lysander* was fin'd by the Magistrates call'd *Ephori* on that account; and tho' *Aristo*, one of their Kings, put away his Wife with the Approbation of the City, yet that seems to have been done rather out of an earnest Desire to have a Son to succeed in his Kingdom, which he could not expect by that Woman, than according to the Custom of his Country (b). But, whatever Liberty the Men took, their Wives were under a greater Restraint, for it was extremely scandalous for a Woman to depart from her Husband; Hence we find *Medea* in *Euripides* complaining of the hard Pate of her Sex, who had no Remedy against the Men's Unkindness, but were first under a Necessity of buying their Husbands with large Portions, and then to submit to their ill Usage without Hopes of Redress (c).

Πάντων δ', ὅς ἐς ἐμψυχα, καὶ γνώμῃ ἔχει,
Τυνάμεις ἰσμεν ἀδελφάτων οὐκ ἔστι
Ἀσπράτα μὲν δὲ χρημῶν ἁπλοῦν

(a) Genial. Diet. lib. IV. cap. VIII. (b) Herodotus lib. VI. cap. LXIII. (c) *Medea* v. 230.

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Πῶς πελάσαι, δευότις τε σώματος
 λαβὴν καὶ ὃ τῷ ἐτ' ἀλγίον κακόν,
 Κανὸν πῶς ἀγὼν μίγνυτο, ἢ κακὸν λαβὴν,
 ἢ χρῆσθ'· ὃ δ' ἀκλεῖς ἀπαλλαγὰς
 Γυναιξίν, ἐδ' οἷον τ' ἀνῆνασαι πόσιν.
 Of all those Creatures, to whom kinder Heaven
 Has Life and more exalted Reason giv'n,
 We Women the most wretched Fate endure;
 First Husbands we at highest Rates procure,
 Then yield our selves submissive to their Pow'r:
 But oh! the Curse, the Hazard lies in this,
 If he's unkind I chuse, there's no Redress,
 But good, or bad, I am for ever his;
 Divorces are too scandalous to Name,
 And no Law suffers us to throw off them.

H. H.

The Athenians were somewhat more favourable to Women, allowing them to leave their Husbands upon just Occasions; only they could not do it without making Appeal to the *Archon*, and presenting him a Bill of their Grievances with their own Hands: *Plutarch* (a) has a Story of *Hipparete Alcibiades's* Wife, "who (he tells us) was a virtuous Lady, and fond of her Husband, but at last, growing Impatient of the Injuries done to her Bed by his continual entertaining of Curtezans, as well Strangers as Athenians, she departed from him, and retir'd to her Brother *Callias's* House: *Alcibiades* seem'd not at all concern'd at it, living on still in his former lewd Course of Life; but the Law requiring that she should deliver to the *Archon* in Person, and not by a Proxy, the Instrument whereby she su'd for a Divorce, when in Obedience to it she presented her self before him, *Alcibiades* came in, took her away by force, and carry'd her home thro' the Forum, no Man daring to oppose him or take her from him, and she continu'd with him till her Death. Nor was this Violence to be thought a Crime, for the Law, in making her, who desires a Divorce, appear in publick, seems to design her Husband should have an Opportunity of discoursing with her, and endeavouring to retain her. Persons that divorc'd their Wives were oblig'd to return their Portions, as has been observ'd in the foregoing Chapter: if they fail'd to do that, the Athenian Laws oblig'd them to pay her nine *Oboli* a Month for Alimony, which the Woman's Guardian was impower'd to sue for at the Court kept in the *Odeum* (b). It may be observ'd, lastly, that the Terms expressing Men and Women's Separation from each other were different, Men were said *ἀποπέμπειν*, *ἀπολύειν*, *dimittere*, to dismiss their Wives, or loose them from their Obligation; but Wives, *ἀπολείπειν*, *divortere*, *discedere*, to leave, or depart from their Husbands.

(a) *Alcibiades*. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Neerum*. Vide caput præcedens.

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It was not unusual to dissolve the Marriage-tye by Consent of both Parties, and, that done, they were at liberty to dispose of themselves how they pleas'd in a second Match: An Instance hereof we find in *Plutarch*, who reports, that when *Pericles* and his Wife could not agree, and became weary of one another's Company, he parted with her, willing and consenting to it, to another Man (a). There is somewhat more remarkable in the Story of *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, who falling desperately in love with *Stratonice* his Mother in Law, marry'd her with his Father's Consent (b). The *Romans* had the same Custom, as appears from *Cato's* parting with his Wife *Marcia* to *Hortensius*, which, as *Strabo* assures us, was a Thing not unusual, but agreeable to the Practice of the old *Romans* (c), and some other Countries.

What may appear more strange, is, that it was frequent in some Parts of *Greece* to borrow one another's Wives: At *Athens*, *Socrates* lent his Wife *Xantippe* to *Alcibiades* (d), and the Laws of that City permitted Heiresses to make use of their Husband's nearest Relation, when they found him deficient. And we have the following Account of the Practice of the *Spartans* from *Plutarch* (e), "*Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Law-giver (he tells us) thought the best Expedient against Jealousie, was to allow Men the Freedom of imparting the Use of their Wives to whom they should think fit, that so they might have Children by them; this he made a very commendable piece of Liberality, laughing at those, who thought the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, as to revenge it by Murders and cruel Wars; He had a good opinion of that Man, who, being grown old, and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous, handsom young Man, that she might have a Child by him to inherit the good Qualities of such a Father, and should love this Child as tenderly, as if begotten by himself: On the other side, an honest Man, who had love for a marry'd Woman upon the account of her Modesty, and the Well-favouredness of her Children, might with good Grace beg of her Husband his Wife's Conversation, that he might have a Cyon of so goodly a Tree to transplant into his own Garden; for *Lycurgus* was perswaded that Children were not so much the Property of their Parents, as of the whole Common-wealth, and therefore, would not have them begotten by the first Comers, but by the best Men that could be found: Thus much (proceeds my Author) is certain, that, so long as these Ordinances were observed, the Women were so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the Name of Adultery meant". We are farther told by others, that Strangers, as well as Citizens of *Sparta*, were allow'd the same Freedom with their Wives, provided they were handsom Men, and likely to beget lusty and vigorous Children (f); yet we find their

(a) *Pericle*. (b) *Plutarchus Demetrio*, *Valerius Maximus* 1b. V. cap. VII. (c) *Geograph. lib. VII.* (d) *Tertullianus Apolog. cap. XXXIX.* (e) *Lycurgus* (f) *Nicolaus de moribus apud Stobaeum.*

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Kings were exempt from this Law, that the Royal Blood might be preserv'd unmixt, and the Government remain in the same lineal Descent.

Notwithstanding this Liberty, which was founded upon mutual Consent, they accounted all other Adulteries the most heinous Crimes in the World; and, whilst they kept to their ancient Laws, were wholly Strangers to them; for we are told by *Plutarch* (a), "That *Geradas*, a primitive Spartan, being ask'd by a Stranger, "What Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers? Reply'd, "There were no Adulterers in his Country: But, return'd the Stranger, Suppose there were one, and the Crime were prov'd against him, how would you punish him? He answer'd, That the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff, a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might reach over the Mountain *Taygetus*, and drink of the River *Eurotas* that runs on the other Side: The Man, surpriz'd at this, said, Why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'Tis just as possible to find an Adulterer in Sparta.

The Punishments inflict'd upon Adulterers in Greece were of divers sorts, some of which are these that follow.

To begin with the Heroick Ages: If the Rapes of Women may be allow'd room in this Place, we shall find they were reveng'd by many cruel and bloody Wars; *Herodotus* makes them to have given the first Occasion to that constant Enmity that was kept up for many Ages between Greece and Asia, and never allay'd till the latter was conquer'd and become subject to the former (b); *Lycophron* agrees with *Herodotus*, and makes the Rape of *Io* by the Phœnicians to have incens'd the Grecians against the Inhabitants of Asia, and after frequent Injuries committed, and Wars wag'd on both Sides, to have reduc'd the Asian Empire under the Dominion of the Europeans under *Alexander* of Macedonia; the Poet's Words run thus (c),

Ολοιντο ναύται πρώτα Καρνίται κυνέε,
Οἱ δ' ὅσῳ περ ταυροπάρεινον κόρη
Λέρης ἀνέειλαντο, φορτηγοὶ λύκοι,
Πλάτῃν πορεύσαι κῆρα Μεμφίτη πέτρῳ,
Εχθρας δ' αὖτις ἔσαν ἡπείρους διπλάης.

May those Phœnician Saylor's be accurst,
That *Io* did convey from *Lerna* first,
Those savage Mariners, that forc'd the Maid
To be the Partner of *Osiris*'s Bed,
And the two Empires thus embroy'd in War.

H. H.

He goes on to enumerate the continual Quarrels between the two Continents till *Alexander*'s Time. But however the Truth of this may be question'd, there being in those early Ages no Distinction of the World into Greeks and Barbarians, nor any common Affo-

(a) Loco citato. (b) Lib. I. initio. (c) *Cassandra* v. 1297.

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clation of those amongst themselves, or against the others; yet we have a remarkable Instance (to omit several others) of a long and bloody War occasion'd by *Paris's Rape of Helen*. But to bring some Instances, which may seem more pertinent to our present Design; what Sentence the Heroick Ages pass'd upon Adultery may appear, as from the Revenge of *Atreus* upon his Brother *Thyestes*, who was entertain'd at a Banquet with the Flesh of his own Son, for defiling *Aerope*, *Atreus's* Wife; and other Examples of the Cruelty of the Men of those Times against such as committed Adultery with their Wives, or other near Relations; so more clearly from the Punishments inflict'd by Laws, or Magistrates upon such Offenders, who were usually Ston'd to Death; whence *Hector* in *Homer* tells *Paris* his Crime in stealing another Man's Wife, deserves no less a Punishment than *λείψος χιτῶν*, a stone Coat, which, if he had receiv'd his Demerits, he should have put on; meaning that nothing but this Death could expiate so black an Action,

Λείψον ἔσσο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἐνὶ δ' ὄρα ἔσθρας (a).

For these your Crimes you had been ston'd to Death.

The same Punishment seems to have been frequent in more Eastern Countries, the Jews were particularly oblig'd to inflict it both on Men and Women, as appears from the express Words of their Law (b). Rich Adulterers were sometimes allow'd to redeem themselves with Money, which was call'd *μοιχάγια*, and paid to the Adulteress's Husband; whence, *Mars* being taken with *Venus*, *Homer's* Gods all agree that he must pay his Fine to *Vulcan* (c),

*Οὐκ ἀρετὰ κακὰ ἔργα, κίχλασι τοι βραδὺς ἀκνῶ
Ὡς καὶ νῦν Ἡραϊσὸς ἐὼν βραδὺς εἶλεν Ἀρηά,
Πικρὸτάτον περ ἔόντα δαῖν' οἱ Ὀλύμπῳ ἔχουσι,
Χωλὸς ἐὼν, τέχνησι πὺ καὶ μοιχάγῃ ὀφείλει.*

An ill Event do's still on Ills attend,
Not *Mars's* Swiftneſs cou'd the God defend
From limping *Vulcan's* most unerring Snare,
But in it he surpriz'd th' adul'rous Pair,
Therefore a greater Fine *Mars* ought to pay.

H. H.

Nor would *Vulcan* consent to set his Prisoner at liberty, till *Nepheune* had engag'd for the Payment of it (d),

*Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,
Ἡραϊς, ὥς περ γὰρ καὶ Ἀρης χρεῖος ὑπαλύξαι
Οἰχεται φεύγων, αὐτὸς τοι ἐγὼ τάγε τίσω.*

(a) *Iliad. γ.* (b) *Deuteronom. cap. XXII.* (c) *Odysſ. δ'. v. 329. ubi Græci Scholiastes consulendus.* (d) *Ibid. v. 354.*

Then

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Then Neptune, who the well-fix'd Earth doth shake
In answer to distrustful Vulcan spake;
"If you're afraid that Mars will play the Cheat,
That he'll abscond, and never pay the Debt,
"I'll it discharge."

H. H.
It appears from the same Place to have been customary for the Woman's Father to return all the Dowry he had receiv'd of her Husband; whence Vulcan is introduc'd threatening to secure both Mars and Venus in Chains till that was done (a).

Σοῦς δ' ὅλος ἤ δασμὸς ἐρύξει,
Εἰσὶ καὶ μὰ μάλα πάντα πατρὸς ἀποδόνει ἑσθῆα,
Ὅσα δ' οἱ ἐγγυλάκιζα κινώπιδος ἔνεκα κήρυξ.
Ὀδυσσεὺς οἱ καλὴ θυγάτηρ, ἀτάρ ἐκ ἔχ' ἄλκιμος.

I'll not release them from the binding Chain
Till I that Dowry have receiv'd again,
Which I for Venus to her Father paid
Cause she was handsom, tho' a Jilt.

H. H.
Some think this Sum was refunded by the Adulterers, because 'twas reasonable he should bear the Woman's Father harmless; since it appears not that Mars's Mule was a distinct Sum, for upon Neptune's becoming Surety for it, Vulcan loos'd him from his Bonds without farther Scruple.

Another Punishment was putting out the Eyes of Adulterers, which seems to have been no less ancient than the former, and may be thought just and reasonable, as depriving the Offender of that Member which first admits the Incentives of Lust. Fabulous Writers tell us, that Orion, having defil'd Candiope, or Merope, had his Eyes put out by Oenopion, whom some will have to be the Lady's Husband, others her Father (b): Phoenix, Achilles's Guardian, suffer'd the same Punishment for defiling Clyta, his Father's Concubine (c), which is thus express'd by Lycophron (d).

Τὸν πατὲρ πλεῖστον ἐσυγνυμένον βροτῶν,
Ομηρον δὲ νιν ἔθηκε τετρήνας λυχνύς,
Ὅτ' εἰς νότον τρήνωνος νυνάσθην λείχος.

The Object of Amyntor's greatest Hate,
And whom, since he his Clyta had defil'd,
He most inhumanly depriv'd of Sight.

(a) V. 317. (b) Natale Comes Mytholog. Servius in Aeneid. (c) Apollodorus lib. III. (d) Cassandra v. 421.

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Homer indeed has no mention of this Punishment, but only informs us, that his Father, having discover'd him, pray'd that he might never have any Children (a), which *Tzetzes* (b) thinks is meant by losing his Eyes, because Children are dearer to Parents, and afford them greater Comfort than their most necessary Members; but this Interpretation is forc'd, and contrary to the Sense of *Mythologists* ancient as well as modern, who relate the Story agreeably to the literal Meaning of *Lycophron's* Words. The *Locrians* observ'd this Custom in later Ages, being oblig'd thereto by *Zaleucus* their Law-giver, whose Rigor in executing this Law is very remarkable; for having caught his Son in Adultery, he resolv'd to deprive him of Sight, and remain'd a long time inexorable, notwithstanding the whole City was willing to remit the Punishment, and requested him to spare the Youth; at length, unable to resist the People's Importunity, he mitigated the Sentence, and redeem'd one of his Son's Eyes by another of his own (c); so at once becoming a memorable Example of Justice and Mercy.

At *Gortyn* in *Crete* there was another Method of punishing Adulterers: They were cover'd with Wool, an Emblem of the Softness and Effeminacy of their Tempers, and in that Dress carry'd thro' the City to the Magistrate's House, who sentenc'd them to *Ignominy*, whereby they were depriv'd in a manner of all their Privileges, and their Share in managing publick Business (d).

It would be endless to enumerate all the Penalties order'd for these Offenders, I shall therefore pass to the *Athenian* Laws, when I have first acquainted you, that, if credit may be given to *Pausanias* (e), the first who made a Law, and constituted Punishments against Adulterers, was *Hyettus*, an Inhabitant of *Argos*; who having caught *Molurus*, the Son of *Arisbas*, too familiar with his Wife, flew him, and fled to *Orchomenus* the Son of *Minyas*, then King of that City of *Boeotia*, which bore his Name; the King receiv'd him kindly, and gave him Part of his Territories, where he call'd a Village *Hyettus* after his own Name, and establish'd severe Laws against Adultery.

The *Athenian* Punishments seem to have been arbitrary, and left to their supreme Magistrate's Discretion; whence we find *Hippomenes*, one of *Codrus's* Posterity, and *Archon* of *Athens*, pronouncing a very odd Sentence upon his own Daughter *Limone*, and the Man caught in Adultery with her; he yok'd them to a Chariot, till the Man dy'd; and afterwards shut up his Daughter with an Horse, and so starv'd her to Death (f). Some time after, *Draco*, being invest'd with Power to enact Laws, left Adulterers at the Mercy of any Man that caught them in the Act, who had free License to Dismember, Murder, or treat them in what other Manner he pleas'd, without being call'd to account for it; which Punishment was the same that had been before appointed for this Crime by *Hyettus* (g),

(a) *Iliad*. i. v. 455. (b) In *Lycophron*. loc. citat. (c) *Valerius Maximus* lib. VI. cap. v. (d) *Cullius Rhodiginus* lib. XXI. cap. XLV. (e) *Boeoticis* p. 597. Ed. Hanov. (f) *Heraclides de Polit. Athen.* (g) *Pausanias* loc. cit. *Demosthenes* in *Aristocratem*.

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and was continu'd afterwards by Solon (a). Several other Punishments were order'd by Solon against the same Crime, when prov'd by Evidence in lawful Judicature: A Man that ravish'd a free Woman was fin'd an Hundred *Draibms*; one that entic'd her, Twenty (b), or (as some say) Two hundred; it being a greater Injury to a Woman's Husband and her Family, to corrupt her Mind than her Body: But he that forc'd a free Virgin was to pay a Thousand; and whoever deflower'd one, was oblig'd to marry her; whence *Plautus* introduces one, who had corrupted a Man's Daughter, speaking to her Father thus (c),

*Siquid ego erga te imprudens peccavi, aut gnatam tuam,
Ut mihi ignoscas, eamque uxorem des, ut leges jubent.*

If, Sir, I've injur'd you I crave your Pardon,
And if I've wrong'd your Daughter's Chastity,
The Laws command it, and I'll marry her.

But if the Virgin, or her Mother had accepted any Present from her Gallant, he was not oblig'd to make her his Wife, but she was look'd on as a common Strumpet; whence *Sostrata* in *Terence* has these Words after her Daughter had been defil'd (d),

*Pejore res loco non potis est esse, quam in hoc, quo nunc sita est;
Primum indotata est; tum praterea, que secunda ei dos erat,
Periit, pro virgine dari nuptum non potest: Hoc reliquom est,
Si inficias ibis, testis mecum est annulus, quem amiserat:
Postremo, quando ego conscia mi sum, a me culpam esse hanc procul,
Neque pretium, neque rem ullam intercessisse illa, aut me indignam; Geta,
Experiar.*

Matters were never worse than now they are;
For first she has no Portion; and for That,
Which might have been instead of one, she's lost;
So that she can't pass for a Virgin now:

I have but this one Thing that gives me Hopes,
If he deny't, the Ring he lost will prove it:
And *Geta*, since I know my Conscience clear,
Since I no By-ends had in this Mishap,
Nor took a Bribe, that I might blush to own,
I'll stand a Tryal with him at the Law.

H. H.

When a Man was clapt up on Suspicion of Adultery, he was allow'd to prefer his Appeal to the Magistrates call'd *Thesmothetae*, who re-ferr'd the Cause to proper Judges, and these in case the Crime

(a) *Plutarchus Solono, Lyfias Orat.* (b) *Plutarchus loc. cit.* (c) *Amularia.*
(d) *Adelph. Act III. Sc. II.*

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was prov'd against him, had Power to lay on him; Death only excepted, what Punishment they pleas'd (a). There was another remarkable Punishment for Adulterers, call'd *ῥαφανίδωσις*, or *ῥαφανίδωσις*, the part being put for the whole; for, having pluck'd off the Hair from their Privities, they threw hot Ashes upon the Place, and thrust up a Radish, Mullet, or some such Thing into their Fundament, whence they were ever after term'd *ῥαφανοί*: Juvenal mentions this Usage (b),

— Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat.

And some Adulterers a Mullet bores.

But poor Men only were thus dealt with, the Rich being allow'd to bring themselves off with paying their Fine, as the Greek Scholiast hath observ'd from the following Passage of *Aristophanes*, wherein *Chremylus* upbraids *Poverly* for exposing Men to this disgraceful Punishment:

Ο δ' ἀλὲς γε μοιχὸς διὰ σέ γε ἐξήλλεται (c).

Women thus offending were treated with great Severity: *Plutarch* tells us, that, if any Person discover'd his Sister, or Daughter, whilst unmarried, in this Crime, he was allow'd by *Solon's* Laws to sell her for a Slave. Adulteresses were never after permitted to adorn themselves with fine Cloaths; and, in case they appear'd to do so, were liable to have them torn off by any that met them, and likewise to be beaten, tho' not so as to be kill'd, or disabled; the same Liberty was permitted any that found them in the Temples, which were thought polluted by the Admission of Persons so infamous and detestable. Lastly, their Husbands, tho' willing to do it, were forbidden to cohabit any longer with them upon pain of *Ignominy* (*αἰσχύνη*) (d); But Persons that prostituted Women, were adjudg'd to Dye (e).

We have seen what the *Greeks* thought of Adultery, but they appear to have had a more favourable Opinion of Concubinage, it being permitted every where, and that without Scandal, to keep as many Concubines as they pleas'd; these they styl'd *παλλακίδες*, they were usually Women taken Captives, or bought with Money, and always inferiour to lawful Wives, whose Dowry, or noble Parentage, or some other Excellency gave them Preeminence. There is continual Mention of them in *Homer*, *Achilles* had his *Briseis*, and in her absence *Diomedes*, *Patroclus* his *Iphis*, *Menelaus* and *Agamemnon*, and (to mention no more) the wisest, gravest and eldest of them all, such as *Phanix* and *Nestor*, had their Women: Nor is it to be wonder'd that Heathens should run out into such Excesses, when the *Hebrews*, and those the most renown'd for Piety, such as

(a) *Demosthenes* in *Nearam*. (b) *Sat. X.* 317. (c) *Plut. Act. I.* Scen. II. (d) *Demosthenes* Orat. in *Nearam*. (e) *Vide Leges Atticas* lib. I. p. 161, 162.

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Abraham and David, allow'd themselves the same Liberty. Yet the *Grecian Wives* always envy'd their Husbands this Freedom, looking on it as an Entrenchment upon their Privileges; whence we find in *Homer*, that *Laertes*, tho' having a great Respect for his Slave *Euryclea*, never took her to his Bed for fear of his Wife's Displeasure (a),

Ισα δὲ μιν καθ' ἡ ἀλόχῳ τίεν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
Εὐνὴ δ' ἔποτ' ἐμίκτο, χρόλον δ' ἀλέειν γυναικός.

Not his own Wife he lov'd above the Maid,
Yet never her admitted to his Bed,
The better to prevent domestick Strife.
Phenice's Mother perswaded him to defile his Father's Concubine, to free her of so troublesome a Rival, as himself relates the Story (b),

Λίπον Ἑλλάδα καλλιγύναικα,
Φεύγων νύκτα πατρὸς Ἀμύτορος Οἰωνίδας,
Ὅς μοι παλλακίδος τίει χάσαστο καλλικόμοιο,
Τὴν αὐτὸς φιλίσκεν, ἀτιμάζουσι δ' ἄκοιτιν,
Μητέρ' ἐμὴν ἢ δ' αἰὲν ἐμὲ λαιώσκετο γένον
Παλλακίδι περιμυλῶναι, ἐν ἑχθρῇ γένοντα,
Τῇ πιδόμην, ἢ ἔρεξα.

Hellas I left to shun my Father's Hate,
Who for his violated *Miss* contriv'd my Fate;
For I mov'd with my Mother's earnest Prayer,
(Who griev'd to see a Jilt prefer'd to her)
Debauch'd, to make him loath, his *Clytis*,

H. H.

More Instances may be collected, but it will suffice to add that of *Clytemnestra*, who, having slain her Husband *Agamemnon*, wreak'd her Malice upon *Cassandra* his Concubine; whence *Seneca* has introduced her speaking these Words (c),

At ista penas capite persolvat suo
Captiva conjux, regii pellex tori;
Trabite, ut sequatur conjugem ereptum mihi.

My Rival too, his Concubine, shall share,
The sad Effects of Rage for injur'd Love;
Drag out the captive Harlot, she that dar'd
Lewdly to violate the Royal Bed,
That she may follow him to th' Shades below.

H. H.

(a) *Odys.* α'. v. 433. (b) *Iliad.* i. v. 447. (c) *Agamemnon.* v. 995.

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Harlots were no less common than Concubines; being tolerated in most of the *Grecian*, and other Common-wealths: Nor was the use of them thought repugnant to good Manners; whence the *Latin Comedian*, speaking of *Athens*, saith,

Non esse flagitium scortari hominem adolescentulum.

For Youth to Wench and Whore is not a Sin.

The wisest of the Heathen Sages were of the same Mind: *Solon* allow'd common Whores to go publickly to those that hir'd them (a), and encourag'd the *Athenian Youth* to empty their Lust upon these, to hinder them from making Attempts upon the Wives and Daughters of his Citizens; *Philemon* has elegantly express'd that Law-giver's Design in the following Fragment (b),

Εὖ δ' εἰς θύρας εἶρε ἀνδράπης, Σόλων
 Σὲ γὰρ λήγσει τὴν ἰδέαν πρῶτον βροτῶν,
 Δημοτῆδον, ὃ Ζεῦ, πρῶτα, καὶ σπύριον,
 (Καὶ μοι λήγειν τὴν ἑστὴν ἀμοιβήν, Σόλων)
 Μετὰ δὲ πάντα τὰ πάλιν νεώτερον,
 Τάτες τ' ἔχοντας τὰ ἀνασταλὴν οὖσιν,
 Ἀμαρτάνοντας τ' εἰς δὲ μὴ προσήκον ἡν,
 Στῆσαι πειάμενον γυναικας μὴ τόπος
 Κοινὰς ἀπασιν καὶ κατεσκευασμένας
 Ἐσᾶσι γυμναί, μὴ ἑπατηθῆναι, πᾶσι δὲ
 Οὐκ εἰς σιαντὴ τυχεῖν ἔχον; ἔχεις
 Πῶς ἢ θύρα σοι ἔσται ἀν' ἀνθρώπων
 Εἰς ὅσους εἰσπῆδ' ἄνθρωπον ἔν' ἑσ' ἰδέσθαι
 Ἀκτισμὸς, ἰδὲ λήγεις, ἰδ' ὑφαρπαγή·
 Ἀλλ' εὐθύς ὡς βύλει σὺ, καὶ συχρὸν τρέπον·
 Ἐξῆλθες; διμῶζεν λέγ', ἀλλοτελὰ τί σοι δοκῇ;

Cato the Roman Censor was of the same Opinion, as appears from the known Story, that, meeting a young Nobleman of *Rome* coming out of the common Stew, he commended him for diverting himself in that Place, as we read in *Horace* (c),

*Quidam notus homo, cum exiret fornice, mæste
 Virtute eslo, inquit, sententia dia Catonis,
 Nam simul ac venas inflavit terra libido,
 Huc juvenes æquum est descendere.*

When from the Stews a certain Noble came,
 This, says he, was the Heavenly *Cato's* Theme,
 "Go on brave Youth, and may you e'er succeed,
 "And never be abash'd to own the Deed;

(a) *Plutarchus Solone*. (b) *Delphis*. (c) *Lib. I. Sat. II. v. 31.*

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When Lust and burning Love swell ev'ry Vein, (a)
 'Tis lawful to come here, and quench the Flame. (b)
 I forbear to mention other Instances, the Testimony of Cicero being sufficient to confirm what I have said, when he challenges all Persons to name any Time, wherein Men were either reprov'd for this Practice, or not countenanc'd in it (c): Nor can it be wonder'd, that Heathens allow'd themselves this Liberty, when the Jews look'd on it as lawful; they were indeed forbidden to commit Adultery, and Fornication also was prohibited under severe Penalties, but these (as Grotius (d) observes) were thought to concern only Women of their own Nation, their Law not extending to Foreigners; and we find accordingly that publick Stews were openly tolerated amongst them, and Women residing there taken into the Protection of the Government, as appears from the two Harlots that contend'd about a Child, and were heard in open Court by King Solomon (e): But the Jewish Women were not permitted to prostitute their Bodies, and therefore strange, or foreign Women, are sometimes taken for Harlots, as when Solomon advises his Son to embrace Wisdom and Understanding, that they may keep him from the STRANGE Woman, from the STRANGER, which flattereth with her Words (f); and to arm him against the Allurements of Harlots, He tells him, The Lips of a STRANGE Woman drop as an Honey-comb, and her Mouth is smoother than Oyl, but her End is bitter as Wormwood, sharp as a Two-edg'd Sword (g). The Athenians, as in many other Things, so here had the same Custom with the Jews; for the severe Penalties were laid on such as desir'd Women that were Citizens of Athens, yet Foreigners had the Liberty of keeping publick Stews, and their Harlots were for that Reason, like those amongst the Jews, call'd *Etrae*, strange Women.

The Harlots of primitive Ages were not so wholly divested of Modesty as afterwards; for they never went abroad bare-fac'd, but, as was the Custom of other Women, cover'd themselves with Veils, or Masks: Nor were they allow'd (as some think) to prostitute themselves within the Cities (h); which Custom seems to have been deriv'd from the Eastern Nations, for we find Tamar in Genesis (i), when she had a mind to appear like an Harlot, covering her self with a Vell, and sitting in an open Place by the Way to Timnath: But, it may be, her Design in placing her self there was only, that she might meet with Judah, or his Son, whom she desir'd to entice to her Embraces: We find however, that in after Ages, when Harlots were certainly permitted to reside in Cities, they us'd to post themselves in the High-ways, as Places of resort; in Solomon's Reign they frequented the Cities; for, speaking of an Harlot, he saith, She is loud and stubborn, her Feet abide not in her House; now is she without, now in the STREETS, and lieth in wait at every Cor-

(a) Oraz. pro M. Caelio. (c) In Matthæi cap. V. 27. (e) 1 Reg. III. 16.
 (d) Proverb. VII. 4. 5. (f) Proverb V. 3. 4. (g) Chrysippus, citante Grotio in Matthæi cap. V. 27. (h) Cap. XXXVIII. 15.

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ner (a): Yet some Ages after, when 'tis certain they were no more restrain'd from abiding in Cities than in Solomon's Days, they resorted to Places of general Concourse out of them, such as Highways, especially where several Ways met, and had Tents erected to wait in for Custom; hence (to omit other Instances) those Words of Ezeckiel, *Thou hast built thy high Place at every Head of the Way, and hast made thy Beauty to be abhor'd, and hast open'd thy Feet to every one that pass'd by, and multiply'd thy Whoredoms* (b). Again, *Thou buildest thine eminent Place in the Head of every Way, and makest thy high Place in every Street* (c). At Athens the Harlots chiefly frequented the Ceramicus, Sciros, and the old Forum, in which stood the Temple of Venus Πάριος, where Solon permitted them to prostitute themselves. They also very much frequented a certain Forum in that part of the Haven Piræus which was call'd (σοά μακρά) the long Portico; the Parts whereof are thus describ'd by Julius Pollux; Σείγμα, ἐμπόρον, ἐμπορεῖν δὲ μίση, κατὰ δαίμα, ὑπορυσία. And in other Ports there were commonly great numbers of Stews, as hath been observ'd in the precedent Book.

In some Places Harlots were distinguish'd from other Women by their Apparel; whence those Words of Solomon (d); *There met him a Woman with the Attire of an Harlot, and subtil of Heart.* What sort of Habit this was, is not certain; but if the Athenian Custom was in this, as in many other things, taken from the Jews, we may conclude that their Whores wore flower'd Garments; for the Athenian Law-giver, thinking it necessary to distinguish Women of innocent Conversation from Harlots, by some open and visible Mark, order'd that those should never appear abroad but in grave and modest Apparel, and that the rest should always wear flower'd Garments. Hence Clemens of Alexandria hath remark'd, that as fugitive Slaves are known by their Stigmata, ὥς τῇ μοιχαλίδι δεινὸν τὰ ἀνδρισμάτα, so flower'd Garments are an Indication of an Harlot (e). The same Law was enacted among the Lottians by Zaleucus, as we are told by Diodorus the Sicilian; and was also observ'd at Syracuse, as we learn from Phylarchus in Athenæus (f). For tho' Harlots were tolerated in the Grecian Commonwealth, yet they were generally infamous, and consisted chiefly of Captives and other Slaves. Hence it was forbidden by the Laws of Athens to derive the Name of an Harlot from any of the sacred Games, as Athenæus hath observ'd from Polemo's Description of the Acropolis: whence that Author seems to wonder, how it came to pass that a certain Harlot was call'd Nemea from the Nemean Games (g).

Corinth is remarkable for being a Nursery of Harlots, there being in that City a Temple of Venus, where the readiest Method of gaining the Goddess's Favour, was to present her with beautiful Damsels, who from that Time were maintain'd in the Temple, and prostituted themselves for Hire; we are told by Strabo (h), that there

(a) Proverb. VII. 11. (b) Cap XVI. 25. (c) Ibid. com. 31. (d) Proverb. VII. 10. (e) Padag. lib. III. cap. II. (f) Deipnosoph. lib. XII. (g) Vide Archæolog. hujus lib. I. cap. De Servis. (h) Lib. VIII.

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were no less than a Thousand there at a Time. Hence κοινδιζεν, to all the Corinthian, is ἡμαρτυρεῖν, to commit Fornication, according to Hesychius. Λισσιδίζεν, λισσιδῖαν and φοινικίζεν are us'd in the same Sense, the Lesbians and Phœnicians being infamous for this Vice. Λισσιδίζεν also signifies an impure way of Kissing, whence it is interpreted by the same Author περὶ ἀνδρᾶ σομαδεύειν and λισσιδῖς is expounded λαικάσεια, an Harlot. The Corinthians were a gentiler sort of Harlots, and admitted none to their Embraces, but such as were able to deposite a considerable Sum, as we learn from Aristophanes (a),

Καὶ τὰς δ' ἱταίρας παρὶ τὰς Κοινδίας,
Ὅταν μὲ αὐτὰς τις πένης ὦν τύχη,
Οὐδὲ προσέχων ἢ γυνὴ ἢ πλάστις,
Τὸν πρῶτον αὐτὰς εὐδύς ὡς τῦτον τρέπειν.

This gave occasion to the Proverb,

Οὐ παντὶς ἀνδρὶς ἐς Κοινδον ἐδ' ὁ πλῆς.

Which Horace has thus translated,

Non cuivis hominum coniugis adire Corinthum.

To Corinth ev'ry Person cannot fail.

Some rather refer it to the famous Corinthian Strumpet *Lais*, and others assign other Reasons. Their Occupation indeed was very gainful, insomuch that those, whom Beauty and Parts recommended, frequently rais'd great Estates: A remarkable Instance hereof we have in *Phryne*, who offer'd the *Thebans* to rebuild the Walls of their City, when demolish'd by *Alexander*, on condition they would engrave on them this Inscription,

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΝΕΣΚΑΥΕΝ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕ ΔΕ ΦΡΥΝΗ
Η ΕΤΑΙΡΑ.

i. e. Theſe Walls were demolish'd by Alexander, but rais'd by Phryne the Harlot.

To render their Conversation more agreeable to Men of Parts and Quality, they frequently employ'd their vacant Hours in the Study of *Mathematicks* and other Sciences, frequenting the Schools and Company of Philosophers: *Aspasia*, *Pericles's* belov'd Mistress, us'd to converse with *Socrates*, and arriv'd to such a Pitch in Learning, that many of the *Athenians* resorted to her on account of her Rhetorick and Abilities of Discourse; the most grave and serious amongst them frequently went to visit her, and carry'd their Wives with

(a) *Plut. Act. I. Sc. II.*

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them, as it were, to Lecture, to be instructed by her Conversation; *Pericles* himself us'd her Advice in the Management of publick Affairs; and after his Death one *Lyficles*, a silly and obscure Clown, by keeping her Company came to be a chief Man at Athens (a). Several other Examples of this sort occur in Authors, as of *Arthianassa* the Colophonian, who was *Plato's* Mistress; *Herpyllis*, who convers'd with *Aristotle* till his Death, and bore him a Son call'd *Nicomachus*; lastly (to mention no more) *Leontina*, who frequented *Epicurus's* Gardens, there prostituting her self to the Philosophers, especially to *Epicurus* (b).

C H A P. XIII.

Of the Confinement, and Employments of their Women.

THE barbarous Nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially (saith (c) *Plutarch*) were naturally jealous, clownish and morose towards their Women; not only their Wives, but their Slaves and Concubines; whom they kept so strictly, that never any one saw them beside their own Family. When at home, they were cloyster'd up; when they took a Journey, they were carry'd in Coaches, or Waggon; close cover'd at the Top and on all Sides: Such a Carriage, my Author tells us, was prepar'd for *Themistocles*, when he fled into *Persia*, to keep him secret; so that the Men who convey'd him, told all they met and discours'd with upon the Road, that they were carrying a young *Grecian* Lady out of *Ionis* to a Noble man at Court.

By the manner of *Plutarch's* relating this Story, it may be perceiv'd that neither he, nor his Country-men the *Greeks*, approv'd of the Severity us'd by barbarous Nations toward their Women; yet themselves, tho' remitting something of the *Persian* Rigor, kept their Women under strict Discipline, and were no less excell'd by the *Romans* in their Behaviour to them, than themselves surpass'd the *Barbarians*; for whereas the *Roman* Women were allow'd to be present at publick Entertainments, and to converse with the Guests, and were complemented by their Husbands with the best Rooms in their Houses; those of *Greece* rarely, or never appear'd in strange Company, but were confin'd to the most remote Parts of the House (d).

To this end the *Grecian* Houses were usually divided into two Parts, in which the Men and Women had distinct Mansions assign'd: The Part wherein the Men lodg'd, was towards the Gate, and call'd

(a) *Plutarchus Pericle.* (b) *Athenaeus lib. XIII. cap. V. Sub finem.* (c) *Themistocle.* (d) *Cornelius Nepos praefat. in vitas excellent. Imperatorum.*

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ἀνδρῶν, or ἀνδρωνίτης; the Part assign'd for the Women was term'd γυναικῶν, γυναικωνίτης, or γυναικωνίτης, it was the farthest Part of the House, and behind the αὐλή, before which there were also other Parts call'd πρόδομος and περὶαίον. The Sons of Priam in Homer, were all plac'd by themselves and separated from his Daughters, who liv'd in more remote Places (a).

Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πριάμοιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἵκοντο,
 Ἐξ ἧσ' αἰδέσθαι τετυγμένον, αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ
 Πεντήκοντ' ἔνεσαν δάλαμοι ἑξοῖο λίδοιο,
 Πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι· ἐν δ' αὖ παῖδες
 Κοιμῶντο Πριάμοιο· οὐδ' ἡγεῖσθ' ἀλόχοισι
 Κυράων δ' ἐτέρωθεν ἐναντίοι ἐνδοθεν αὐλῆς,
 Δώδεκ' ἔσαν τέγες δάλαμοι ἑξοῖο λίδοιο
 Πλησίον ἀλλήλων δεδμημένοι.

At Priam's Royal Palace he arriv'd,
 In which were fifty beauteous Rooms contriv'd
 Of polish'd Stones, by one another join'd,
 And these were for his marry'd Sons design'd;
 Twelve gawdy Rooms were built with equal Art
 O'th' other Side, but these were set apart
 For Priam's Daughters.

H. H.

Where it may be observ'd, that the Women's Chambers are call'd τέγες δάλαμοι, as being plac'd at the Top of the House; for the Women's Lodgings were usually in the uppermost Rooms, as Eustapius remarks upon this Passage (b), which was another Means to keep them from Company; Hence Helen is said to have had her Chamber in the loftiest Part of the House (c);

Ἡ δ' εἰς ὑψόροφον δάλαμον εἰς δία γυναικῶν.
 Into the upper Chamber Helen went.

Penelope appears to have lodg'd in such another Place, to which she ascended by a κλίμαξ, whence the same Poet,

Κλίμακα δ' ἡ γὰρ κατέβησθε τοιοῦτο δόμοιο.

By a long Ladder came down from her Room.

This Word signifies a Stair-case, but in this Place may as well denote a Ladder, which seems to have been us'd in those Days, when Architecture was not much understood; whence Antigone in Euripides calls out to her Guardian to help her up (d).

(a) Iliad. ε'. v. 242. (b) P. 409. Ed. Basil. (c) Iliad. γ'. v. 423. (d) Phæ-

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Ορεγς νῦν, ὄρεγς γέραιδον
Νέα χεῖρ' ἔνδ' κλιμακῶν;
Ποδὸς ἔχνος ἐπ' ἀντίκταν.

Reach out your Hand, and help me up the Ladder.

These upper Rooms were sometimes, especially at Lacedæmon, call'd *ᾠα, ᾠα*, or *ὑπεῖον*, which Words being distinguish'd only by the Accent (the Use whereof seems not to have been known by the ancient *Greeks*) from *ᾠα*, Eggs, are thought by some to have ministr'd occasion to the Inventors of Fables to feign that *Cæstor*, *Pollux*, *Helena* and *Clytemnestra*, were hatch'd out of Eggs, when they were born in one of these Lofts, or upper Chambers.

The Women were straitly confin'd within their Lodgings, such especially as had no Husbands, whether Virgins, or Widows (a); whereof the former were most severely look'd to, as having less Experience in the World. Their Apartment, which was call'd *παρδενών*, was usually well guarded with Locks and Bolts, whence *Agamemnon* in *Euripides* desiring *Clytemnestra* to go home, and look after the Virgins; which, he tells her, were by no means to be left in the House alone, receives this Answer (b),

ΟΧΥΡΟῖσι παρδενῶσι φερένται καλῶς.

They're close kept up in their well-guarded Lodgings.

Sometimes they were so straitly confin'd, that they could not pass from one Part of the House to another without Leave; whence *Antigone* in *Euripides* obtains her Mother's Leave to go to the Top of the House to view the *Argian* Army that besieg'd *Thebes*; notwithstanding which her Guardian searches the Passage, for fear any Person should have a sight of her, which, he says, would be a Reflection upon her Honour, and his own Fidelity. The old Man's Words are thus address'd to the young Princess (c),

Ὀκλειδὸν οἶκος, Ἀργιῶν, δόλος πατὲρ,
Ἐπεὶ σε μήτηρ παρδενῶνας ἐκίπτεν
Μεθ' ἡμε, μελὰ δ' ἄνδ' ἐς δῖον ἔχρατον.
Στρατεύμ' ἴδ' εἶν' Ἀργείον, ἰκιστάσθ' οὐδ' αἶψ'
Ἐτίχες, ὥς ἂν πρέξω κερυνήσω σίχον,
Μή τις πολὺν ἐν τείλει φαντάζεται,
Καυοὶ μ' ἔλθοι φαῦλος ὥς δόλος λόγος,
Σοὶ δ' ὥς ἀνδρῶν.

But you, *Antigone*, my royal Charge,
The blooming Glory of your Father's House,
Stir not, tho' suffer'd by your Mother's Leave

(a) Harpocration. (i) *Iphigen. in Aulid*, v. 738. (c) *Euripid. Phœniss.* v. 85.

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Some time from your Apartment to withdraw,
And to ascend the House's lofty Top,
From thence the Argian Forces to survey,
But stay till first I see the Way be clear,
That by a Citizen you be not seen;
For that would much reflect upon my Care,
And from your royal Honour derogate.

New-marry'd Women were almost under as strict a Confinement as Virgins: *Hermione* is severely reprov'd by the old Woman that waits on her, for appearing out of Doors, which was a Freedom (she tells her) like to endanger her Reputation (a),

Αλλ' ἔσιδ' ἔσσω, μὴδὲ παντάχῃ δέμων
Πάρεσι δὲ τῶνδε, μὴ τιν' αἰσχυρίω λῶβης
Πρόσθιν μαλ' ἄλλων τῶν δ' ὀφειδύνη, τέκνον.

Go in, nor stand thus gazing at the Doors,
Lest you lament the Scandal you'll procure,
Should you be seen before the Hall t' appear.

Menander, as cited by *Stobæus* (b), says expressly, that the Door of the αὐλή was the farthest a marry'd Women ought to go, and re-proves one for exceeding those Limits,

Τὸς ἢ γαμήθ' ὄρεσ' ὑπερβαίνει, γυνὴ,
Διὰ ἢ αὐλῆν περὶ γὰρ αὐλὸς εὖρε
Ἐλθέειν γυναικὶ νεόμυς οἰκίας.

You go beyond the marry'd Women's Bounds,
And stand before the Hall, which is unfit;
The Laws do not permit a free-born Bride
Farther than to the Doors o'th' House to go.

But when they had once brought a Child into the World, they were no longer under so strict Confinement, whence μήτηρ, a Mother, is by some deriv'd ἐκ τῆς μητρεΐδας, from her being no longer under Keepers (c): Yet what Freedom they then enjoy'd, was owing wholly to the Kindness of their Husbands, for such as were jealous kept their Wives in perpetual Imprisonment; whence a Woman in *Aristophanes* makes this Complaint of the severe Treatment the Athenian Wives met with (d),

Ταῖς γυναικῶν τιμῇ
Σοφροῖδας ἐπελάττειν ἥδ' ἢ, καὶ μοχλῶς,
Τηρεῖται ἡμᾶς, καὶ ποσὲτι Μολοσσικῆς
Τερεῖται, μορμολυκῶν τοῖς πορχοῖς, κῆρας.

(a) *Andromache* v. 876. (b) *Serm.* LXXII. (c) *Etymologici Auctor.* (d) *Thesmophor.* p. 774. Ed. *Amstelod.*

But strictly us poor Women they confine
 Within our Chambers under Lock and Key,
 Make use of Mastiffs, Goblins, any Thing,
 That may Adulterers affright.

H. H.

However Husbands might be of a better Temper, yet it was look'd on as very indecent for Women to gad abroad; whence we find several proverbial Speeches and Allusions, intimating the Duty of Wives to stay at home: Such is that cited by *Eustathius* out of *Euripides* (a),

Ενδὸν γυναικῶν ἢ παρ' εἰκίταις ἀβύθ·

Women shou'd keep within Doors, and there fall.

To the same Purpose was *Phidias's* Emblem representing *Venus* tread-
 ing upon a *Tortoise* (b), which carries its House upon its Back.

When they went abroad, or appear'd in publick, they cover'd their Faces with Veils; as we find of *Penelope*, when she descended from her Apartment to converse with the young Gentlemen that courted her (c),

Ἡ δ' ὅτε δὴ μνηστῆρας ἀφίκετο δῖα γυναικῶν,
 Στῆ ῥα ὄψ' ἑαδμὸν τέγος πίκα ποικίλο,
 Ἀντα παρδείων χορὸν λιπαρὸν κρήδεμνα.

Then from her Lodging went the beauteous Dame,
 And to her much expecting Courtiers came,
 There veil'd before the Door she stood.

The Veil was so thin, as that they might see thro' it; which appears from these Words of *Iphigenia* (d),

Εγὼ δ' ἀπ' ὅτων ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων
 Ἐχού', ἀδελφὸν περὶ εἰλόμην χεῖρ',
 Ὁρῶ νῦν ὄλωλεν.

Seeing my Brother thro' my thinnest Veil,
 I took him by the Hand, who now is dead.

To prevent all private Assignations, *Solon* enacted, that no Wife or Matron (for he took not so much Care of Virgins, who were always strictly confin'd) should go from Home with more than three Garments; nor should carry with her a larger Quantity of Meat and Drink, than could be purchas'd for one *Obolus*; nor a Basket

(a) *Iliad*. i. p. 429. Ed. Bas. (b) *Plutarchus de præcept. convub.* (c) *Odyss.* v. 208. (d) *Euripid. Iphigen. Taur.* v. 372.

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of more than a Cubit in Length. He farther order'd, that she should not travel in the Night without a lighted Torch before her Chariot. Afterwards it was decreed at the Instance of *Philippides*, that no Woman should appear in publick undress'd, under the Penalty of paying a Thousand *Drachms*. This Law was carefully put in Execution by the Officers call'd *γυναικονόμοι* and *γυναικαρχοί*, and a Tablet containing an account of the Mults thus incur'd was publickly expos'd in the *Ceramicus*: (a) upon a Plane-tree (*πικράρα*) which stood there.

It was likewise customary for Women to have Attendants: *Peneope* has two Maids with her (b) in *Homer*:

Οὐκ ἄρα μιν, κατέβαν' ὑπὸ αἶα στυγλόμενα,
Οὐκ οἶν' ἑμαρτ' ἔχ' ὑπὸ πικρῶν δ' ἑσπέρων.

She said, and from her Chamber strait descends,
Two Maids upon her Person wait.

These seem to have been Women of Age and Gravity, whence *Homer* presently subjoyns,

Ἀμπίπολος δ' ἄγε δὲ ἀδὴν ἐκδρεῖδε παρῖσιν.

A Maid, whose Years a ripen Judgment shew'd,
On either Side attend the Lady stood,

Nor did these Women attend their Ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, and had the care of their Education, when young, and are therefore call'd *τροφῆς*. Nor were Women only appointed to this Charge, for *Antigone* in the fore-cited Tragedy of *Euripides* has an old Man for her Governour: It was likewise frequent to commit Women to *Eunuchs*, who perform'd all the Offices of Maids, and were usually entertain'd by Persons of Quality; whence *Phadrius* speaks thus to his Mistress (c),

Eunuchum parvo dixi velle re;
Quia sola vivitur his regina.

An *Eunuch* Boy was your peculiar Choice,
Since on great Ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made *Eunuchs* was *Semiramis* (d): The barbarous Nations were ordinarily much fonder of them than *Greeks* (e), who look'd on it as an inhuman piece of Cruelty to use Men after that Manner; *Phocylides* has left a particular Caution against it (f),

(a) *Athenæus* lib. VI. cap. IX. *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. IX. *Hesychius* voce *πικράρα*. *Eustathius* in *Iliad.* x. (b) *Odys.* loc. cit. (c) *Terentii Eunuch.* Act. I. Sc. II. (d) *Ammianus Marcellinus* Hist. lib. XIV. (e) *Philostrophus* Var. *Apollonii Tyanei* lib. I. cap. XXI. (f) V. 175.

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Ὅς νῦν ὄλωλεν.

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It was likewise customary for Women to have Attendants: *Penelope* has two Maids with her (b) in *Homer*:

Οἱ γὰρ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑσπέρην σφραλίσσεται,

Οὐκ οἶν' ἔμεινεν ἄνδρα γυνὴ ἡμετέρη, δούλῳ τεύχεσσι.

She said, and from her Chamber strait descends,
Two Maids upon her Person wait.

These seem to have been Women of Age and Gravity, whence *Homer* presently subjoyns,

Ἀμφιπόλοισι δ' ἄγε, σὶ μὲν δὲ δούλῳ τεύχεσσι.

A Maid, whose Years a ripen Judgment shew'd,
On either Side attend the Lady stood,

Nor did these Women attend their Ladies when they went abroad only, but kept them company at home, and had the care of their Education, when young, and are therefore call'd *τροφίαι*. Nor were Women only appointed to this Charge, for *Amigone* in the fore-cited Tragedy of *Euripides* has an old Man for her Governour: It was likewise frequent to commit Women to *Eunuchs*, who perform'd all the Offices of Maids, and were usually entertain'd by Persons of Quality; whence *Phadrius* speaks thus to his Mistress (c),

Eunuchum porro dixisti velle te;

Quia sola vivitur his regina.

An Eunuch Boy was your peculiar Choice,

Since on great Ladies they do chiefly wait.

The first that made Eunuchs was *Semiramis* (d): The barbarous Nations were ordinarily much sinder of them than *Greeks* (e), who look'd on it as an inhuman piece of Cruelty to use Men after that Manner; *Phocylides* has left a particular Caution against it (f),

(a) *Athenaeus* lib. VI. cap. IX. *Pollux* lib. VIII. cap. IX. *Hesychius* voce *γυναικονόμος*. *Eusebius* in *Psalm.* x. (b) *Odys.* loc. cit. (c) *Terentii Eunuch.* Act. I. Sc. II. (d) *Amianus Marcellinus* Hist. lib. XIV. (e) *Philostrophus* Vit. *Apollonii Tyanei* lib. I. cap. XXI. (f) V. 175.

Μὴ δὲ αὖτε καὶ οὐρόν ποτὲ τήμεν ἀρσενά κῆρον.

Nor ever castrate a brisk, vig'rous Youth.

The primitive Ages us'd their Women agreeably to the Simplicity of their Manners, they accusom'd them to draw Water, to keep Sheep, and feed Cows, or Horses: The rich and noble were taken up with such Employments as well as those of inferior Quality; Rebecca the Daughter of Bethuel, Abraham's Brother, carry'd a Pitcher, and drew Water (a); Rachel, the Daughter of Laban, kept her Father's Sheep (b); Zipporah with her six Sisters had the Care of their Father Jethro's Flocks, who was a Prince, or (which in those Times was an Honour (scarce inferior) Priest of Midian (c): The like may be observ'd of Andromache, Hector's Lady, in Homer (d), where that Hero thus bespeaks his Horses,

Εάνδε τε, καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε, καὶ Αἴθων, Λάμπει τε Νῆς,
Νῦν μοι καμίσω σπίνετον, τὸ μάλα πολλὰ καλῶ
Ἀνδρομάχῃ, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡτίωνος
Τμῖν παρ' ἐστέροισι μελίφρονα πυρὸν ἔθηκεν,
Οἶνον τ' ἐγχεσάσα· πικρὸν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνέχοι (e).

My mettled Steeds, Xanthus with yellow Main,
Podargus, you, who fleetly beat the Plain,
Aethon, who furiously sustain'st the Fight,
And Lampus, thou, whose Flanks are slick and bright;
Now see my Corn you carefully repay,
With Courage bear the Labour of the Day,
Since my dear Wife, when you inclin'd to eat,
Hath mingled strength'ning Liqueur with your Meat.

The most common Employments of Women were spinning, weaving, and making all sorts of Embroidery, or Needle-work; Instances of this Nature are too numerous to be recited in this Place, for so constantly were they taken up in these Businesses, that most Houses, where there was any Number of Women, had Rooms set apart for this end, which seem to have been near the Women's Apartments, if not the same; for Pollux enumerating the different Rooms in Houses, after he has mention'd γυναικείον, presently adds, ἱστῶν δάκαμος, τακασινεῦδος οἶκος, &c.

Women had likewise several other Employments, the Provision of all Necessaries within Doors being usually committed to them; I shall not insist on Particulars, but only observe in the last Place, that their Usage was very different according to the Temper of their

(a) Genes. XXIV. 15. (b) Ibid. XXIX. 6. (c) Exod. II. 16. (d) Iliad. 6. v. 185. (e) Vide Commentarium nostrum in Lycophron, v. 91.

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Husbands or Guardians, the Value of their Fortunes, and the Humour of the Place, or Age they liv'd in.

The *Lacedæmonian* Women observ'd Fashions quite different from all their Neighbours; their Virgins went abroad bare-faced, the marry'd Women were cover'd with Veils; the former designing (as *Charilus* reply'd to one that enquir'd the Reason of that Custom) to get themselves Husbands, whereas the latter aim'd at nothing more than keeping those they already had (a). We have a large Account of the *Spartan* Women's Behaviour in the following Words of *Plutarch* (b) "In order to the good Education of their Youth (which is the most important Work of a Law-giver) *Lycurgus* went so far back as to take into consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages: For *Aristotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of Ways to reduce the Women to more Modesty, and Subjection to their Husbands, he was at last forc'd to leave them as they were; because that in the Absence of their Husbands, who spent a great Part of their Lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much Respect as if they had been so many Queens: But by his good Leave it is a Mistake; for *Lycurgus* took for that Sex all the Care that was possible: For an Instance of it, he order'd the Maidens to exercise themselves with Running, Wrestling, throwing Quoits, and casting Darts, to the end that the Fruit they conceiv'd might take deeper Root, grow strong, and spread it self in healthy and vigorous Bodies, and withal that they might be more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing: And to the end he might take away their overgreat Tenderness and Nicety, he order'd they should appear naked as well as the Men, and dance too in that Condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them: In these Songs they now and then gave a Satyrical Glance upon those who had misbehav'd themselves in the Wars; sometimes sung Encomiums upon those who had done any gallant Action, and by these means inflam'd young Men with an Emulation of their Glory: For those that were thus commended went away brave and well satisfy'd with themselves; and those that were rally'd, were as sensibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded; and so much the more because the Kings, and whole Senate saw and heard all that pass'd. Now tho' it may seem strange that Women should appear thus naked in publick, yet was true Modesty observ'd, and Wantonness excluded; and it tended to render their Conversation free and unserv'd, and to beget in them a Desire of being vigorous and active, and fill'd them with Courage and generous Thoughts, as being allow'd their Share in the Rewards of Virtue as well as Men: Hence came that Sense of Honour and Nobleness of Spirit, of which we

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegmat. *Laconiis*. (b) *Lycurgo*.

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“ have an Instance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who, being told in Discourse with some foreign Ladies, That the Women of *Lacedæmon* were they only of the World, who had an Empire over the Men, briskly repartee’d, that there was good Reason, For they were the only Women that brought forth Men. Lastly, these publick Processions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exercises and Dancings, were Provocations and Baits to stir up and allure the young Men to Marriage, and that not upon Geometrical Reasons, as *Plato* calls them, (such are Interest, and Equality of Fortune) but from the Engagements of true Love and Affection.

Afterwards, when *Lycurgus*’s Laws were neglected, and the *Spartans* had degenerated from the strict Virtue of their Fore-fathers, their Women also were ill spoken of, and made use of the Freedom, which their Law-giver allow’d them, to no good Purposes; inso-much that they are censur’d by ancient Writers for their Wantonness, and excessive Desire of unlawful Pleasures, and branded by *Euripides*, as cited by *Plutarch* (a), with the Epithet of *ἀνδραγαγέαι*, i. e. possess’d with furious Love of, and, as it were, running mad after Men.

CHAP. XIV.

Of their Customs in Child-bearing, and managing Infants.

Those who desir’d to have Children, were usually very liberal in making Presents and Offerings to the Gods, especially to such as were thought to have the care of Generation: I shall not trouble the Reader with a particular Account of the Names of these Deities, and the Manner they were worship’d in; but it may be requisite to observe, that the *Athenians* invoc’d on this Account certain Gods call’d *Texorodætes*, or *Texorodætes*: Who these were, or what the Origination of their Name, is not easy to determine; *Orpheus*, as cited by *Phanodemus* in *Suidas*, makes their proper Names to be *Amacrides*, *Protiocles*, and *Protiocleon*, and will have them to preside over the Winds; *Demo* makes them to be Winds themselves; but what Business the Winds, or their Governours have in Generation, is difficult to imagine. Another Author in the same *Lexicographer* tells us, their Names were *Cottus*, *Briareus*, and *Gyges*, and that they were the Sons of *Oûgæde* and *Tî*, i. e. *Heaven* and *Earth*; *Philochorus* likewise makes *Earth* their Mother, but, instead of *Heaven*, substitutes the *Sun*, or *Apollo*, for their Father; whence he seems to account as well for their being accounted

(a) *Numa*.

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the as Superintendents of Generation, as for the Name of Τερρο-
τορες, for being immediately descended from two immortal Gods,
themselves (saith he) were thought τέτοιοι πατέρες, the third Fa-
thers, and therefore might well be esteem'd the common Parents
of Mankind, and from that Opinion derive those Honours, which
the Athenians paid them as the Authors and Presidents of human
Generation (a).

The Goddess, who had the care of Women in Child-bed, was
call'd Εἰλεῖθνα, or Εἰλήθνα, sometimes Ελεῖθνα, as in the Epi-
gram,

Μέχθον Ελεῖθνης
Εκρυγες.

You're past the Pangs, o'er which Eleutho reigns.

She is call'd in Latin Lucina: Both had the same Respects paid by
Women, and the same Titles and Epithets: Elisbyia is call'd by Non-
nus (b),

Ἀσχυῶν Δηλυτρώων.

The succouring Deity in Child-birth.

Ovid speaks in the same manner of the Latin Goddess (c),

Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.

Lucina kind to teeming Ladies.

The Woman in Theocritus invokes Elisbyia (d),

Ενθα γὰρ Εἰλεῖθναν ἐκώσατο λυαίζοντα.

For there thy Mother t' Elisbyia prays

To ease her Throws.

The Roman Women call'd for Lucina's Assistance; whence Ovid,

Tu voto parturientis ades.

You kindly Women in their Travail hear:

Several other Things are common to both: As Elisbyia was styl'd
αἰδίων ἱεραγωγός, ἡλειῶν σάτυρος, &c. so likewise Lucina was
grac'd with various Appellations denoting her Care of Women. Their
Names indeed appear to have distinct Originals, yet both have Re-
lation to the same Action, for Εἰλήθνα is deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆς εἰλῆθναι,

(a) Vide Suidam, Etymologiae Auctorem, Phavorinum, Hesychium, &c. (b) Dionysiacis. (c) Fall. lib. II. (d) Idyll. ζ.

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from coming; either because she came to assist Women in Labour, or rather from her being invoc'd to help the Infant $\epsilon\lambda\chi\epsilon\delta\gamma$ eis to $\phi\omega\varsigma$, to come into the Light, or the World; *Lucina* is taken from *lux*, *Light*, for the same Reason, according to *Ovid*,

— Tu nobis lucem, *Lucina*, dedisti.

Lucina, you first brought us into Light.

The Greek Name $\phi\omega\sigma\phi\epsilon\gamma\varsigma$, sometimes attributed to this Goddess, is of the same Import with the Latin *Lucina*; being deriv'd $\phi\omega\varsigma$ $\phi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$, from bringing Light, because 'twas by her Assistance, that Infants were safely deliver'd out of their dark Mansions, to enjoy the Light of this World: In Allusion to this, the Greek and Latin Goddesses were both represented with lighted Torches in their Hands; which Reason seems far more natural than that which some assign, viz. $\delta\tau\iota$ $\gamma\omega\mu\alpha\lambda\iota\upsilon$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\iota\sigma\omega$ $\alpha\gamma$ $\pi\upsilon\rho$ $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ $\alpha\iota$ $\omega\delta\iota\upsilon\varsigma$, That the Pain of bearing Children is no less exquisite than that of Burning (a).

Who this *Elithyia* is, Authors are not well agreed: Some will have her to be an *Hyperborean*, who came from her own Country to *Delos*, and there assisted *Latona* in her Labour; they add, that this Name was first us'd at *Delos*, and thence deriv'd to other Parts of the World (b). *Olen*, the first Writer of Divine Hymns in Greece, makes her the Mother of *Cupid*; whence it might be infer'd, she was the same with *Venus*, were not *Pausanias*, who cites this Passage of *Olen*, against it, when he brings this as a different Account of *Cupid's* Descent from that receiv'd one of his being *Venus's* Son (c). The same Poet, cited by the same Author (d), will have her to be more ancient than *Saturn*, and the self-same with $\Pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\delta\omega\mu$, which is the Grecian Name for *Fate*. Others make her the same with *Juno*, *Diana*, the Moon, &c. What appears most probable, is, That all the $\Theta\epsilon\alpha\iota$ $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\delta\lambda\iota\sigma\iota$, i.e. those Deities who were thought to have any Concern for Women in Child-bed, were call'd *Elithyia*, and *Lucina*; for these are general Names, and sometimes given to one Deity, sometimes to another.

Juno was one of these Goddesses; whence the Woman thus invokes her,

Juno Lucina, fer opem.

Juno Lucina, help, assist the Labour.

There are several remarkable Stories concerning *Juno's* Power in this Affair, whereof I shall only mention that about *Alcmena*, who having incur'd this Goddess's Displeasure by being *Jupiter's* Mistress, and being with Child by him, *Sthenelus's* Wife being like wife with Child at the same time, but not so forward as the other; *Juno*

(a) *Pausanias Arcadica*, p. 443. Edit. Hanov. (b) *Idem Attica* p. 31. (c) *Idem Attica* p. 281. (d) *Arcadica* p. 487.

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first obtain'd that he, who should be first born, should rule over the other; then alter'd the Course of Nature, caus'd *Eurystheus* to be born of *Sibeneus's* Wife, and afterwards *Hercules* of *Alcmena*; whence *Hercules* was always subject to *Eurystheus*, and undertook his famous Labours in Obedience to his Commands.

The Daughters of this Goddess were employ'd in the same Office, and dignify'd with the same Title, as we find in *Homer* (a),

Ὡς δ' ὅταν ὠδίνουσιν ἔχῃ βίλῃ· ὁδὺ γυνάϊκα,
Δαίμν, τὸ, τι περὶ σῖσι μογούκοι Εἰλείθυαι,
Ἦεν θυγατέρες, πικρὰς ὠδῖνας ἔχουσαι·
Ὡς ὁξεῖ ὠδῶναι θυὸν μένος Ἀργείδαο.

Such racking Smart *Atrides* felt, such Pain,
As pregnant Wives in Labour do sustain,
Which *Juno's* Daughters, th' *Elisbyia* give,
As both to Child and Mother a Relief,

The *Moon* was another of these Deities, insomuch that *Cicero* will have *Luna*, the *Moon's* Name in *Latin*, to be the same with *Lucina*. Nor was it without Reason, that the *Moon* was thought one of the Deities, that had the Care of Child-bearing, since as several Philosophers are of Opinion, her Influences were very efficacious in carrying on the Work of Generation (b).

Diana, being commonly reputed the same with the *Moon*, was likewise thought to bear the same Office, as we find in *Horace*, who, having invok'd celestial *Diana*, proceeds thus (c),

Rite maturos aperire partus

Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres,

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,

Seu Genitalis.

Divā, producās sobolem; patrūque

Prosperes decreta super jugandis.

Femīnis, prolisque nova feracē

Lege mātina.

Propitious *Ilithyia*, thou, whose Care

Preludes o'er Child-birth, lend a pitying Ear,

Prolific Wombs defend and bless,

May they conceive, and in their Issue have Success;

Let Laws and Statutes of the Wise

Promote, enjoyn, encourage Marriage-tyes,

And may our Senators agree

To enact good, wholesom Rules for bridal Sympathy;

Whether we thee *Lucina* name,

Or whether *Luna*, still the same

(a) *Iliad*. λ'. v. 269. (b) *Cicero* de Nat. Deor. lib. II. (c) *Carmilite* seculari.

W^h invoke,

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W' invoke, we humbly crave thy Influence and Aid
With blooming Joys to crown the Rites of th' nuptial Bed.

J. A.

The same Poet in another Place has attributed the same Care to this Goddess, not in her celestial Capacity, and as bearing the same Character with the *Moon*, but as frequenting these lower Regions, and traversing the Woods (*a*),

*Momium custos nemorumque Virgo,
Qua laborantes uero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque letbo,
Diva triformis.*

Goddess, to whom belongs each Hill, each Brake,
Where frightened Deer their Covert make,
Triple *Diana*, who dost hear,
And help Child-bearing Women after the third Pray'r.

Hence she is call'd in *Theocritus* *μογοςέχος*, the common Epithet of *Elithyia*,

Ἀλλὰ τῇ βασιλεῖα μογοςέχος Ἀρτεμὶς ἔστι.

Orpheus gives her divers other Titles relating to this Affair (*b*),

Πασίφανς, δαδῶχε, διὰ δίκτυνα, λοχέα,
Ὠδίνων ἐπαγωγέ, καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμυντή,
Λυσίζωνε, &c.

The Epithets *φαισφόρε*, *φείσσις*, &c. which denote the giving of *Life* and *Light*, being likewise attributed to *Proserpina*, make it seem that she was also thought to be concern'd for Women in Labour; which cannot appear strange, if we consider her as the same Goddess with *Diana*, who, being in three different Capacities as conversant in Heaven, Earth and Hell, has three distinct Names: In Heaven she is *Σελῶν*, the *Moon*; upon Earth *Ἀρτεμις*, *Diana*; in Hell *Προσεφόρη*, *Proserpina*; whence are those various Epithets, whereby the Poets denote her three-fold Character, as *τετραγών*, *triformis*, *tergemma*, with several others.

One End of invoking these Goddesses was, that the Women might be deliver'd without Pain, which was thought an infallible Token of the Divine Favour; whence *Theocritus*, in his *Encomium* of *Ptolemy*, reckons it as an extraordinary Blessing, that his Mother *Berenice* brought him into the World without Pain (*c*),

Σὲ δ' αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαίε,
Αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαίω αἰείζηλος Βερενίκη.

(*a*) *Lib. III. Od. XXII.* (*b*) *Hymno in Dianam.* (*c*) *Idyll. 2. v. 36.*

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Καί σε Κῶς ἀτίταλλε, βρέφος νεογιλὸν ἔοντα
 Δεξαμένη φῶς ματρὸς, ὅτε περταὶ ἴδες αὖ·
 Ἐνθα γὰρ Εἰλείθυαν ἐβόσαστο λυσίζωνον
 Ἀντιγόνας θυγάτηρ βεβαρημένη ὠδίνεσσιν,
 Ἡ δ' οἱ ταμεινίσσα παλίστατο, καδ' δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Νῶδυιαν κατέχρει μελῶν. —

But *Berenice* hath these Births outdone;
 She brought great *Ptolemy* as great a Son;
 First *Coos* danc'd thee, thee, Mankind's Delight,
 She took thee at thy first Approach to Light:
 For there thy Mother to *Lucina* pray'd
 To ease her Throws, and found a speedy Aid,
 She came, stood by, and gently loos'd her Pain,
 Thy very Birth was easy as thy Reign.

Mr. Creech.

Nay, so great an Opinion had they of this Favour, that the Gods were believ'd to vouchsafe it to none but the Chast and Virtuous; whence it came to be look'd on as a convincing Proof of a Woman's Honesty: Thus we find in *Plautus* (a), that, when *Amphitryon* expresses his jealous Thoughts concerning *Alcmena*, this Argument is offer'd to allay his Passion,

BR. ——— *Uxorem tuam*
Neque gementem, neque plorantem nostrum quisnam audivimus,
Ita profecto sine dolore peperit. ———

Your Wife is brought to Bed with Ease, since none
 Hath heard so much as Groan or Sigh come from her.

Another Token of Divine Favour was thought to be conferr'd, when they brought forth Twins; which happening to *Alcmena*, was urg'd as another Proof of her Innocence (b),

BR. ——— *Ego faciam, tu idem ut aliter pradicēs,*
Amphitruo, piā & pudicā esse tuā uxorem ut scias;
De ea re signa atque argumenta paucis verbis eloquar:
Omnium primum, Alcmena geminos peperit filios. (dicere,
 AM. Ain' tu geminos? BR. Geminos. AM. Di me servent! BR. Sine me
 Ut scias tibi, tuæque uxori Deos esse omnes propitios.

BR. I'll wipe away Aspersions, and declare
 By a sure Token, Sir, my Lady's chaste,
 You'll not then falsely in the least suspect,
 That she hath injur'd, or defil'd your Bed:
 Sir, she hath brought forth Twins. AM. Twins say you? BR. Yes.

(a) *Amphitryone* Act. V. Sc. I. (b) *Ibidem.*

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Al. Bless me? *Br.* I'll this protest to shew that You
And my good Mistress are the Care of Heav'n.

F. A.

They had likewise other Means to procure an easy Delivery; one of which was to hold in their Hands Palm-branches, Tokens of Joy and Conquest, and us'd as Emblems of Persons. rais'd from great Afflictions to Prosperity; it being observ'd of that Tree, that the hanging of heavy Weights upon it is a means to cause it to branch out to a greater Height: *Latona*, when brought to Bed with *Apollo*, made use of this Expedient to ease her Pain; whence *Theognis* thus bespeaks that God (a),

Σὲ θεὰ τέκε πότνια Ἀητῶ,
Φοῖνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐπαφάμενη.

When handling Palm *Latona* brought you forth.

Homer likewise mentions *Latona's* travelling near a Palm-tree (b),

Χαῖρε, μάκαρ' ὦ Ἀητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
Ἀπόλλωνα τ' Ἀνακτα, καὶ Ἀρτέμιν ἰοχίαιον.
Τῶ μ' ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, καὶ ἢ Κραναιῇ ἐνὶ Δῆλῳ,
Κεκλιμένη περὶ μακρὸν ὄρεος καὶ Κωίδιον ὄχθον
Ἀλχοτάτῳ φοῖνικι, ὑπ' Ἰνωπότῳ ῥέεθρῳ.

What Tides of Blifs do sport about thy Throne
What Joys do in eternal Circles run,
Latona, who hast such a Daughter, such a Son?
Diana, Queen of Woods, she there bears Sway,
Apollo's Reign great Empires do obey:
Her Birth *Orygia* boasts, the God was born
Under a Palm-tree *Delos* to adorn,
Inopus nigh peep'd up with swelling Tide,
And in curl'd Surges smilingly did glide.

F. A.

It is observable that the ancient *Athenians* us'd none but Men-midwives; it being forbidden by one of their Laws, that Women, or Slaves should have any Concern in the Study, or Practice of Physick: This proving very fatal to many Women, whose Modesty suffer'd them not to entrust themselves in the Hands of Men, one *Agnodice* disguis'd her self in Man's Cloaths and study'd Physick under a certain Professor call'd *Herophilus*; where having attain'd to a competent Skill in that Art, she reveal'd her self to her own Sex, who agreed with one Consent to employ none beside her: Hereupon the rest of the Physicians, enrag'd at their want of Business, indicted her before the Court of *Areopagus*, as one that corrupted Men's

(a) *Gnom. v. 5.* (b) *Hymn. in Apollin. v. 14.*

Wives;

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Wives; To obviate this Accusation she discover'd what Sex she was of; upon this the Physicians prosecuted her with greater Eagerness, as violating the Laws, and encroaching upon the Men's Prerogative; when, to prevent her Ruin, the principal Matrons of the City came into Court and address'd themselves to the Judges, telling them, "That they were not Husbands, but Enemies, who were going to condemn the Person, to whom they ow'd their Lives": Upon this the *Athenians* repeal'd the old Law, and permitted free Women to undertake this Employment (a).

No sooner was the Child brought into the World, but they wash'd it in Water; whence *Callimachus*, speaking of *Jupiter's* Nativity, has these Words (b),

Ενθα σ' ἔπα μῆτηρ μεγάλων ἀπειθήκατο κόλπον,
Αὐτίκα δὲ ζήτο ῥέον ὕδατος, ὃ κε τόκοιο
Δύματα χυτλώσαιο, τίδ' ἐνὶ χροῶτα λοίσαι.

As soon as you was born, and saw the Light,
Your Mother's grateful Burthen and Delight,
She sought for some clear Brook to purify
The Body of so dear a Progeny.

Iscophron also, designing to express the Murder of *Cilla* and her Son *Munitus*, which was effected as soon as the Child was born, says they died before the Boy was wash'd, or suckl'd (c),

Ἰν' ἄλμα πάππῃ, καὶ χαμδνάδος μόρῃ
Τῆς λαθρογυμφοῦ πορτίος μεμισυμένοι
Σκύμνῳ κέχωνται, πρὶν λαρυξάσθαι γένος,
Πρὶν ἐκ λοχείας γῆα χυτλώσαι δέσσω.

A stol'n Embrace sent *Cilla* to the Fates
With her *Munitus*, the young Bastard-brat,
Who both were kill'd nigh unto *Ilus's* Tomb,
Her Grandfather, before the Child had been
Cleans'd from the Issue of the spurious Birth.

The *Lacedamonians* bath'd their new-born Infants, not in Water, as was the Custom of all other Countries (saith *Plutarch* in his Life of *Iscurgus*) but Wine, to prove the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies; for they had a Conceit, that weakly Children would fall into Convulsions, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, those, who were of a strong and vigorous Constitution, would require a greater Degree of Firmness by it, and get a Temper in Proportion like Steel in the quenching.

The next Action observable is cutting the Child's Navil, which was done by the Nurses, and call'd *ὀμφαλιτομία* (d), whence arose

(a) Hyginus Fab. CCLXXIV. (b) Hymno in *Jovem* v. 14. (c) *Cassandra* v. 319. ubi consulendus *Mentis* Commentarius. (d) *Suidas* in ista voce.

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the proverbial Saying, ὀμφαλὸς αὐτὸ πλεῖστην, i. e. *Thy Navil is not cut*, which is as much as if we say, *You are an Infant, and scarce separated from your Mother*. There was a Place in *Crete* call'd *Oμφάλιον* from ὀμφαλός, a *Navil*, because *Jupiter's Navil-string* was cut there; whence *Callimachus* speaks to him thus (d),

Τετὰρ τοι πῖσι, δαῖμόν, ἀπ' ὀμφαλός· ἐνθεν ἔκεινο
Ομφάλιον μετέκτετα πίδαυ καλέουσι Κύνδοντες.

Then the Nurse wrapp'd the Child in Swadling-bands, lest its Limbs, being then tender and flexible, should happen to be distort-ed; only the *Spartan* Nurses were so careful and experienc'd, that, without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all streight and well proportion'd: Their Management of Children differ'd likewise from all the rest of the *Grecians* in several other Instances, for "they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the Dark, or to be alone, nor to be froward, peevish, and crying, as they are generally in other Countries thro' the impertinent Care and Fondness of those, who look to them: Upon this account *Spartan* Nurses were frequently hir'd by People of other Countries; and it is reported, that she, who suckl'd *Alcibiades*, was a *Spartan* (b)".

To return, new-born Infants were at *Athens* commonly wrapp'd in a Cloth, wherein was represented the *Gorgon's Head*, because that was describ'd in the Shield of *Minerva*, the Protectress of that City; whereby, it may be, Infants were committed to the Goddess's Care; another End of it might be, to put them in mind, when arriv'd at Men's Estate, that they were to imitate such noble and generous Examples as were there represented; or to be an happy Omen of their future Valour; for which Reasons it was likewise customary to lay them upon Bucklers; thus *Hercules* and his Brother *Iphiclus* were plac'd by *Alcmena* (c),

Ηεσυχία δὲκαμῖνων ἴδοντα ποχ' ἄ Μιδεῶτις
Αλκμῶνα, καὶ νυκτὶ νεώτερον Ἰφικλῆα,
Ἀμφοτέρως λίσσασα, καὶ ἐμπλήσασα γάλακτος,
Χαλκείαν κατέθηκεν ἐπ' αἰσίδα, τὴν Πτεργίδα
Ἀμφιτρυὼν καλὸν ὄπλον ἀπισκύνουσε πιδόντος.

Alcides ten Months old, a vig'rous Child,
Alcmena fed, and laid him on a Shield,
(The Shield from *Perillus Amphirryo* won,
A great, auspicious Cradle for his Son)
With younger *Iphiclus* of human Race,
No Part of him was drawn from *Jove's Embrace*.

Mr. Creech.

(a) *Hymno in Jovem*, v. 44. (b) *Plutarchus Lycurgo*. (c) *Theocriti Idyll.*

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The Lacedæmonians religiously observ'd this Ceremony; whence Nonnus (a),

Λακωνίδες οἷα γυναικας
Υἱας ὠδίνουσιν ἐπ' ἐκκύκλοις βοείας.

On a round Buckler the Laconian Dames
Lay down their Burthen of Child-birth. —

In other Places they plac'd their Infants in a Thing bearing some Resemblance to whatever sort of Life they design'd them for: Nothing was more common than to put them in Vans, or Conveniencies to winnow Corn, in Greek *λίχνα*, which were design'd as Omens of their future Riches and Affluence (b): This was not always a real Van, but commonly an Instrument bearing the Figure of it, but compos'd of Gold, or other Materials: Thus Callimachus tells us, Nemesis plac'd young Jupiter in a golden Van (c),

Σὲ δ' κοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια
Λίχνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ. —

In a gold Van Nemesis laid you to Sleep.

One Thing more is to be observ'd concerning the Athenians before we dismiss this Head, viz. That it was a common Practice among them, especially in Families of Quality, to place their Infants on Dragons of Gold; which Custom was instituted by Minerva in Memory of Eriabonius, one of their Kings, who had Feet like those of Serpents, and, being expos'd to the wide World when an Infant, was committed by that Goddess to the Custody of two vigilant Dragons: Euripides has largely accounted for this Ceremony, when he speaks of Creusa's Son, whom she bore to Apollo (d),

Ὡς δ' ἦλθε χρόνος,
Τεκῶσ' ἐν οἰκοῖς παῖδ', ἀπλώεσκε βρέθ^ο
Εἰς ταυτὴν ἄντρον, ἔπερ πύλασθι θεῶ,
Κρίνσα' κακτίθῃσιν ὡς θανάμβων
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίθῃγος εὐτερόχῳ κύκλῳ,
Προγόνων νόμον σώζουσα, τῷ τε γηγῆνός
Ἑριχθονίῳ κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κῆρυ
Φερῶν παρὰ δῖσσα φύλακας σώματος,
Διῶν δακρυόντι, παρθένοισι Ἀγλαείοις
Δίδωσι σώζειν ὅθεν Ἑριχθίδας ἐκεί
Νόμ^ο τίς δὲν ὄφειν ἐν χρυσηλατοῖς
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

(a) Dionysiacis lib. XLI. (b) Etymologici Author, Callimachi Scholiastes in versum sequentem. (c) Hymno in Jovem. (d) Ion. v. 15.

The Time, she reckon'd, being out, a Boy
 She was deliver'd of, the which sh' expos'd
 In the same close, convenient Recess,
 Where the brisk God her Maiden-fruits had cropt;
 In a round Box here she the Infant left
 To perish; as the ancient Custom was,
 Experienc'd by old *Eristhonius*:
 Since him *Minerva* to *Aglaurus* gave,
 That she might with her Sisters bring him up,
 Two Dragons being Guards; the Custom hence
 Is by *Erekteus's* Daughters thus observ'd
 To nurse up carefully and Children tend
 Entwined within the Folds of golden Serpents.

J. A.

The Poet has likewise given us the same Account of this Custom towards the latter End of this Tragedy (a).

On the fifth Day after the Birth the Midwives, having first purify'd themselves by washing their Hands, ran round the Fire-hearth with the Infant in their Arms; thereby, as it were, entering it into the Family, and putting it under the Protection of the Household Gods, to whom the Hearth serv'd instead of an Altar; hence the Day was call'd *Δεσμιόριον ἡμᾶς* or (which was the more usual Name) *Αμοιδεμία*: It was celebrated as a Festival with great Expressions of Joy: They receiv'd Gifts from their Friends; if the Child was a Male, their Doors were deck'd with an Olive-garland; if a Female, with Wooll, in token of the Work Women were to be employ'd about: The Cheer consisted of divers sorts of Things, among which *κεράυν*, Colewort, always was one, which the *Athenian* Midwives us'd to administer to Women in Child-bed as conducing to create Milk: The whole Ceremony is describ'd in the following Verses of *Ephippus* cited by *Aspeneus* (b), most of which, some Varieties in the Reading excepted, the same Author cites in another Place out of *Eubulus* (c),

Επειτα πῶς
 Οὐ γέφανος ἐδ' εἰς δεξιὰς πρὸς τὴν θυρῶν,
 Οὐ κνίσα κρέει ῥινὸς ὑπερχᾶς ἀκράς
 Αμοιδεμίῳ ὄντων, ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
 Οπλᾶν τε τύρε Χερρόνησίτε τῆνες,
 Εἴσαν τ' ἐλαίης ῥάφανον ἡγλαϊσμένῳ,
 Πίνγειν τε παχέων ἀρνείων σπιδύνια,
 Τίλλειν τε φάτλας καὶ κίχλας οἷον σπίνοις,
 Κοινῇ τε χναῖεν τὰ δίδισιν σπηλίστα,
 Πιλῆιν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἐπισέφως,
 Πίνγειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζωρεστέρας;

(a) V. 1427. (b) Lib. IX, cap. II, p. 370. Edit. *casaub.* (c) Lib. II, cap. XXIV, p. 65.

But

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But what's Reason that no Crown is plac'd
Before the Doors, nor grateful Victim slain,
Whose frying Fat delights the smelling Sense,
When th' joyful *Amphidromia* are kept;
In which is tosted *Cerberonian* Cheese,
And Colewort ty'd in Bundles seeth'd in Oyl,
And Linnets, Doves, Thrushes, and Cuttle-fish,
And Calamary dress'd, and eat in common,
And *Polypus's* Claws with Care procur'd
To drink 'em down amidst their less-mix'd Cups.

The seventh Day was likewise honour'd with Festival Solemnities, that being the Time the Child was commonly nam'd: To celebrate this Day was call'd *ἑβδομήθερος*. The Reason why the Child's Name was impos'd on this Day, was *ἅτι ἐπίτευον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ*, because by this time they began to conceive *Hopes* that it would live; for weakly Infants *τὰ πλεῖστα ἀναίρεται πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς*, commonly die before the seventh, as we are inform'd by *Aristotle* in *Harpocratian* (a).

Some kept the eighth Day after the Infant's Birth, calling that the *γενέθλιος ἡμέρα*, *natalis*, Birth-day, because solemniz'd in Memory of the Child's Nativity. The same Day was kept every Year after during the Child's Life. The same Day was also observ'd by the Jews for their Circumcision, as hath been remark'd by the ancient Interpreter upon the following Passage of *Terence* (b);

— porro autem Geta
Ferietur alio munere, ubi bera pepererit:
Porro alio autem, ubi erit puero natalis dies.

Others nam'd their Children upon the tenth Day after their Birth, on which also they invited their Friends to an Entertainment, and offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods. *Euripides* mentions this Custom (c):

Τίς σε μήτηρ ἐν δεκάτῃ τόκον ἀνόμασεν;

What Mother on the tenth Day nam'd you?

The same is also mention'd by *Aristophanes* (d):

— Οὐὼ ᾗ δεκάτῃ ταύτης ἐγὼ,
Καὶ τέγομ' ὅσπερ παυδίῳ νῦν δὲ δέμῳ.

On the tenth Day I offer'd Sacrifice,
And, as a Child's, her Name impos'd.

(a) Voce *ἑβδομημερομίνου*. (b) *Phormion*. Act. I. Scen. I. (c) *Ægei* fragment, v. 14. (d) *Avibus* p. 564. Edit. *Amstelodam.*

Some will have the Tenth to be the same with *Ἀμυδῆμια*, but (however some Persons might joyn the two Solemnities) they were commonly distinct: To celebrate this Day was call'd *δεκάτῳ δύνει*, *δεκάτῳ ἐποδύνει*, *δεκάτῳ ἐπαύρει* (a).

It may be observ'd, that, when the Child receiv'd its Name, whether upon the tenth, or any other Day, a considerable Number of Friends were present. This Custom was not only observ'd by the the *Grecians*, but at *Rome*, and in most other Parts of the World; the chief End whereof seems to have been to prevent Controversies, that might afterwards arise, when the Child came into Business, and was under several civil Relations, if his Name was not certainly known.

The Child's Father usually impos'd the Name. There was a Law at *Athens*, whereby Fathers were authoriz'd to give Names to their Children, and to alter them as often as they pleas'd (b). In imposing Names they observ'd no constant Rule, yet it was common to choose some of their most eminent Ancestors, whose Name they desir'd should be continu'd to Posterity, as an Honour to themselves and their Family, and a perpetual Remembrance to stir up their Children to the Imitation of great Examples: Thus we find the Names of *Pyrrhus*, *Philip*, *Ptolemy*, &c. preserv'd in several of their Successors; *Ulpian* speaks of *Proxenus* descended from one *Harmodius*, and the Father of another (c); *Plutarch* says, *Thucydides* was the Son of *Olorus*, who deriv'd his Name from one of his Ancestors (d); *Aristophanes* makes *Callias* both the Father and Son of *Hipponicus* (e);

Ἰππόνικος Καλλίης, καὶ Ἰππονίκου Καλλίας.

Lastly (to trouble you with no more Instances) we are assur'd by *Eustathius*, that this was a Custom of very great Antiquity (f): The same seems to have been frequent in most other Nations; Few of the *Roman* Families but what afford continual Instances of this Nature. *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian* bore his Grandfather's Name, and we find *Zachary's* Friends in *St. Luke's* Gospel strangely surpriz'd, when his Son the *Baptist* was call'd *John*, because none of his Relations were known by that Name.

The Actions of Parents were frequently perpetuated by the Names of their Children, as *Eustathius* observes (g): So *Cleopatra*, or rather *Marpissa* (for *Eustathius* and the old *Scholiast* are of different Opinions herein) was call'd *Halcyone*, because, when she was ravish'd by *Apollo*, her Mother was no less afflicted than the *Halcyon* is wont to be for the Loss of her Young (h);

(a) De his diebus videndi Pollux l. b. I. cap. I. *Aristoteles* Hist. Animal. lib. VII. cap. XII. *Hesychius*, *Suidas*, *Harpocration*, *Etymologici* Auctor, *Phavorinus* in γν. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. ad v. *Boetium* apud *Ὀνύμαστον*. (c) *Schol.* in *Demosthenis* Orat. de male obita legatione. (d) *Cimone*. (e) *Avibus*. (f) *Iliad.* i. p. 441. Edit. Basil. (g) *Iliad.* i. p. 513. (h) *Iliad.* i. p. 557.

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Τὼ δ' ὅτ' ἐν μεγάροισι πατρὸς καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
 Αλκυόνη καλῖεσκον ἐπώνυμον, ἔνεκ' αὖτ' αὐτῆς
 Μήτηρ, Αλκυόνος πολυπενθέος οἶτον ἔχουσα,
 Κλαῖ, ὅτε μιν ἐκείργος ἀνήγαγε φοῖβος Ἀπέλλων.

Halcyon the Maid her Parents call'd,
 'Cause *Halcyon* like her Mother much bewail'd
 Her wretched Fate, when by *Apollo* ravish'd.

Hector's Son *Scamandrius* was nam'd by the *Trojans* *Astyanax*, because his Father was ἄσπετος ἀναξ, the Defender of the City *Troy*; for the original Signification of ἀναξ is no more than a Saviour, or Defender, whence the Gods are commonly call'd ἀνακτες; The Story is in *Homer* (a),

Ἀμα δ' ἀμφίπολ' ἔκειν αὐτῇ
 Παιδ' ἐπὶ κόλπον ἔχουσ' ἀταλόφρονα, νήπιον αὐτῆς,
 Ἐκτοείδην ἀγαπητὸν, ἀλίγκιον ἐστὶ καλῶ,
 Τὸν ῥ' Ἐκτωρ καλῖεσκε Σκαμάνδειον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι
 Ἀστυάνακτ', οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἐκτωρ.

The royal Babe upon her Breast was laid,
 Who like the Morning Star his Beams display'd:
Scamandrius was his Name, which *Hector* gave
 From that fair Flood, which *Ilium's* Wall did lave;
 But him *Astyanax* the *Trojans* call,
 From his great Father, who defends the Wall.

Mr. Dryden.

Ulysses was call'd Ὀδυσσεύς, διὰ τὸ ὀδυσσάσθαι ἢ Αὐτόλυκον, from the Anger of his Grandfather *Autolycus*, as *Homer* reports, when he introduces *Autolycus* thus speaking to *Ulysses's* Parents (b),

Γαμβρὸς ἐμὸς, θυγάτηρ τε, τίθειδ' ὄνομ' ὅττι κερ εἶπω.
 Πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἔγωγε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἱκανῶ
 Ἀνδράσιν ἠδὲ γυναιξὶν ἀνὰ χθόνα πελυδότησα.
 Τῷ Ὀδυσσεύς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον.

Son, 'tis my Pleasure that my Grandchild be,
 (And, Daughter, you observe too what I say)
Ulysses call'd, 'tis that I'd have his Name,
 Because, when much enrag'd, I hither came.

Men's own Actions, Complexions, or Condition frequently gave occasion to their Names: Thus *Oedipus* was nam'd διὰ τὸ οἰδῶν τὰ πόδας, whence *Seneca* introduces an old Man thus speaking to him (c),

(a) *Iliad*. ζ'. 399. (b) *Odys.* τ'. v. 406. (c) *Oedip.* v. 812.

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*Forata ferro gesserat vestigia,
Tumore natus nomen ac visio pedum.*

Your Feet were bor'd with Iron, from which Sore
And swelling Tumor you receiv'd your Name.

Achilles's Son was first call'd Πυρρὸς, from his ruddy Complexion, or the Colour of his Hair; afterwards Νεοπτόλεμος, from undertaking the Management of the Trojan War when very young; To mention other Instances is needless; wherefore I shall conclude this Head with Plutarch's Words, wherein we have an Account of the Roman, as well as the Grecian Method in imposing Names (a): "Hence (i. e. "from the taking of Corioli the chief City of the Volscians) Caius Marcius had his third Name of Coriolanus: Whence it is manifest, that "Caius was a personal proper Name; that the second, or Sirname "of Marcius, was a Name in common to his Family: and that the "third Roman Appellative was a peculiar Note of Distinction drawn afterwards, and impos'd for some particular Action, Fortune, "Shape, Feature, or Virtue of him that bore it: For thus also the "Grecians in old Time were wont to fix an additional Character "on their great Men for any famous Atchievement, such as Σωτήρ, "i. e. Saviour; and Καλλίνικος, Renown'd for Victory; or to express "something remarkable in their Shape, or Features, as Φύσκων, "Gorge-belly; and Γευγὼς, Eagle-nos'd; as likewise upon account "of their Virtue and Kindness, as Εὐεργέτης, a Benefactor; and "Φιλάδελφος, a Lover of his Brethren; or from their unusual Felicity and good Fortune, as Εὐδαίμων, Happy, a Name given to the "second Prince of Battus's Family: Several Kings had Names appropriated to them in Reproach and Mockery, as Antigonus that "of Δώσω, i. e. one liberal only in the future, since he was always "promising, but never came to Performance; and Ptolemy, who "was styl'd Λάμυρς, for the fond Opinion he had of his own Wit "and Pleasantry: This latter kind of Denomination by way of "Railery the Romans did very much delight in; for one of the Metelli was surnam'd by them Διαδήματος, because he had for a long "time together walk'd about with his Head bound up, by reason of an "Ulcer in his Fore-head: There are some, who even at this Day "derive Names from certain casual Incidents at their Nativity; "One, for Instance, who happens to be born when his Father is abroad in a foreign Country, they term Proculus; another born after his Father's Decease, they style Posthumus; and when Twins "come into the World, whereof one dies at the Birth, the Survivor "is call'd Vopiscus: Nay, they use to denominate not only their Syllas and Nigers, i. e. Men of a pimpled Visage, or scabby Complexion, but their Cæci and Claudii, i. e. the Blind and Lame, from "such corporal Blemishes and Defects; thus wisely accustoming their "People not to reckon the Loss of Sight, or any other bodily Misfortune, as a Matter of Ignominy and Disgrace, but that they

(a) Marcio Coriolano.

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" should answer to such Names without Shame, or Confusion, no otherwise than to the most familiar Compellations".

Sometimes they took a more compendious Way to dispose of their Children, either killing them outright, or exposing them in some desert Place, or elsewhere, to the Mercy of Fortune: To do the latter of these they term'd *ἐκτίθεσθαι*, or *ἀποτίθεσθαι*, nor was it accounted a criminal, or blame-worthy Action, but permitted by some Law-givers, and expressly encourag'd and commanded by others: The *Lacedæmonians* are remarkable for their Behaviour in this Matter, for they allow'd not Fathers to nourish their Children when inclin'd to do it, but oblig'd them to carry all their new-born Infants to certain *Tryers*, who were some of the gravest Men in their own Tribe, and kept their Court at a Place call'd *λίσση*, where they carefully view'd such as were brought to them; if they found them lusty and well-favour'd, they gave order for their Education, and allotted a certain Proportion of Land for their Maintenance; but if weakly, or deform'd, they order'd them to be cast into a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*, as thinking it neither for the Good of the Children themselves, nor for the publick Interest, that they should be brought up, since Nature had both deny'd them the Means of Happiness in their own Particular, and of being serviceable to the Publick, by not enduing them with a sufficient Measure of Health and Strength: On this Account it was, that new-born Infants were bath'd in Wine (a), as has been already observ'd. The Place, into which the *Lacedæmonians* cast their Infants was call'd *Ἀποδίται*, whence *ἀποτίθεσθαι* is usually taken for exposing with a Design to destroy, whereas *ἐκτίθεσθαι* commonly bears a milder Sense, for many Persons expos'd their Children, when they were not willing they should perish, only because they were unable to maintain them; Daughters especially were thus treated, as requiring more Charges to educate and settle them in the World than Sons; whence the Saying cited out of *Posidippus*,

Τῶν πέποιθες καὶ πένες τις ὦν τύχη,
Θυγατέρα δ' ἐκτίθῃσι καὶ ἡ πλεῖστος.

A Man tho' poor will not expose his Son,
But if he's rich will scarce preserve his Daughter.

The *Thebans* dislike'd this barbarous Custom, having a Law, whereby the Practice of it was made capital; such as were not of Ability to provide for their Children, were order'd to carry them as soon as born to the Magistrates, who were oblig'd to take care for their Maintenance, and when they were grown up, us'd them as Slaves, taking their Service as a Recompense for the Charges and Trouble they had been put to (b).

Children were usually expos'd in their Swadling-cloaths, and laid in a Vessel; thus *Ion* was expos'd by *Creusa* (c);

(a) *Plutarchus Lycurgo.* (b) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. II. cap. VII.* (c) *Eu ipi- des Ione v. 16.*

— Ἀπὸνευκε βρέφ' —

Εἰς ταυτὸν ἄντεον, ὅπερ νυνὲς δὲ θεῶ,
Κρέουσα, κακτὶ θύσιν ὡς θανόμενον
Κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγος ἐντὸς ἔχω κύκλῳ.

The Infant first she in a Vessel put,
Then in that Den, where with the God before
Her self had laid, she it expos'd to die.

Aristophanes calls it ὄσερον, speaking of *Oedipus* (a),

— Αὐτὸν γενόμενον

Χειμῶνος ὄντος ἀξιδισθῶν ἐν ὄσερον.

*Tis sometimes term'd *χύτες*, whence *χυτεῖς* is the same with *ἐκτίθεις*, and *χυτεῖσμός* with *ἐκδασίς* (b).

The Parents frequently ty'd Jewels and Rings to the Children they expos'd, or any other Thing whereby they might afterwards discover them, if Providence took care for their Safety: Another Design in thus adorning these Infants was, either to encourage such as found them, to nourish and educate them, if alive; or to give them human Burial, if dead; the last of these Reasons is assign'd by *Euripides* speaking of *Crensa* (c),

— Ἦν ἔχε παρδίνος χλιδῶν

Τένειον περσάλας ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανόμενον

Her costly Robe she o'er the Infant cast,
And left it to expire. —

Terence introduces *Sofstrata* assigning another Reason for this Practice, when she relates how she had caus'd her Daughter to be expos'd to save her from her Husband *Chremes*, who had straitly commanded, that she should be put to Death (d),

— Ut stulta & misera omnes sumus

Religiosa, cum exponendam do illi, de digito anulum

Derrabo, & cum dico ut una cum puella exponeret,

Si moretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

We all are tender, superstitious Fools,

So when I first deliver'd up my Child

To be expos'd, I strait pull'd off my Ring,

And bad the Man to leave it with the Girl,

So had she there deceas'd, she still had kept

Some Pledge that would denote my former Love.

(a) *Ranis*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Loc*, cit. v, 26. (d) *Heauton*, Act. IV. Sc. 1.
Before

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Before the Conclusion of this Chapter, it will be necessary to add something concerning the Purification of Women coming out of Child-bed: for during their lying there, they were look'd on as polluted; whence the *Athenians* enacted a Law that no Woman should bring forth in *Delos*, an Island consecrated to *Apello*, because the Gods were believ'd to have an Aversion to all sorts of Pollution: *Iphigenia* in *Euripides* tells us, that no Person, who was guilty of Murder, or had touch'd a Woman in Child-bed, or a dead Corpse, could be admitted to *Diana's* Altar (a),

— — — — — Βροῦς ἢ τὴν τῆς ἀφ' ἧς φόνον,
ἢ καὶ λοχέας, ἢ νεκρὸν δίχην χεῖρσιν,
Βροῦς ἀπείγει, μυσσέν ὡς ἡγερμένη.

They, who by these Pollutions are defil'd
By Murder, Child-bed, or but touch'd the Dead,
Let them as Things unhallow'd, be deny'd
T' approach *Diana's* Altar. — — —

When the fortieth Day came, the Danger of Child-birth being then over, they kept a Festival, call'd from the Number of the Day *τριάκοντος*. At this Time the Woman, having been before purify'd by Washing, enter'd into some of the Temples, most commonly *Diana's*, which from her Labour till that Time she was not allow'd to do (b); Here she return'd Thanks for her safe Delivery, and offer'd Sacrifices: It was likewise the Custom to present her Garments to *Diana*, who acquir'd hence the Surname of *Χιτών* (c); and Women after their first Child did farther offer their *Zona* to the same Goddess, who was on that Account call'd *Λοσιζών*, and had a Temple at *Athens* dedicated to her under that Title (d).

CHAP. XV.

Of their different sorts of Children, Wills, Inheritances, the Duties of Children to their Parents, &c.

THE Scholiast on *Homer* makes four different sorts of Children: 1. *Οἱ γνηστοί*, or *ἰθαγενεῖς*, Children born in lawful Marriage. 2. *Οἱ νόθοι*, those born of Concubines, or Harlots. 3. *Οἱ σκώτιοι*, whose Fathers were not known, wherein they were distinguish'd from the former. 4. *Οἱ παρθεναί*, such

(a) *Iphigenia*. *Taur.* v. 280. (b) *Cassiodorus de Natal.* cap. XI. (c) *Callimachi Scholiastes Hymn. I.* (d) *Apollonii Scholiastes.*

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as were born of Women, who, tho' vitiated before Marriage, were still taken for Virgins. This and other Divisions of Children I shall pass by, only taking notice of three Sorts :

1. *Τυχοιοι*, lawfully begotten.

2. *Νεῖδοι*, born of Harlots, which Word in a large Sense may comprehend the three latter sorts of Children before-mention'd.

3. *Οετοὶ*, adopted.

It will be necessary to add something more concerning every one of these. First, those were reputed lawfully begotten, who were, begotten in lawful Marriage, which was measur'd by different Rules as the Affairs of every State requir'd : In some Places, whoever had a Citizen for his Father, tho' his Mother was a Foreigner ; in others, those also, who were born of free Women, when their Fathers were Foreigners, pass'd for Legitimate, and inherited the Freedom of the City they were born in, and all Privileges consequent thereto. Most Common-wealths at their first Constitution, and after great Losses of Inhabitants by War, Plagues, or other ways, seem to have taken this Course to replenish and strengthen their Country with People ; but when that Exigence ceas'd and it became necessary to restrain the too great Encrease of free Citizens, they commonly enacted, that none should be esteem'd legitimate, but such as were descended from Parents both Citizens (a) ; which Order was dispens'd with, or abrogated as oft as fresh Occasions requir'd. This may be observ'd at *Athens* in *Pericles's* Time : For when *Pericles* was in a flourishing Condition, and had Sons lawfully begotten, he propos'd that *Solon's* old Law should be reviv'd, whereby 'twas order'd that they only should be reputed true Citizens of *Athens*, whose Parents were both *Athenians* ; whereupon almost five Thousand lost their Freedom, and were sold for Slaves : But *Pericles* himself afterwards, having lost all his legitimate Sons, so far prevail'd with the *Athenians*, that they cancell'd the Law, and yielded that he might enroll his natural Son in the Register of his own Ward by his paternal Name ; which was a Thing the *νέδοι*, natural Children, were incapable of, as having nothing to do with the Name, Family (b), or Estate of their Father ; as neither were they allow'd to intermeddle in sacred, or civil Affairs. For fear any Person should insinuate such Children into the City-register, wherein all the Citizen's Names were kept, they made severe Scrutinies in every Burrough, which were term'd *Διακρίσεις* (c), whereby all Persons not duly qualify'd, were ejected from the City. There was also a Court of Justice in the *Cynosarges*, a Place in the Suburbs of *Athens*, where Examination was made concerning such Persons. Nor were such as had only one Parent an *Athenian*, tho' allow'd the Freedom of *Athens*, reputed equal to such as were *Athenians* of the whole Blood ; for, we find in *Plutarch* (d), that when these perform'd their Exercises at the Schools within the City, those of the half Blood, with the Foreigners, were only allow'd to exercise at *Cynosarges*, where was a *Gymnasium* dedicated to *Hercules*,

(a) *Ar. Hecales Politic. lib. III. cap. V.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Avibus.*
(c) *Emporation.* (d) *Themistocle.*

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who himself was illegitimate, as not being descended from two immortal Gods, but having a mortal Woman for his Mother; *Themistocles*, my Author tells us, offended at this Reproach, persuaded divers of the young Noblemen to accompany him to a point and exercise themselves at *Cynosarges*, whereby he seem'd (saith he) with some Ingenuity to take away the Distinction between the truly Noble and the Stranger, and between those of the whole and those of the half Blood of *Athens*. But of this Practice I have treated more largely in one of the precedent Books (a).

There was never any Time that I know of (whatever some may pretend to the contrary) when Illegitimacy was not reputed a Disgrace; unless in those Ages, wherein Men liv'd without Laws and Government, allowing promiscuous Mixtures, and all other sorts of Uncleaness. *Eustathius* will have Concubines and their Sons to have been as honourable as Wives and Sons begotten in lawful Marriage about the Time of the *Trojan War* (b); but the whole Course of Antiquity seems to be clearly against him, for I do not find a single Instance in any ancient Author, which can countenance this Opinion: 'Tis possible indeed, that Concubines might sometimes have greater Respect than lawful Wives, Bastards than legitimate Children; but that was owing to the partial Affections of Husbands, which Women by their superior Beauty and Arts of Insinuation might gain, but can by no means be attributed to the Practice of those Times: The chief reason *Eustathius* alledges, is, that *Agamemnon* calls *Teucer* νόθος, when encouraging him to fight, at which Time it would have been very improper to have given him opprobrious Language: The Hero's Words run thus (b),

Τῶ κε, φίλῃ κεφαλῇ, Τελαμῶνι, ποίεανε λαῶν,
Βάλλ' ἔτας, ἃ κεν τι φάος Δαναοῖσι γένηται
Πατέι τε σὺ Τελαμῶνι, ὃ σ' ἔτερος τυτθὸν ἔοντα,
Καί σε νόθον περ ἔοντα κομίσαιτο ὦ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ.

Teucer, you much-lov'd *Grecian* Chief, advance
If you'd your Sire's, or Country's Fame enhance;
Without Delay let some Exploit be done
Worthy your Country, worthy *Telamon*,
Who in your Nonage shew'd his gen'rous Care,
For, tho' of Spurious Birth, he held you dear,
At his own Table brought you up, ———

H. H.

In which Words *Agamemnon* excites *Teucer*, the natural Son of *Telamon*, to behave himself with Courage by two Reasons; First, That so doing, he would be instrumental in delivering the *Grecians* from their Enemies, who daily got Ground of them; The other, That such an Action would be a Credit to his Father, whose Honour he

(a) Lib. I. cap. IX. (b) *Iliad*. 9. p. 499 Edit. Basil. (c) *Iliad*. 9. v. 281.

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ought to have a more tender Concern for, since he had receiv'd such extraordinary Benefits from him; as having, notwithstanding his Illegitimacy, been carefully educated, and that not in any remote Place, where he might have been neglected, but under *Telamon's* own Eye, and in his own House. This is so far from establishing an Equality between legitimate Children and Bastards, that it evidently shews the contrary, the Particle *τις* after *υβρις* plainly implying that such Care of Bastards was something more than common in those Days: Nor can the Poet be blam'd for making *Agamemnon* call him by such a Name, since the Thing was no Secret, but known to all the *Grecians*, and which (no doubt) appear'd every Day from *Teucer's* submissive Behaviour to *Ajax*, his half Brother and the lawful Son of *Telamon*. As a Confirmation of what I have said, I shall add the Words of *Agamemnon* in *Sophocles* spoken likewise to *Teucer*, whence it will appear what Difference there was between the Sons of lawful Wives and those of Concubines; and in particular concerning *Teucer*, how great a Disgrace it was to him to be the Son of a Captive, and Concubine, tho' his Mother was of the Race of Kings (a),

Σὲ δὲ τὰ δεινὰ ῥήματ' ἀγγέλλουσ' μοι
Τλιῦσαι καὶ ἡμῶν ὧδ' ἀνομιώκτει χανέϊ,
Σὲ τοι τ' ἐκ τ' ἀρχμαλώτιδος λέγω·
Ἡ το τεσσάρῃς ἀν' μητέρας ἐνδύεις ἀπο
Τῆλ' ἐκόμπτεις, καὶ π' ἀκράν' ὠδοιπόρεϊς,
Ὅτ' ἐδὲν ὦν, τ' μηδ' ἐν ἀντίστοιχ' ὕπνῳ,
Κύτ' ἐστ' ἐν γυῖ, ἔτε τ' αὐτὰρ ἄρ' ἐν μολεῖν
Ἡμῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἔτε σε διωμόσω;
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρχων, ὡς σὺ φῖς, Αἴας ἔπλει·
Ταῦτ' ἐκ ἀκράν' μεγάλα πρὸς δέλων κακά;

I am inform'd that with opprobrious Speech
You, Vassal, you born of a Slave of War,
Have dar'd bespatter *Agamemnon's* Fame,
And yet thy heinous Crime is unreveng'd:
How haest thou swell'd, if come of nobler Birth,
Who arrogantly now defend'st the Cause
Of one that is no more, a life-less Corpse;
Dares to deny our dread Authority,
Whilst *Ajax* truly must be own'd a Chief:
Gods! Do such Words become a servile Mouth?

H. H.

Some will have only the natural Children of Kings and Persons of Quality to have been equal to those, who were lawfully begotten: It may be true, that such Children were above the legitimate ones of private Persons; but, that they were of the same Dignity with the legitimate Issue of Princes, does not appear; nay, the contrary

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is manifest from the fore-mention'd Example of *Teucer*, both whose Parents were Princes. The same might be prov'd by other Instances, whereof I shall only mention one: 'Tis that of *Ion*, who had *Apollo* for his Father, and *Creusa*, the Wife of an *Athenian* King, for his Mother, and yet is introduc'd by *Euripides* complaining of his hard Fortune in being illegitimate (a),

Εἶναι φασὶ τὰς αὐτοχθόνας
Κλεινὰς Ἀθίνας, ἐκ ἐπείσакτον γένε',
Ἰν' ἀποισσῶμαι δ'ὲν νόσω κεκτημένος,
Πατέρει' ἐπακτῷ, καὶ τοῖς ὦν νόθα γένε';
Καὶ οὗτ' ἔχων τέλειος, ἀδελφὴς μ' ὦν,
Μηδὲν καὶ ἐδὲν ἐνθάδ' ὦν κεκλησώμαι.

'Tis rumour'd that the famous *Athen's* Sons
Were there produc'd, and there have ever liv'd;
Then where shall wretched I intrude my self,
Who am on two Accounts most desperate,
A Bastard-son and of a Stranger too;
And to complete my most opprobrious Fate,
Am most infirm: On these Accounts shall I
Be there despis'd, and made a publick Scorn.

H. H.

It may indeed be objected, that (as *Servius* observes) natural Children sometimes succeeded in their Father's Kingdoms; but that only happen'd (as the same Author tells us) for want of legitimate Issue; nor was it always allow'd in such Cases. In some Places the Bastards of private Persons likewise inherited the Estates of their Fathers having no lawful Children or Relations, as appears from an *Athenian* Law cited by *Demosibenes* (b). But where there were Relations, Bastards had no Share, as is plain from a Dialogue between *Pisthetærus* and *Hercules* in *Aristophanes*; where *Hercules*, having been perswaded by *Neptune* that he was Heir apparent to *Jupiter*, is undeceiv'd by *Pisthetærus*, who tells him, that, being illegitimate, he had no Right of Inheritance, and to confirm what he said repeats *Solon's* Law concerning this Affair: The Passage is long, but, being pertinent to this Place, and containing a true Account of the *Athenian* Practice, must not be omitted (c),

ΠΕ. Οἱμοὶ τάλας γ', οἷόν σε πεισοφίζεσθαι;
Δὲρ' ὡς ἐμ' ἀποχάρησον, ἵνα τί τοι φράσω;
Διαβάλλεται σ' ὁ θεός, ὃ πόνηρ σὺ,
Τῶν γ' πατρῶν ἐδ' ἀκαρτεῖ μέτεσί σοι
Κατὰ πρὸ νόμου· νόθος γ' εἶ, καὶ γνήσιος.
ΗΡ. Εγὼ νόθος; τί λέγεις; ΠΕ. Σὺ μὲν τοὶ νῆ Δία,
Ὅν γε ξένος γυναικὸς ἢ πῶς ἂν ποτὲ
Ἐπικληθὲν εἶναι ῥ' Ἀθιναίων δοκεῖς,

(a) *Ion* v. 589. (b) *Orat. in Macartatum*. (c) *Λοιβὴ*, hard longer sine.

Οὐσαν θυγατέρα, ὄνταν ἀδελφῶν γνήσιον;
 HP. Τί δ' ἔγωγε πατὴρ ἐμοὶ δίδω τα χεῖματα
 Τα νοθεὶ ἀποδύσκων; ΠΕ. Ο νόμος αὐτὸν κεῖται,
 Οὗτος ὁ Ποσειδῶν πρῶτος, ὃ ἐπαίρει σε νῦν,
 Ἀνδέξεταί σε τ' πατρῶων χεῖματων,
 Φάσκων ἀδελφὸς αὐτὸς εἶναι γνήσιος.
 Εἰδὼ δὲ δὴ καὶ τ' Σόλωνός σοι νόμον,
 " Νόθῳ δὲ μὴ εἶναι ἀλχι-
 " -τεῖαν, παίδων ὄντων γνή-
 " -σίων· εἰδὼ δ' παῖδες
 " Μὴ ᾧσι γνήσιαι, τοῖς
 " Εἰσγυτάτω τ' γένει
 " Μετέναι τ' χεῖματων.

PI. Alas! how strangely he comes over you!
 But hark you in your Ear; thus much I'll say,
 Your Uncle, tho' you know it not, wou'd trick you;
 And, truly if the Tenour of the Laws
 Were now consulted, you'd not have an Acc
 Of that Estate your Father leaves behind;
 For you're a Bastard, not Legitimate.

HER. How's this you say? Am I a Bastard then?

PI. Fove of a Stranger by a stol'n Embrace
 Begot you; but why do you suspect it,
 Since if but any of his Sons were born
 Of lawful Birth, Pallas were not an Heiress?

HER. What if he leave all to his Bastard-son?

PI. The Law won't suffer that; but Neptune first,
 Who now so much extols you, all will seize,
 Being his lawful Brother; but the Law
 Which Solon made I'll willingly recite:

" Bastards shall not be numbred in the Roll
 " Of Kindred, whilst the lawful Children live,
 " And for Defect of such, the next a Kin
 " Shall then enjoy the Goods of the Deceas'd.

H. H.

Where, tho' *Fishestarus* tells *Hercules*, that the Law would not permit him to have νοθεῖα χεῖματα, yet that must be interpreted of an equal Portion of the Inheritance, which he could not have whilst his Father had Relations, who were Heirs by Law; for even Bastards were allow'd some Share in their Father's Estate: *Abraham* is said to have given Portions to the Sons of his Concubines, reserving the Inheritance for his legitimate Son *Isaac* (a); and the *Athenian* Law-giver allow'd them five hundred *Drachms*, or five *Attick* Pounds, which were term'd νοθεῖα, a Bastard's Portion (b): This was afterwards rais'd to a thousand *Drachms*, or ten *Attick* Pounds. In some Places, the Fortune of Bastards depended on their Father's

(a) *Genes. cap. XXV. 6.* (b) *Ar. Strophantis Scholiastes in locum citat. Suidas.*

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Pleasure, who had Liberty to take them into their own Family, and make them equal Sharers with their legitimate Children, the Privilege of dividing the Estate only reserv'd to the latter. An Example hereof we have in two Sons, one of which being begotten in lawful Marriage, the other of a Slave, the Division of their common Inheritance belong'd to the former, who plac'd on one side the whole Estate, on the other his Half-brother's Mother, so reducing him to a Necessity of letting his Mother continue in Slavery, or depriving himself of his whole Portion (a).

Those, who had no legitimate Sons, were oblig'd by the Athenian Laws to leave their Estates to their Daughters, who were confin'd to marry their nearest Relations, otherwise to forfeit their Inheritance, as we find to have been practis'd likewise by the Jews, many of whose Laws seem to have been transcrib'd by Solon: These Virgins, whether sole Heiresses, or only Coheirresses, were call'd by Solon himself *ἑκκληστίδες*, by others *πατρύχοι*, or (which is the most common Name of all) *ἐκκληνῆς*, and sometimes, as Eustathius reports (b), *μυῖσαι*: These and their nearest Relations were empower'd to claim Marriage from one another, which if either Party refus'd, the other preferr'd an Action, which was term'd *ἐμδινάζεσθαι*, which Word was apply'd to all sorts of Law-suits; whence Inheritances, about which they went to Law, were term'd *ἐκκληνομήναι ἐμδινάδι*; those, which they had a quiet Possession of, *ἀνεκκληνομήναι*: Others report, that, whether there was any Dispute or not, the nearest Relation was oblig'd to claim his Wife with her Inheritance in the Archon's Court, if he was a Citizen; in the Polemarchus's, if only a Sojourner, and that this was term'd *ἐμδινάζεσθαι*, and might be done any Month in the Year, except *Scirrophorion*, the Magistrates being then busie in making up and returning their Accounts (c). The fore-mention'd Law concerning the Marriages of Heiresses gave occasion to one of Apollodorus's Comedies entitul'd *Ἐμδινάζομενος*, or *Ἐμδινάζομεν*, as Donatus reads, understanding it of the Virgin's suing for an Husband: This was translated into Latin by Terence, and call'd *Phormio*, wherein we have these Verses mentioning the Law I have been speaking of,

*Lex est, in orbe, qui sunt genere proximi,
His nubant; Illis ducere eadem hæc lex jubet.*

The Law commands that Orphans marry those,
That nearest are ally'd, and that the Men
Consent to joyn with these,

Farther, we find it order'd, that when Men had given a Daughter in Marriage, and after that died without Sons to heir their Estates, their nearest Relation had Power to claim the Inheritance, and to take

(a) Soper. (b) *Iliad*, v. p. 545. Ed. Basil. (c) *Petitus in Leges Atticas*, qui & alibi consuleretur.

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the Woman from her Husband, which *Iseus* (a) reports to have been a common Practice.

Persons, who had no lawful Issue, were allow'd to adopt whom they pleas'd, whether their own natural Sons, or (by Consent of their Parents) the Sons of other Men. But such as were not *κύριοι τῶν αὐτῶν*, *their own Masters*, were excepted. Such were Slaves, Women, Mad-men, Infants, that is, all such as were under twenty Years of Age: For these not being capable of making *Wills*, or managing their own Estates, were not allow'd to adopt Heirs to them. Foreigners being excluded from the Inheritance of Estates at *Athens*, if any such was adopted, he was made Free of the City. The Adoption being made, the adopted Person had his Name enroll'd in the Tribe and Ward of his new Father; this was not done at the same Time in which the Children begotten of themselves were register'd, but on the Festival call'd *Θαργήλια*, in the Month *Thargelion*. The *Lacedæmonians* were very cautious and wary in this Affair, and, for the Prevention of rash and inconsiderate Adoptions, had a Law that they should be confirm'd in the Presence of their Kings. Adopted Children were call'd *παῖδες δεσῆ*, or *εισπομπῆται*, and were invested in all the Privileges and Rights of, and oblig'd to perform all the Duties belonging to such as were begotten by their Fathers. And being thus provided for in another Family, they ceas'd to have any Claim of Inheritance, or Kindred, in the Family which they had left (b), unless they first renounc'd their Adoption, which the Laws of *Solon* allow'd them not to do, except they had first begotten Children to bear the Name of the Person who had adopted them; thus providing against the Ruin of Families, which would have been extinguish'd by the Desertion of those, who were adopted to preserve them (c). If the adopted Persons died without Children, the Inheritance could not be alienated from the Family, into which they were adopted, but return'd to the Relations of the Person who had adopted them. The *Athenians* are by some thought to have forbidden any Man to marry after he had adopted a Son, without leave from the Magistrate. And there is an Instance in *Izetzus's* (d) *Chiliads*, of one *Leogoras*, who being ill-us'd by *Andocides* the Orator, who was his adopted Son, desir'd Leave to marry. However, it is certain, that some Men marry'd after they had adopted Sons, and if they begot legitimate Children, their Estates were equally shar'd between those begotten and adopted. It may be observ'd in this Place, that it was an ancient Custom for legitimate Sons to divide their Father's Estate by Lots, all having equal Shares without Respect to Priority of Birth, but allowing a small Pittance to such as were unlawfully begotten: Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* tells *Eumæus*, that the Sons of *Castor* the *Cretan*, of whom he feigns himself one, divided what he left (e).

(a) Orat. de *Pyrrhi* hered. (b) *Iseus* de hereditate *Astypbili*. (c) *Harpocration*, *Iseus* de hered. *Aristarchi*. Idem de hered. *Iphilemennis*. (d) *Chiliad*. VI. lib. XLIX. (e) *Odyss.* E. v. 266.

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Εκ δὲ Κρητῶν γένος εὐχομαι εὐρεῖσθαι
 Ἀνέρες ἀφνειοῖο πατρὸς πολλοὶ δ' ἡ ἄλλοι
 Τίτεις ἐν μεγάροις ἡμῶν τεῖρεν ἢ δ' ἐγένοντο
 Γνήσιοι ἐκ ἀλόχευ, ἐμὲ δ' ἄνητ' ἔτεκε μήτηρ
 Παλλακίς, ἀλλὰ μεῖσον ἰθαγενέσιν ἐτίμα
 Κάσπερ Τλακίδης, ἦ γὰρ γένος εὐχομαι εἶναι.
 Ος ποτ' ἐνὶ Κρήτει δαδ' ὡς τίετο δῆμῳ
 Ολῶ τε, πλῦτ' τε, καὶ ἡσσι κυδαλίμοισιν,
 Ἀλλ' ἦτοι καὶ κῆρες ἔσαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι
 Εἰς Αἶδαο δόμους, τοὶ δ' ὦλ' ἐδάσαντο
 Παῖδες ὑπέρθυμοι, καὶ ὅτ' κλήρευ ἐβάλοντο,
 Αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μάλα παῦρα δόσαν, καὶ οἶκ' ἐνέμαν.

Crete claims my Birth is readily confest,
 My wealthy Father vast Estates possess;
 Many his Sons, and they legitimate,
 But I his Bastard far'd ne'er worse for that;
 Castor Hylacides was his worthy Name,
 And for his Children by his lawful Dame,
 And Wealth in Crete he had obtain'd great Fame;
 But, when impartial Fate dispatch'd his Doom,
 And sent him down to his eternal Home,
 The Lots were by my haughty Brothers thrown,
 All they divide, supposing all their own,
 And some small Legacy to me bequeath,

H. H.

Such as had neither legitimate nor adopted Children, were succeeded by their nearest Relations, as appears from the fore-cited Dialogue between *Hercules* and *Pisibetarus*; This Custom was as ancient as the *Trojan War*, being mention'd in *Homer*, when he relates how *Diomedes* slew the two only Sons of *Phætopus* (a),

Εὐδ' ὃ γε πῶς ἐνδίκ' εἰ, φίλον δ' ἐξείνυτο θυμὸν
 Ἀμφοτέρων, πατρί' ὃ γόνυ καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ
 Λατ', ἐπεὶ ἐζώντε μάχης ἐκνοήσαντε
 Δέξατο, χηρῶν δ' διὰ κτήσιν δατίοντο.

Then both he slew, then both depriv'd of Life,
 And thus encreas'd their ancient Father's Grief,
 Since he not late receiv'd them from the War;
 Thus childless his next Friends his Goods did share.

H. H.

Where indeed *Eustathius* with the old *Scholiast* will have *χηρῶν* to signify certain Magistrates, who had Right to the Estates of such as died *χηρῶν*, ἢ διαδόχων, without lawful Heirs; but it may as well be interpreted of Relations; for that these, succeeding to the

(a) *Iliad* i. v. 155.

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Estates of Persons without Children, were call'd *χρησται*, is plain from ancient *Grammarians* (a). *Hesiod* has us'd the same Word, but in which of these Senses is equally ambiguous (b),

Ος κε γάμον οδ' γον ἢ μέμερα ἔργα γυναικῶν
Μὴ γυμναῖ ἰδεῖν, ὅλον δ' ὅτι γνῆς ἰκνται,
Χήτει γνηκόμοιο, ὃ δ' εἰ βίβτω οἷος ἄνθρωπος
Ζῶει, ἀποδιδόνει δ' διὰ κτήσιν πατρίσιν
Χρησται — —

Averse to all the Troubles of a Wife,
Wedlock he loath'd, and led a single Life,
But now, when bowing Age his Limbs had seiz'd,
Justly he wants, whom he before despis'd:
He dies at length, and his remoter Friends
Share his Possessions.

H. H.

'Tis not worth disputing whether Signification is more pertinent in these Passages, since 'tis certain that both are agreeable enough to the Practice of Antiquity: For as Persons having Relations were usually succeeded in their Estates by them; so when any dy'd without lawful Heirs, their Possessions belong'd to the Prince, the Common-wealth, or the supreme Magistrates, as the Laws of every State directed.

The Grecian Practice concerning Wills was not the same in all Places; some States permitted Men to dispose of their Estates, others wholly depriv'd them of that Privilege. We are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Solon* is much commended for his Law concerning Wills, for before his time no Man was allow'd to make any, but all the Wealth of deceas'd Persons belong'd to their Families; But he permitted them to bestow it on whom they pleas'd, esteeming Friendship a stronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Necessity; and thus put every Man's Estate in the Disposal of the Possessor. Yet he allow'd not all sorts of Wills, but requir'd the following Conditions in all Persons that made them:

1. That they must be Citizens of *Athens*, not Slaves, or Foreigners; for then their Estates were confiscated for the publick Use.
2. That they must be Men, who have arriv'd to twenty Years of Age: For Women and Men under that Age were not permitted to dispose by *Will* of more than one *Medimn* of Barley (d).
3. That they must not be adopted; for when adopted Persons dy'd without Issue, the Estates, they receiv'd by Adoption, return'd to the Relations of the Man, who had adopted them.
4. That they should have no male Children of their own, so then their Estates belong'd to these: If they had only Daughters, the Persons, to whom the Inheritance was bequeath'd, were

(a) *Hesychius* v. *χρησται*, *Pollux*. (b) *Theogonia*. (c) *Solon*. (d) *Isæus* de *hered. Arifarchi*.

oblig'd

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oblig'd to marry them (a). Yet Men were allow'd to appoint Heirs to succeed their Children, in case these happen'd to die under twenty Years of Age (b).

5. That they should be in their right Minds, because Testaments extorted thro' the Phrenzy of a Disease, or Dotage of old Age, were not in Reality the Wills of the Person that made them.

6. That they should not be under Imprisonment, or other Constraint; their Consent being then only forc'd, nor in Justice to be reputed voluntary.

7. That they should not be induc'd to it by the Charms and Insinuations, of a Wife; for (says *Plutarch*) the wise Law-giver with good Reason thought that no Difference was to be put between Deceit and Necessity, Flattery and Compulsion, since both are equally powerful to persuade a Man from Reason.

Wills were usually sign'd before several Witnesses, who put Seals to them for Confirmation; then plac'd in the Hands of Trustees call'd *ἐμπλεκται*, who were oblig'd to see them perform'd. At *Athens* some of the Magistrates, particularly the *Asynomi*, were very often present at the making of Wills (c). Sometimes the *Archons* were also present: Hence we are told by *Harpocration* and *Suidas*, that when any thing was given in the presence of the *Archons*, it was term'd *δωρε* (d): For this Word, tho' commonly taken for any sort of Gift or Present; yet was by the *Athenian* Orators peculiarly apply'd to Legacies, and Things dispos'd by Will. Hence *δωρε* is equivalent to *διατίθεαι*. *Isaus* (e) frequently puts them together, *διατίθεαι καὶ δωρε*; and to succeed *κατὰ δώρον καὶ κατὰ διαθήκην*, by Gift and Will, is oppos'd to Succession *κατὰ γένος*, by natural Right. Sometimes the Testator declar'd his Will before sufficient Witnesses, without committing it to Writing. Thus *Callias* fearing to be cut off by a wicked Conspiracy, is said to have made an open Declaration of his Will before the popular Assembly at *Athens* (f). The same was done in the Nuncupative Wills at *Rome*.

There are several Copies of Wills in *Diogenes Laertius*, as those of *Aristotle*, *Lycon*, and *Theophrastus*; whence it appears, they had a common Form, beginning with a Wish for Life and Health; afterwards adding, that, in case it happen'd otherwise, their Will was, as follow'd, in this Manner; *Ἐγώ μ' εὖ, εὖ δέ τί σοι συμβῇ, ταῦτα διατίθεμαι*.

We have seen how Children enjoy'd the Estates of their Parents, let us now pass to their virtuous and noble Actions, the Rewards of which we find frequently inherited by their Posterity: These consisted not only in fruitless Commendations and empty Titles of Honour, or Expressions of Respect, which yet were liberally bestow'd upon the whole Families of Persons eminent for serving their Country; but in more substantial Acknowledgements thought

(a) *Isaus* Orat. de *Pyrrhi* heredi. (b) *Demosthenes* Orat. II. in *Stephanum* telicem. (c) *Isaus* de heredi. *Cleonymi*. (d) *Voce* *δωρε*. (e) In *λόγῳ* *κατασκευασθέντι*. (f) *Plutarchus Alcibiade*.

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due to the Memory and Relations of such Men. Their Children were in many Places provided for, and educated suitably to their Birth at the publick Expence, when left destitute of Estates: What Regard the Athenians had of those Men's Children, who lost their Lives in fighting for their Country, has been shew'd in a former Book; how they treated the Posterity of others, who had deserv'd well of their Common-wealth, shall now appear from one or two Instances: The first is that of *Aristides*, who dying poor, the Athenian People bestow'd upon his Son *Lyfimachus* an hundred Attic Pounds of Silver, with a Plantation of as many Acres of Ground; and, upon the Motion of *Alcibiades*, order'd farther that four *Drachms* a Day should be paid him; furthermore *Lyfimachus* leaving a Daughter nam'd *Policrite*, the People voted her the same Provision of Corn with those who obtain Victory in the *Olympian Games*: The same *Aristides*'s two Daughters had each of them three hundred *Drachms* out of the publick Treasury for their Portions: Nor is it to be wonder'd (proceeds my Author) that the People of *Athen* should take care of those, who resid'd in their City; since hearing the grand-daughter of *Aristogiton* was in so low a Condition in the Isle of *Lemnos*, that she was like to want a Husband, they sent for her to *Athen*, marry'd her to a Person of great Quality, and gave with her a Farm for her Dowry; of which Bounty and Humanity the City of *Athen* (saith he) in this our Age has given divers Demonstrations, for which she is deservedly celebrated and had in Admiration (a).

Men's Vices and dishonorable Actions were likewise participat'd by their Children; for it was thought no more than reasonable, that those, who share in the Prosperity and good Fortune of their Parents, should partake likewise of their Losses and Miscarriages, *Agamemnon* in *Homer* could be prevail'd on by no Arguments to spare *Antimachus*'s Sons, their Father having endeavour'd to procure *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* to be murder'd when they were sent on an Embassy to *Troy* (b),

Εἰ μὲν δὲ Ἀντιμάχοιο παῖδες ὦν ἦν ἰσθρὶ,
ὅς ποτ' ἐν Τροίᾳ ἄγοι Μενέλαον ἄνακτα
Ἀγγεῖλιν ἐλθόντα σὺν Ἀντιδίᾳ Ὀδυσσεύϊ
ἄνδρ' ἀτακτεῖναι, μὴ δὲ ξείνῳ δόξῃ Ἀχαιῶν,
Νῦν μὲν δὲ τ' πατὴρ δακρυά τίσιντε λυγρῶν.

If from the Loyns of stout *Antimachus*
Ye are descended, I'll bespeak you thus;
Since, when the *Trojans* did in Council sit,
He gravely gave advice, He thought it fit
That my dear Brother, as an Enemy,
With sage *Ulysses* sacrific'd should be
To their inveterate Malice, tho' they were
Envoies, whose Lives the worst of Nations spare;

(a) Plutarchus *Aristide*. (b) *Iliad*. x. v. 138.

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I'll on the *Sons* avenge the *Father's* Hate,
These Hands shall you dispatch, and Justice vindicate.

F. A.

There are many other Instances to the same purpose; whence it appears this Practice was not owing to the Passion and Prejudices of particular Persons, but thought agreeable to Justice and Reason, It may be sufficient in this Place to mention the famous *Macedonian* Law, whereby it was order'd that Men guilty of conspiring against their King should not only suffer Death with their Children, but all those, who were nearly ally'd to them should share in the same Punishment; whence we find in *Curcius* (a), that, when *Philotas* was found guilty of Treason against *Alexander*, of the Noblemen and others related to him some stabb'd themselves, others fled into Wildernesses and Desarts, till the King issu'd out his Pardon for them.

It remains that I add something concerning the Returns of Gratitude due from Children to their Parents, which appear from their assiduous Attendance on them in the lowest Offices; whence one in *Aristophanes* relates how his Daughter wash'd and anointed his Feet,

Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἡ θυγάτηρ
Ἀπορίζῃ, καὶ τὰ πόδια ἀλείφει, καὶ προκύψασα φιλήσκει.

First my dear Child did wash her Father's Feet,
Then she anointed 'em, and bending down
Gave them a sweet endearing Kiss.

They were zealous in vindicating the Honour, and revenging the Injuries of their Parents; whence *Telemachus* in *Homer* says, *Orestes* had gain'd the Applause of all Greece, and recommended his Name to succeeding Ages, by taking revenge of his Father's Murderers (b),

Καὶ λίην κείνος μὲν ἐτίσαστο, καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ
Οἴσουσι κλέος εὖρεν, καὶ εὐφρομένοισιν ἀοιδίῃ.

He a brave noble Soul did then put forth,
A Soul of Prowess and heroick Worth,
When He his Father's bold Assassins kill'd;
And both his Duty and the Law fulfill'd;
This Act for ever shall in Records live,
And to his sacred Name Eternity shall give.

F. A.

Several other Instances might be produc'd, wherein Children shew'd their Gratitude to their Parents, whereof I shall only mention their Care in providing a comfortable Subsistence for their old Age, to

(a) Lib. VI. haud-procul a fine. (b) *Odyss.* γ'. v. 208.

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(a) *Plutarchus Aristide.* (b) *Iliad.* λ'. v. 138.

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F. A.

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(a) Lib. VI. haud procul a fine. (b) *Odys.* γ. v. 208.

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do which was term'd *γνεβοσκήειν*, and performing their Funeral Rites when dead; *Medea* in *Euripides* expresses her earnest Desire of (a) enjoying this Happiness:

Ἡ μὲν ποδ' ἡ δύστροπος ἔχον ἑλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν, γνεβοσκήσει τ' ἐμὴ,
Καὶ κατθανύσας χερσὶν εὖ σκετελεῖν.

Ab! wretched me, ab, my unhappy Fate!
What blooming Comforts did I once presage
In your young tender Years, I thought, alas!
What bless'd Support I should receive when old,
From you the Prop of my declining Age,
How you would give me decent Obsequies,
When I should leave the World, and be no more.

F. A.

Admetus introduc'd by the same Poet, tells his Father, that he being deliver'd over to Death by him, there would be no Man to take care of him whilst alive, or pay him due Respect after Death (b),

Τοὶ γὰρ φτεύων παῖδας ἐν ἔτ' ἀν' ὀδάνοις,
Οἱ γνεβοσκήσουσι, καὶ θανόντα σε τέτυκτο
Πρὸς ἐλπίσιν, καὶ περὶ θύοντα νεκρὸν,
Οὐ γὰρ σ' ἔγωγε τῇδ' ἐμῇ δάσω χερί,
Τέθνηκα γὰρ δὴ τὰν σ'.

You with more Offspring never will be blest
To give Refreshment to your aged Limbs,
To keep you when disabled, and when dead
To mourn your Loss, and give you decent Burial;
For I, alas! am doom'd to lose my Life
As much as in you lies; I ne'er will see
Your Body carry'd to the Grave, or be
A sad Attendant at the Funeral.

F. A.

They were so concern'd about these Things, that when they undertook any hazardous Enterprize, it was customary to engage some of their Friends to maintain and protect their aged Parents; Thus when the *Thebans* living in Exile at *Athens*, conspir'd to free their native Country from the Tyrants, which the *Lacedaemonians* had impos'd on it, they divid'd themselves into two Companies, and agreed that one should endeavour to get into the City, and surprize their Enemies, whilst the other, remaining behind in *Attica*, should expect the Issue, and provide for the Parents, and Children of their Associates, if they perish'd in the Attempt. (c), *Euryalus* in *Virgil*, when

(a) *Medea* v. 1032. (b) *Alceste*. v. 662. (c) *Plutarchus Pelopida*.

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going to expose his Life to Danger, passionately intreats *Ascanius* in an elegant Oration, to comfort and make Provision for his Mother (a),

— Sed te super omnia dona

Unum ora: *Gentrix Priami de gente vetusta*

Est mihi, quam miseram tenuit non illa tellus;

Mecum excedentem, non mania regis *Aceste*;

Hanc ego nunc ignaram bujus quodcunque pericli est,

Inque salutem linquo; nox & tua testis

Dextera, quod nequeam lacrymas perferre parentis;

At tu, oro, solare inopem, & succurre relictæ;

Hanc sine me spem ferre tui; audentior ibo

In casus omnes.

This chiefly from your Goodness let me gain

(For this ungranted all Rewards are vain)

Of *Priam's* royal Race my Mother came,

And sure the best that ever bore the Name;

Whom neither *Troy*, nor *Sicily* cou'd hold

From me departing, but o'erspent and old

My Fate she follow'd; ignorant of this

Whatever Danger, neither parting Kifs,

Nor pious Blessing taken, *Her* I leave,

And in this only Act of all my Life deceive;

By this Right-hand and conscious Night I swear,

My Soul so sad a Farewel could not bear:

Be you *her* Comfort, fill my vacant Place,

(Permit me to presume so great a Grace)

Support *her* Age forsaken and distressed,

That Hope alone will fortify my Breast

Against the worst of Fortunes and of Fears;

Mr. Dryden.

The Provision made by Children for their Parents, was term'd *τροφεία*, by the Poets *τρέφειν*, or *τρέφειν*, and sometimes *τρέφειν*, as we find in *Homer* (b). To be negligent in this Matter, was accounted one of the greatest Impieties, and most worthy of Divine Vengeance; whence *Hesiod*, enumerating the Evils of the last and iron Age, mentions the Disobedience and disrespectful Behaviour of Children to their Parents, as one of the greatest, and which call'd to Heaven for Vengeance (c),

— Τηράσκοντας ἀτιμήσουσι τοκῆας,

Μέμψονται δ' ἄρα τὰς χαλεποῖς βάζοντ' ἐπέων

Σχέτλιοι, ἰδὲ θεῶν ὅπιν ἐδότες, ἰδὲ μ' οἴγε

Τηράντεωσι τοκεῦσιν ἅπ' ἀνθρώπων δότιν.

(a) *Æneid*. IX. v. 283. (b) *Iliad*. d. v. 478. (c) *Op. r. & Dier. lib. I. v. 13.*

When

When drooping Parents in a painful State
Have toil'd, oppress'd with Miseries and Fate;
Then their young Debauchees shall them despise;
Taunt at their Years, and give them base Replies;
Call them the Dregs of Life, and not allow
Nor one poor Cross to keep them will bestow.

F. A.

No Crime was thought to be follow'd with more certain and inevitable Judgments than this; for the *Furies* and other infernal Deities were believ'd always ready to execute the Curses of Parents injur'd by their Children. Hence *Telemachus* in *Homer* refuses to force his Mother *Penelope* from his House, for fear of being haunted by the *Furies*, and reproach'd by Men (a),

Ἀλλὰ ὃ δαίμων ἐνθάδε δέσσει·
Δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ συγερὰ ἀρήσεται· Ἐρινύς
Οἴκῳ ἀπερχομένη, νέμεσις δὲ μοι ἐξ ἀνδράπων
ἔσεται.

The Gods this Act with Vengeance will repay,
Furies will haunt this House; and I no Day
Shall live at ease, but scouted and forlorn
To all my Neighbours a By-word and Scorn.

Phœnix was remarkably punish'd, when his Father invoc'd the *Furies* Assistance against him (b),

Πατὴρ δ' ἐμὲ αὐτὴν οἷδε·
Πολλὰ κατηράτο, συγερὰ δ' ἐπεκάλει· Ἐρινύς,
Μήποτε γέναισι οἷσιν ἐφάσθαι φίλον ὕδν
ἔξ' ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· θεοὶ δ' ἐτέλειον ἐπαρὰς,
Ζῶς τε κατὰ χθόνος, καὶ ἐπαῖνῃ Περσεφονείᾳ.

My Father, having me discover'd, pray'd
To all th' infernal *Furies* for their Aid;
He wish'd I never might beget a Boy
To dandle on my Knee, and give me Joy;
My Father's Pray'rs are heard, mine are deny'd,
Both *Pluto* and his *Queen* are in the Curse ally'd.

F. A.

Many other Instances occur in Authors, as those of *Oedipus*, *Thescus*, and others produc'd by *Plato* (c), where he endeavours to make out, that the Gods were always prepar'd to hear the Prayers, and revenge the Injuries of Parents. Nor was the Punishment of this Crime only left to be executed by the Gods, but frequently inflict

(a) *Odys.* c. v. 134. (b) *Il. ad. i.* v. 454. (c) *De legibus* lib. xi.

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ed by human Appointment; *Solon* order'd all Persons, who refus'd to make due Provision for their Parents, to be punish'd with (*ἀτιμία*) Ignominy (a). The same Penalty was incurr'd by those, who beat their Parents. Neither was this confin'd to their immediate Parents, but equally understood of their Grandfathers, Grandmothers, and other Progenitors.

When Persons admitted to appear for the Office of *Archon*, were examin'd concerning their Life and Behaviour, one of the first Questions enquir'd was, Whether they had honour'd their Parents? Herein if they were found faulty, their Suit was rejected.

Yet there were some Cases, wherein that Law-giver excus'd Children from maintaining their Parents, as when they had been bred up to no Calling, or Profession, whereby they might be enabled to subsist in the World; for the Care and Trouble of Parents in Educating their Children, being the main Foundation of those Duties they were to expect from them, their Default herein was thought to absolve the Children from their Allegiance. In like manner such as were prostituted by their Parents, were not compell'd to maintain them (b). The Sons of Harlots were also declar'd to lie under no Obligation of relieving their Fathers, because they, who keep company with Harlots, are not suppos'd to design the Procreation of Children, but their own Pleasure; and therefore have no pretence to upbraid them with Ingratitude, whose very Birth they made a Scandal and Reproach to them (c).

As the Unkindness of Parents was made a sufficient Excuse for Children to deny them Relief in their old Age, so the Disobedience, or Extravagance of Children, whether natural or adopted (d), frequently depriv'd them of the Care and Estate of their Parents: Yet the *Athenian* Law-giver allow'd not Fathers to disinherit their Children out of Passion, or slight Prejudices, but requir'd their Appearance before certain Judges appointed to have Cognizance of such Matters, where if the Children were found to deserve so severe a Sentence, the publick Cryer was order'd to proclaim, That such a Person rejected the Criminal, whose Name was then repeated, from being his Son: Whence to disinherit a Son is call'd *ἀποκρυΐναι τὸν υἱόν*, and the Person so disinherited *ἀποκρυΐτος* (e): To be disinherited was likewise call'd *ἐκπίπτειν τὸ γένος*, to be receiv'd again *ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰς τὸ γένος*. It may be farther observ'd, that Parents were allow'd to be reconcil'd to their Children, but after that could never abdicate them again, lest *ἀπέλαστον τῶν πατρῶν αἰ τιμωρίας, καὶ φόβος αἰδώς*, the Punishments of Children should become endless, and their Fears perpetual, according to *Lucian* (f).

When any Man either through Dotage, or other Infirmities, became unfit to manage his Estate, his Son was allow'd to Impeach him before the (*πρότροποι*) Men of his own Ward, who had Power to invest him with the present Possession of his Inheritance. There

(a) *Laertius Solone*. (b) *Aeschines* Orat. in *Timarch*. (c) *Plutarchus Solone*. (d) *Demosthenes* in *Spudam*. (e) *Hesychius* v. *ἀποκρυΐτος*. (f) *Abdicato*. (g) *Iseus* de *hered*, *Cicero*.

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is an Allusion to this Law in *Aristophanes*, who has introduc'd the Son of *Strepsiades* thus speaking (a):

Οἱ μοι τί δέδωκεν ἄφρονυντος τῷ πατρί;
Πότερ' ἄγνοίας αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγὼν, ἴλω;

And there is a remarkable Story concerning *Sophocles*, who being accus'd by *Jophon* and his other Sons of neglecting his Affairs thro' Dotage, read to the Judges his Tragedy call'd *Oedipus Coloneus*, which he had then lately compos'd; whereupon he was acquitted (b).

CHAP. XVI.

Of their Times of Eating.

THE following account of the *Grecian Entertainments*, may not unfitly be divided into five Parts, wherein shall be describ'd,

First, *The Times of Eating*.

Secondly, *The several Sorts and Occasions of Entertainments*.

Thirdly, *The Materials whereof those Entertainments consisted*.

Fourthly, *The Ceremonies before Entertainments*.

Fifthly, *The Ceremonies at Entertainments*.

As to the Times of Eating, they, according to *Athenaeus* (c), were four every Day. 1. *Ἀρχαίσμα*, the Morning-Meal, so term'd because it was customary at this time to eat Pieces of Bread dipp'd in Wine unmix'd with Water, which in Greek is call'd *ἀρχαῖον*. This Meal is by *Homer* call'd *ἄριστον*, which Name was either deriv'd ἀπὸ τῷ ἀείρεν, from its being first taken away; or rather ἀπὸ τῷ ἀείσαν, because the Heroes immediately went to the War from this Meal, and there Valiantly behav'd themselves, as we are inform'd by the *Scholiast* on that Author (d); who likewise tells us, that the time of this Meal was about the Rising of the Sun. Sometimes it was term'd *δευτέρισμα*, *jentaculum*, Breakfast. 2. *Δείπνον*, so Nam'd, as the same *Scholiast* was of Opinion, because after this Meal *δεῖ πρὸν*, it was usual to return to the War, or other Labours; whence τῷ ἀείσω σπονδύμει, it sometimes is Synonymous to *ἄριστον*, being taken for the Morning-Meal; as *Athenaeus* hath observ'd from the following Verse of *Homer*, in which the Heroes are said to have put on their Armour after the *Δείπνον*,

(a) Nub. Act. III. Scen. 1. (b) *Cicero* de Serechute, Author vitæ *Sophoclis*, *Aristophanis Schollastes* ad *Ranas*. (c) Lib. I. cap. IX. (d) *Iliad*. 6.

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Οἱ δ' ἄρα δεῖπνον ἔλοντο, καὶ δ' αὖτε θωρήσσοντο.

3. Δειπνόν, sometimes also term'd ἐσπείσμα, the *Afternoon-Meal*.
 4. Δόρυς, the *Supper*, τὸ κατ' ἡμᾶς λεγόμενον δεῖπνον, which afterwards among the later *Grecians* was term'd δεῖπνον, according to the foremention'd *Scholias*t, who will have δόρυς to be so nam'd from ἰαύερος, that Meal being eaten ὅταν εἰς τὸ ἰαύειν πορευώμεθα, the last before we go to Sleep. *Philemon*, as is cited by *Athenaus*, thus enumerates the Times of Eating. 1. ἀκράτισμα. 2. αἰετον. 3. ἐσπείσμα. 4. δεῖπνον. But the foremention'd *Scholias*t, with whom most other Authors agree as to this particular, reports, τρεῖς γεγεῖαι τὰς παλαιὰς χρεῖσθαι, that the ancient *Greeks* had only three Meals a Day, and leaves out the third Meal, call'd Δειπνόν. And they who have made Δειπνόν, or ἐσπείσμα to be a distinct Meal from the Δόρυς, seem to have had no better Foundation for that distinction, than that Verse of *Homer*,

— σὺ δ' ἔρχεο Δειπλήσας.

Where the Word Δειπλήσας by a mistaken Interpretation was understood of taking Meat; whereas it was only meant of abiding or remaining in a certain Place, in the *Afternoon*. And this Sense of that Passage was in the Opinion of *Athenaus* so certain, that in another place (a) he pronounces those Men to be γελοῖοι, οἱ φάσκοντες ὅτι τέσσαρας ἐλάμβανον γεγεῖαι ridiculous, who say that the ancient *Greeks* us'd to Eat four Meals a Day.

Others are of Opinion, that the primitive *Greeks* had only two Meals a Day, viz. αἰετον and Δόρυς, and that the rest are only different Names of these. And *Athenaus* (b) himself affirms, that no Man can be produc'd ὥστε τῷ ποιητῇ τρεῖς λαμβάνων γεγεῖαι Eating thrice a Day in *Homer*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that in those early Ages the way of Living was very frugal and temperate, and it was thought sufficient if they had a moderate Breakfast, and after the Business and Labour of the Day was over, refresh'd themselves with a plentiful Meal. Whence *Plato* wonder'd, that the *Sicilians* and *Italians* should eat two plentiful Meals every Day, and amongst the *Grecians* it was accounted extravagance to Breakfast or Dine to the full. Neither was it thought convenient by *Cicero* the *Roman* (c) bis in die saturum fieri, twice a Day to Eat to the full. And so temperate were the ancient *Romans*, that viles & rusticos cibos ante ipsos focos sumserunt, eosq; ipsos capere nisi ad vespertinam non licuit (d), they liv'd upon very mean Food, and us'd not to allow themselves that till the Evening. Whence *Isidorus* (e) explaining the Words cœna and vespertina, whereby the Supper or Evening-Meal is signify'd, adds that in usu non erant prandia, Dinners were not us'd.

(a) Lib. V. cap. IV. (b) Loco citato. (c) Tusculan. Quæst. V. (d) Salvianus lib. I. (e) Originibus.

C H A P. XVII.

Of the several Sorts of Entertainments.

IN the primitive Ages, if we may believe *Athenaus* (a), *πᾶσα συμπόσις συναγωγή τιῶν ἀγίων εἰς θεὸν ἀνέφερε*. All Meetings at Entertainments were occasion'd by their Devotion to the Gods. Neither was it usual either to indulge themselves with the free use of Wine or Dainties, εἰ μὴ θεῶν ἕνεκα τὸτό δύνανται, unless they did it on a Religious account, as the same Author affirms (b). For on Festival-Days they us'd to rest from their Labours, and to live more plentifully than at other times, believing, in the Words of *Ovid*, that the Gods were present at their Tables on such Occasions,

— mensa credere adesse Deos (c).

And out of this Opinion, τὰς ἑορτὰς σωφρόνως καὶ κόσμῳ δύνανται, They behav'd themselves with Sobriety and Decency at their Festival Entertainments, neither did they Drink to excess; but having moderately refresh'd themselves, offer'd a Libation to the Gods, and then return'd Home, as we are again inform'd by *Athenaus* (d).

Afterwards when a more free way of Living was in use, we find mention of three sorts of Entertainments, viz. εἰλαπίνην, γάμος, and ἑσπριος, which are all together enumerated in that Verse of *Homer*,

Εἰλαπίνην, ἢ γάμος, ἢ ἑσπριος τὰ δὲ γ' ἐστίν.

Whence there are commonly said to have been three distinct sorts of Entertainments among the ancient *Grecians*: But these may be reduc'd to two, εἰλαπίνην and ἑσπριος, under one of which γάμος, the marriage Entertainment, may be comprehended. The first of these (εἰλαπίνην) is sometimes term'd εὐαχία, and ἀσύμβολον δῆπνον, and was an Entertainment provided at the Expence of one Man: On the contrary ἑσπριος was an Entertainment made at the common Charge of all present; being so nam'd ἀπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ συμφορῆς ἕκαστον because every Man contributed his Proportion, as we learn from *Athenaus* (e); who likewise reports, that this Entertainment was sometimes term'd δίασος. Hence the Guests were call'd σωδιασῶνται, who are more commonly nam'd ἑσπρισταί. What each of the Guests contributed, was term'd συμφορὰ, εἰσφορὰ, κατὰβολή, συμβολή, &c. Whence the Entertainment was nam'd δῆ-

(a) Lib. V. (b) Lib. II. (c) *Fassor*. lib. V. (d) Lib. VIII. cap. XVI. sub finem. (e) Lib. VIII.

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πρὸν συμφορητὸν, συμβολιμαῖον, ἀπὸ συμβολῆς, καὶ συμβόλιον. Sometimes it was call'd τὸ ἐκ κοινῆς, &c. At Argos they call'd the Contribution by a peculiar Name, χῶν. The Persons who collected the Contributions, were call'd by the same Name with the Guests, ἐρα-
νισαί.

Hither may be referr'd δ᾿ᾱπνον συναγώγιμον, mention'd in the Fragments of Alexis, which is by Menander term'd συναγώγιον. Both Names are deriv'd from σῶμα, which by a peculiar use signify'd μετ' ἀλλήλων πίνειν, to drink together. But whether this Entertainment was the same with ἔρανος, Athenæus has profess'd himself to be uncertain (a).

Here must also be mention'd δ᾿ᾱνα ὀπιδόσιμα, or ἐξ ὀπιδόσι-
μῶν, Entertainments, wherein some of the Guests contributed more than their exact Proportion; to do which is term'd ὀπιδόσιμα.

To this place also must be reduc'd τὸ ἀπὸ σπυείδος, in Latin call'd ἡ sportula cœna: ὅταν τις αὐτὸς αὐτῷ σκευάσας δ᾿ᾱπνον, καὶ σῶμα εἰς σπυείδα, ὅρα τινα δειπνήσων ἢ when any Man hav-
ing provided his own Supper, put it into a Basket, and goes to Eat it at another's House: as we learn from Athenæus (b). Different from this was the Roman sportula, which was an Alms receiv'd by Clients from their rich Patrons, in a Basket of that Name, whereof we have frequent mention in Juvenal, Martial, and the Histories of the Ro-
man Emperors. This Custom is also mention'd by Hesychius, who tells us, That ἀπὸ σπυείδος δειπνεῖν, signifies τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς δ᾿ᾱπνῆς ἀργύριον καὶ μένιν ἐν σπυείδῃ λαβεῖν To receive in a Basket a Piece of Silver, or Fragments of Meat instead of a Supper. Which Explicati-
on of that Expression, tho' rather taken from the Writers of the Roman than the Grecian Affairs, gave occasion to the Mistake of Meursius, who, in his learn'd Commentary upon Lycophron, confounds the Grecian σπυεῖς with the Sportula of Rome.

The ἔρανος being provided at less Expence than other Entertain-
ments, wherein one Person sustain'd the whole Charge, were gene-
rally most frequented; and are recommended by the wise Men of those Times, as most apt to promote Friendship and good Neigh-
bourhood. Whence Hesiod has left this Advice (c).

Μηδὲ πολυζεῖν δαίτῃς δυσπέμφελος ἔναι
Ἐκ κοινῆς πλείη τε χάρις, δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη

They were also for the most part manag'd with more Order and
Decency, οὐδ' ὡς ἑαυτῶν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ ἐρανισαί, ὡς ἐν ἰδίῳ
ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάστος because the Guests, who only eat of their own Colla-
tion, were usual more sparing than when they were feasted at ano-
ther Man's Expence, as we are inform'd by Eustatius (d); who has
also in the same Place mention'd several other Customs at the Gre-
cian Entertainments, which do not much differ from those already
describ'd from other Authors. And so different was the Behaviour

(a) Sub finem lib. VIII. (b) Loco citato. (c) Oper. & Dier. lib. II. vers.
349. (d) Commentario in Odyss. a. pag. 50. edit. Basil.

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at their publick Feasts from that at private Entertainments, that *Minerva* in *Homer* having seen the Intemperance and unseemly Actions of *Penelope's* Courtiers, concludes their Entertainment was not *ερανος*, provided at the common Charge, but *ελλαπιν*, or *γάμος*, and furnish'd at the Expences of a single Person (a),

Ελλαπιν, η̃ε γάμος, ἐπεὶ ἐκ ἑρανος τὰ δὲ γ' εἰσιν,
Ὡς ἐμοὶ ὑβρίζουσες ὑπερφιάλως δοκέουσιν
Δαίνυσθαι κατὰ δῶμα· νέμεωσάιτο κεν ἀνὴρ
Αἰσχρεὰ πολλὰ ὀρέων, ὅσις πινυτός γε μέλιθ' οἶος.

They who were present without contributing towards the Entertainment, were term'd *ἀσύμβολοι*. In which condition were Poets and Singers, and others who made Diversion for the Company. Whence that saying of *Antiphanes* in *Athenaeus*,

Ἀκαπνα γὰρ αἰεὶ αἰδοῖτο δύνωμι.

We Singers always Feast without Smoak.

For *ἀκαπνα* *δύνειν*, to Feast or Kill without Smoak, is a proverbial Phrase for such as partake of Entertainments without the Charge and Trouble of providing them. Whence in *Leonides's* Epigram to *Cesar*, there was this Expression,

Καλλιόπης γὰρ ἀκαπνον αἰεὶ δύνος —

Calliope always kills without Smoak.

Whereby is meant, that the *Muses* and their Favourites are always Entertain'd at other Men's Expence. Hence *ἀσύμβολος* is sometimes taken for an useless Person, who is maintain'd by other Men, and contributes nothing towards the Charge: An Example whereof we find in *Plutarch* (c), where he relates the celebrated Fable of *Menenius Agrippa*, in which the rest of the Members are said to accuse the Belly, ὡς μόνος ἀργῷ ἢ ἀσυμβόλῳ καθέζομενος that when all they had some Use or Employment, she alone remain'd Idle, and contributed nothing to the common Service.

Lastly, it must not be omitted, that there were in many Places publick Entertainments, at which a whole City, or a Tribe, or any other Body or Fraternity of Men were present. These were term'd by the general Names of *συναιτία*, *πανδαισίαι*, &c. or sometimes from the Body of Men who were admitted, *δημοδοινίαι*, *δῆπνα δημοσία*, and *δημοτικά*, *φρετεικά*, *φυλετικά*, &c. according as those of the same Borough (*δήμος*), Fraternity (*φρετεία*), or Tribe (*φυλή*) met together. And the Provision was sometimes furnish'd by Contribution, sometimes by the Liberality of some of the richer Sort, and sometimes out of the publick Re-

(a) *Odyss.* 4. verse 226. (b) *Lib.* 1. cap. VII. (c) *Coriolano.*

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venue. The Design of these Entertainments, which were in some Places appointed by the Laws, was to accustom Men to Parsimony and Frugality, and to promote Peace and good Neighbourhood. They were first Instituted in Italy by King Italus, from whom that Country receiv'd its Name, as we are inform'd by Aristotle (a). The next to these in order of Time, were those appointed by King Minos in Crete, after whose Example Lycurgus instituted the publick Entertainments at Sparta: Tho' the Name was vary'd, for, as Plutarch reports in his Life of the Spartan Lawgiver, τὰ συνίτια Κρήτες μὴ ἀνδρεία, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ φειδίτια προσαγορεύουσιν. The Cretans term their Sysitia, or publick Entertainments, ἀνδρεία; and the Lacedæmonians φειδίτια. Yet this difference was not primitive if we may believe Aristotle, who affirms, that τὸ γε ἀρχαῖον ἐκάλουν οἱ Λακῶνες ἢ φειδίτια, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὅτι οἱ Κρήτες, Anciently the Lacedæmonians did not use the Name of φειδίτια, but that of ἀνδρεία, which was the Cretan Word. These Entertainments were manag'd with the utmost Frugality, and Persons of all Ages were admitted, the younger sort being oblig'd by the Law-giver to repair hither, as to διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, Schools of Temperance and Sobriety, where by the Examples and Discourse of the elder Men, which was generally instructive, they were train'd to good Manners and useful Knowledge. The Athenians had likewise their Sysitia, as particularly that wherein the Senate of Five-hundred, together with such Men, who for the publick Services or eminent Merit of themselves or their Ancestors, were thought worthy of this Honour, were Entertain'd at the publick Expence. And many others both at Athens and in other Places are mention'd by the Greek Authors, to enumerate which would require a larger Compass, than our present Design will admit.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Materials, whereof the Entertainments consisted.

IN the primitive Times Men liv'd upon such Fruits, as sprung out of the Earth without Art or Cultivation; and desir'd no sort of Drink, beside that which the Fountains and Rivers afforded. Thus Lucretius has describ'd the Food then us'd (b).

*Quæ sol atque imbres dederant, quod terra crearet
Sponte sua, satis id placabat pectora domum.*

(a) De Repub. lib. VII. cap. X. (b) Lib. V.

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Ælian describing the most ancient Food of several Nations, reports, that at *Argos* they fed chiefly upon Pears, at *Athens* upon Figs, in *Arcadia* upon Acorns (a). And so celebrated were the *Arcadians* for Living upon that sort of Diet, that they are distinguish'd in *Lycophron* (b) by the Name of *Καλανθαγάτοι*, *Acorn-Eaters*. Most other Nations in *Greece* made use also of Acorns. Hence it was customary at *Athens*, when they kept their Marriage-Festivals, for a Boy to bring in a Bough full of Acorns, and a Plate cover'd with Bread, proclaiming, *Ἐφυγον κακὸν, εὗρεν ἄμεινον* I have escap'd the worse, and found the better; Which was done in Memory of their leaving the use of Acorns for that of Bread, as hath been elsewhere related. At *Rome* also the *corona civica* was compos'd fronde querna, quoniam cibus vi-
flusque antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit (c); of Oak-Leaves, be-
cause that Tree afforded the most ancient Food: For the same Reason, some of the Trees which bear Acorns, were term'd in *Greek* *φάγοι*, from *φάγειν*, to eat; and in *Latin*, *esculi*, from *esca*, which signifies Food (d). And as *Macrobius* (e) hath observ'd, *Meminit vel fabulatur Antiquitas * glande prius & baccis alitos, sero de sulcis sperasse alimoniam*: Ancient Authors have either deliver'd upon their Knowledge, or feign'd, that in the first Ages Men liv'd upon Acorns and Berries, and were for a long time unacquainted with the Art of Ploughing the Earth for Corn. Nevertheless, they believ'd that in the golden Age when Men enjoy'd all sorts of Plenty and Prosperity, the Earth produc'd Corn without Cultivation. Thus *Hesiod* reports in his description of those happy Times (f).

ἔθλα δὲ πάντα
 τοῖσιν ἔην καρπὸν δ' ἔσθρε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
 αὐτομάτῃ πολλὸν τε καὶ ἄφθονον. —

But this Age being expir'd, the Earth (as they imagin'd) became unfruitful, and Men falling into extreme Ignorance and Barbarity, liv'd, in *Macrobius's* Language, *Non multum a ferarum asperitate dissimiles* (g), not unlike to brute Beasts, till *Ceres* taught them the Art of Sowing, and several other useful Inventions, the Memory whereof were many Ages after celebrated on their Festival Days, as hath been elsewhere observ'd. The first whom *Ceres* taught to Sow and to Till the Ground, was *Triptolemus*, by whom that Knowledge was communicated to his Countrymen the *Athenians*. Afterwards she imparted the same Art to *Eumelus*, a Citizen of *Patre* in *Achaja*, by whom it was first introduc'd into that Country; as it was also by *Arcas* into *Arcadia* (h). Some farther report, that the Invention of Making and Baking Bread, is owing to *Pan*. And we must not omit, that Barley was us'd before any other sort of Corn, *πρώτην γὰρ τροφὴν ταύτην αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις δε-*

(a) Var. Hist. lib. III. cap. XXXIX. (b) Verse 432. ubi conf. commentarii.
 (c) A. Gellius lib. V. c. p. VI. (d) *Isidorus Orig.* lib. XVII. cap. VII. (e) In *Somnium Scipionis* lib. II. cap. X. (f) *Opus.* lib. I. vers. 116. (g) *Loco citato.*
 (h) V. d. *Pausanias Atticis, Achaicis, Arcadicis.*

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ἰόδαυ ὁδοῖ θεῶν, λόγος ἔχει. For it is reported, that this was the first Food, which the Gods imparted to Mankind, as Artemidorus (a) hath observ'd. And that it was antiquissimum in cibis, the most ancient sort of Viſtual, Atheniensium ritu, Menandro auctore apparet; & gladiatorum cognomine, qui hordearii vocantur, appears both from the Custom of the Athenians mention'd by Menander, which is elsewhere describ'd; and from the Name of those Gladiators, who are call'd hordearii from the Latin Name of Barley, as Pliny (b) hath related. But in more civil Ages, to use the same Author's Words, Panem ex hordeo antiquis usitatum vita damnavit, quadrupedum tradidit refectibus: Barley-bread came to be the Food of Beasts only. Nevertheless it was still us'd by the poorer sort, who were not able to furnish their Tables with better Provision: And in the Roman Camp, as Vegetius (c) hath inform'd us, Soldiers who had been guilty of any Offence, hordeum pro frumentoangebantur accipere; were fed with Barley instead of Bread-Corn. An example whereof we find in the second Punick War, wherein the Cohorts which lost their Standards, had an Allowance of Barley assign'd by Marcellus (d). And Augustus Cæsar, Cohortes, si quæ cessissent loco, decimatas hordeo pavit: Commonly punish'd the Cohorts, which gave ground to the Enemy, by a Decimation, and allowing them no Provision but Barley; as Suetonius reports in the Life of that Emperor (e).

The first Ages of Men, as Plato (f) reports, σαρκῶν ἀπέχοντο, καὶ ἐκ ὁρίων ὧν ἐδίειν, ἐδὲ τὰς τῶν θεῶν βωμὰς ἀμυῖσι μιᾶναιν: wholly abstain'd from Flesh, out of an Opinion that it was unlawful to eat, or to pollute the Altars of the Gods, with the Blood of living Creatures. The same is affirm'd by Dicaearchus in Porphyry, who hath left us a Tract concerning abstinence from Animals, and by many others. Swine were us'd for Food first of all Animals, they being wholly unserviceable to all other purposes and having, in the Language of Cicero (g), animam pro sale ne putrescant, their Souls only instead of Salt to keep them from Putrifying. As on the contrary, for several Ages after Flesh came to be eaten, it was thought unlawful to kill Oxen, because they are very serviceable to Mankind, and Partners of their Labour in cultivating the Ground, as hath been elsewhere observ'd (h). It was also unusual to kill young Animals: Whence, as Athenæus is of Opinion, Priamus is introduc'd by Homer reproving his Sons for Feasting upon young Lambs. The reason whereof was, either that it savour'd of Cruelty, to deprive those of Life which had scarce tasted the Joys of it; or that it tended to the destruction of the Species. Whence at a time when Sheep were scarce at Athens, there was a Law enacted to forbid ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀμνῶν: The eating of Lambs which had never been shorn, as hath been observ'd from Philochorus. Neither did the Ancients seek for Dainties or Rarities, but were content with Sheep, Goats, Swine,

(a) Lib. I. cap. LXXI. (b) Nat. Hist. lib. XVIII. cap. VII. (c) De re militari lib. I. cap. XIII. (d) Putarchus Marcello. Li. ius lib. XXVII. (e) cap. XXIV. (f) Lib. VI. de Legibus. (g) Lib. II. de natura Deorum. (h) Archaeologie hujus lib. II. cap. de Sacrificiis.

Oxen, when it was become lawful to kill them, what they caught in Hunting, what was most easie to be provided, and afforded the most healthful Nourishment. Hence all the Grecians in Homer live upon a simple Diet, Young and Old, Kings and private Men, are contented with the same Provision. Agamemnon entertains Ajax after his Combat with Hector, with the Chine of an Ox, as a Reward of his Valour. Alcinous, King of Phæacia, who affected a more splendid and delicate way of Living, feeds upon Beef. Menelaus sets before Telemachus a Chine of Beef, at the Marriage-Feast of his Sons. And the Courtiers of Penelope, tho' given to all sorts of Pleasure, are never entertain'd either with Fish, or Fowl, or any Delicacies. This, with several other things to the same purpose, hath been observ'd by Athenæus (a); who has likewise remark'd that Homer's Heroes neither boyl their Meat, nor dress it with Sauces, but only roast it. This was in most Places the ancient way of dressing Meat, whence Servius (b) also reports, that *Heroicis temporibus non vescerantur carne elixa*, in the heroical Ages they did not eat boyl'd Flesh; and observes farther out of Varro, that among the Romans the primitive Diet was Roast, then Boyl'd, and last of all Broths came into use. Nevertheless, as Athenæus hath elsewhere taken notice, even in Homer's time, boyl'd Meat was sometimes provided; which appears both from that Entertainment in the *Odysseis*, where an Ox's Foot is thrown at Ulysses, it being well known, that (in that Author's Words) *πὸ δὲ βοῦτος ἐδὲς ὀψία*. No Man ever roasts an Ox's Foot: And also from the expresse Words of the Twenty first *Iliad* (c):

ὧς δὲ λέγεις ἤϊ' ἔνδον ἐπεγρόμηνος πνεὶ πολλῶ,
Κνίωη μελδομῶτος ἀπαλοτεροῦτος σιάλοιο.

This was the way of Living among the ancient Greeks, neither were the Lacedæmonians of later Ages less temperate than their Ancestors, so long as they observ'd the Laws of *Lycurgus*. They had their constant Diet at the *συσίτια*, publick Entertainments, wherein the Food was extremely simple, whereof each Person had a certain proportion allotted. The chief part of the Provision was μέλας ζωμός, the black Broth peculiar to that Nation, which was so unpleasant, that a Citizen of *Sybaris* happening once to be entertain'd at *Sparta*, cry'd out, that he no longer wonder'd, why the Lacedæmonians were the most valiant Soldiers in the World, when any Man in his right Wits, would rather chuse to dye a thousand Times, than to live upon such vile Food (d). And 'tis reported, that *Agessilaus* distributed certain Sweet-meats, which had been presented to him by the *Thasians*, amongst the Slaves, saying, That the Servants of Virtue ought not to indulge themselves with such Delicacies, it being unworthy of Men of free Birth, to share those Pleasures, whereby Slaves are allur'd. For which reason, the Cooks of Lacedæmon were ὀλοποιοὶ κρέως μόνον ὁ δὲ ὄψις τέτο ἐπιστρώμηνος, ἐξυλαύνετο Σπαρτης, ὡς τὰ τῶν νο-

(a) Lib. I. pag. 9. (b) In *Aeneid*. I. (c) *Iliad*. φ'. vers. 362. (d) Conf. Athenæus lib. IV. cap. VI. pag. 138.

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οἷσαν καὶ ἀόσια· only Dressers of Flesh, and they who understood any thing farther in the Art of Cookery, were cast out from Sparta, as the Filib of Men infected with the Plague (a). Hence Mithæus, a very eminent Cook, designing to follow his Profession in that City, was immediately commanded by the Magistrates to depart (b). This Custom was not unlike that of the ancient Heroes, who kept no Cooks, but sometimes dress'd their own Provision, as we find done by Achilles in Homer (c),

—τάμεν δ' ἄγε σῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
καὶ τὰ μὲν εὖ μίσυλλε, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελόισιν ἔπειρε.

And sometimes the κήρυκες, Heralds, those Servants ἀνδράων τε θεῶν τε, of Gods and Men, as they are call'd by the Poet, who were not only employ'd in civil and military Affairs, but also perform'd many of the Holy Rites at Sacrifices, serv'd as Cooks; whence the ancient Cooks are by some Authors reported to have been θυσιαῖς ἑμπέσοι, Skill'd in the Art of divining by Sacrifices; and πρῶτοι γάμων καὶ θυσιῶν, had the management of Marriage Feasts and Sacrifices (d).

But in other Cities of Greece, and in later Ages, the Art of Cookery was in better Esteem, tho' even Heraclides and Glaucus the Larentian, who wrote Books concerning it, affirm, ὅτι ἀμύθητον τοῖς τυχεῖσιν ἐλευθέριον, that it was unworthy of the meanest Person, who was free-born; as we are inform'd by Athenæus (e). The Sicilian Cooks were priz'd above any others, as the same Author (f) has prov'd by Examples out of Cratinus and Amiphanes. Mithæus before-mention'd was of that Nation, and the Sicilians were so remarkable for their luxurious way of living, that Συκελὶνὸν τετραπύλινον, a Sicilian Table, was a proverbial Phrase, as we are inform'd by Suidas, ἐπὶ τῶν πένυ πολυτελεῶν καὶ τευφολῶν, for one furnish'd very profusely and luxuriously.

Next to the Lacedæmonian Tables, those of Athens are said to have been furnish'd most frugally; the Athenian Soil being unfruitful, and such as could supply no more Provision than was just necessary for the support of its Inhabitants. Hence Lynceus the Samian is cited by Athenæus (g), for condemning the Athenian Entertainments,

Μάγειρ', ὁ δὴ δὴ δειπρίζων τ' ἐμὲ,
Ράδιος' ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος. Περὶ δὲ
οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἠδ' ἔσται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
Δείπνοις· ἀνδρία γὰρ ἐστὶν Ἀττική.

And the same Author goes on in his description of the meanness of the Provisions at Athens, which were so exceedingly parsimonious, that Dromeas an Athenian Parasite, being ask'd, Whether the Suppers

(a) *Ælian* lib. XIV. cap. VII. (b) *Maximus Tyrius* principio dissert. VII. (c) *Iliad*. IX. vers. 209. (d) *Athenæus* lib. XIV. cap. XXII. (e) *Lib*. XIV. cap. XXIII. (f) *Loco citato*. (g) *Lib*. IV. cap. III.

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at Athens or those at Chalcis, were more Magnificent? reply'd, That the (περίουσιον) first Course at Chalcis was preferable to the whole Entertainment at Athens. Hence to live Ἀττικῶς, like an Athenian, is to live penuriously: An Example of which Proverb we find cited by Athenæus out of Alexis, who has there also left us a large Description of an Athenian Entertainment (a).

From the Grecian Meat let us in the next place proceed to their Drink. And in the primitive Times, as hath been already observ'd, Water was the general Drink, which they were supply'd from the nearest Fountain. Afterwards hot Fountains came into request by the example of Hercules, who being very much fatigu'd with Labour, refresh'd himself at a hot Fountain, which (as Fables tell us) was discover'd to him by Minerva, or Vulcan. And this sort of Water was thought extremely beneficial on the like Occasions: Whence Plato (b) commends his Atlantick Island, which he describes to be the most delightful and happy Country in the World, on account of its hot as well as cold Fountains: And Homer, by whom we are furnish'd with Examples of all sorts of poetical Topicks, relates, that one of the Fountains of the River Scamander was exquisitely cold, and the other hot (c). Yet, to use the Words of Julius Pollux (d), οὐχ ὥς ἐχ' οἶνον τ' εὐγεῖν δεῦρ' ὕδωρ ἐνὶ πόλῳ· it will be difficult to infer from Homer, that hot Waters were drunk in the Heroick Ages; but they seem only to be us'd for Bathing, unless prescrib'd by the Physicians, as was usually done to old Men, and others who had weak Stomachs, as appears from the Example Hippocrates produc'd by the same Author, who by several other Instances, yet all later than the Age of Homer, has there prov'd that this sort of Drink was us'd by the ancient Grecians. However, 'tis certain that at least in later Ages, hot Waters were in request amongst the Grecians, and from them came to be us'd at Rome. Whence the Roman Authors mention the use of them as a Grecian Custom. Thus Plautus (e), speaking of the Grecians,

Ubi quid surripuere, oparto capitulo caldum bibunt.

And Horace (f),

Quo Chium pretio cadum

Mercurmur? quis aquam temperet ignibus?

Where Acron explains *temperet* by *tepefaciat*, nam *tepefactis aquis solebant Græci vinum temperare*. For the Greeks (saith he) us'd to temper their Wine with warm Water (g).

But there is more frequent mention of cold Water than of Hot, both in the Grecian and Roman Authors: And in order to drink it exquisitely Cold, it was customary to temper it with Ice, which they

(a) Lib. IV. cap. V. (b) Critia. (c) *Iliad* x. vers. 147. (d) Lib. IX. cap. VI. Con. Athenæus lib. III. cap. XXXV. (e) *Curculione*. (f) Lib. III. Od. XIX. (g) Con. Athenæus lib. II. cap. II.

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had several Methods to preserve thro' all the heat of Summer. There is one mention'd by *Plutarch* (a), who relates that it was usual to wrap it in Cloths and Straw; to which, *Custom St. Augustine* alludes in the following Words: *Quis dedit palea tam frigidam vim, ut obrutas nives servis; vel tam fervidam, ut poma immatura maturet?* Who has endu'd the Straw with such a degree of Cold, as to preserve Ice? Or with so much Heat, as to bring unripe Fruit to Maturity? *Chares the Mitylenean*, as he is cited by *Athenaus* (b), reports that when *Alexander the Great* besieg'd *Petra*, a City of *India*, he fill'd thirty Ditches with Ice; which being cover'd with Oaken-boughs, remain'd a long time entire. And in the same place there are describ'd several other Arts of making their Drink cool. The custom of preserving Ice was so common amongst the *Romans*, that they had Shops wherein it was publicly expos'd to Sale. Whence *Seneca* thus inveighs against the *Roman* Luxury and Extravagance (c): *Unguentarios Lacedæmonij expulere, & prope cedere finibus suis iusserunt, quia oleum disperderent: quid illi si vidissent nivis reponenda officinas.* The *Lacedæmonians* banish'd the Sellers of Oynment, and commanded them to be gone with the utmost Speed out of their Country; what would have been done, had they seen Shops to reposit and preserve Ice?

The Invention of Wine was by the *Egyptians* ascrib'd to *Osiris*, by the *Latins* to *Saturn* and by the *Greeks* to *Bacchus*, to whom Divine Honours were paid on that Account. 'Tis reported by *Hecataus the Milesian* that the use of Wines was first discover'd in *Ætolia* by *Orestheus*, the Son of *Deucalion*, whose Grandson, *Oeneus*, the Father of *Ætolus*, from whom that part of *Greece* receiv'd it's name, was so call'd from οἶναλ which is the old name of *Vines*. Others derive οἶνος, the Name of *Wine* from this *Oeneus*, who (as they report) was the first, who discover'd the Art of pressing *Wine* from *Grapes*. Thus *Nicander*,

Οἶνους δ' ἐν κοίλοισιν ἀποθλίψας δαπάσων
Οἶνον ἔκλυσεν

And to the same purpose *Melanippides the Milesian* in *Athenæus* (d),

Ἐπώνυμος, ὃ δέσποτ', οἶνος Οἰνίας.

Others will have the *Vine* to have been first discover'd in *Olympia* near the River *Alpheus*: Of which Opinion was *Theopompus* of *Chios*. And *Hellanicus* reports, that it was first known at *Plinbion*, a Town of *Egypt*. Hence the *Egyptians* are thought to derive their immoderate Love and Use of this Liquor, which they thought so necessary to human Bodies, that they invented a sort of *Wine* made of *Barley* for the poorer sort, who wanted Money to purchase that which was press'd from *Grapes* (e).

(a) *Sympos. lib. VI.* (b) *Lib. I. l. ca. XXXVI.* (c) *Natur. IV.* (d) *Initio lib. II.* (e) *Con. Athenæus sub finem lib. I.*

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In Greece the Matrons and Virgins drank Wine, as appears from the Examples of *Nausicaæ* and her Companions in *Homer* (a). And because the same freedom was rarely allow'd that Sex in other Countries, the Grecian Women were ill thought of on that account (b). It was likewise customary to give it to Children, unless the management of *Achilles* was different from that of other Infants; for thus *Homer* has introduc'd *Phoenix* speaking to him (c),

Πεῖν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἑμοῖσιν ἐγὼ γένασσι καδίσαας,
Οὐκ ἔδασαιμι περταμῶν, καὶ οἶνον ἐπσχῶν,
Πολλὰ μοι κατέδυσσας ἐπὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα,
Οἶνε ὑπερλύζων ἐν νηπιῇ ἀλεγεινῇ.

The Wine was generally mix'd with Water: Whence Drinking-Cups were call'd *κρατήρες*, *κράτῃς* τὸ κρατῆσαι, from the Mixture made in them. Which derivation is mention'd both by the *Grammarians* and *Athenæus*, and there are some Allusions to it in *Homer*; For the Custom of drinking Wine temper'd with Water, obtain'd in the Time of the *Trojan* War, and the most primitive Ages. Hence the following Verse (d),

Οἱ μὲν δ' οἶνον ἔμισγον ἐνὶ κρατήρεσσι καὶ ὕδαρ.

Some ascribe the first use of it to *Melampus* (e), others to *Staphylus* the Son of *Silenus*. *Philochorus* is said to report (f), that *Amphiaraus*, King of *Athens*, learn'd to mix Wine with Water from *Bacchus* himself; on which account he dedicated an Altar to that God under the Name of *Ορδίους*, because from that time Men began to return from Entertainments, Sober and ὀρθοί, upright. The same King enacted a Law, that only Wine temper'd with Water should be drank at Entertainments, which being afterwards diffus'd, was reviv'd by *Solon* (g). There was no certain proportion observ'd in this Mixture; some to one Vessel of Wine pour'd in two of Water; others to two of Wine mix'd five of Water; and others more or less as they pleas'd (h). The *Lacedæmonians* εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔωσι τὸν οἶνον, i. e. τὸ πῦρ ἐν τῷ πῆμασιν μέγας ἀρετῆς, καὶ μετὰ τῆς αἰῆς ἐν χερσίν ται· us'd to Boil their Wine upon the Fire till the fifth part was consum'd, and then after four Years were expir'd, began to drink it: As we are inform'd by *Democritus* (i), and the same Custom is also mention'd by *Palladius*.

Nevertheless most of the Grecians, and particularly the *Lacedæmonians* sometimes did ἀκρατίεσσιν πίνειν, drink Wine with little or no Water; which they term'd ἐπσχυδίσσαι, to act like a *Scythian*. For the *Scythians* were very much addicted to Drunkenness, and us'd Wine without Water; Whence ἀκρατοποίησιν, is commonly term'd

(a) *Odys.* VI. (b) *Conf. Athenæus lib. X. (c) Ibid. IX. vers. 484. (d) Odys.* (e) *Athenæus lib. VI. cap. II. (f) Plinius lib. VII. cap. LVI. (g) Athenæus lib. II. cap. II. (h) Idem lib. X. cap. VII. (i) Idem lib. XI. cap. VII. (k) Geoponic. lib. VII. cap. IV. (l) Lib. XI. tit. XIV.*

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συνδισὶ πίνειν, or συνδοπιεῖν and ἀκρατόποσι, is call'd συνδισ-
κὴ πόσις, Which Expressions came into vogue at Sparta from the
time that Cleomenes the Spartan by living and conversing with the
Scythians learn'd to drink to Excess and Madness (a). The Thracians
also drank their Wine unmix'd with Water; and both they and the
Scythians were generally such Lovers of it, that γυναικες τε καὶ πάν-
τες αὐτοὶ κατὰ τῶν ἱματίων (ἀκροστον) καθάχροντο, καλὸν καὶ
εὐδαίμον ἐπιήδευμα ἐπιτηδεύειν νομοίκασι. The Women and all
the Men thought it a most happy Life, to fill themselves with unmix'd
Wine, and to pour it upon their Garments (b). Hence also by Θεα-
κία πόσις, the Thracians way of Drinking, was meant ἀκρατο-
ποσία, drinking Wine not mix'd with Water (c).

Some us'd to perfume their Wines; and Wine so us'd was term'd
οἶνος μυρρίνινος, according to Aelian (d); and sometimes μυρρίνης,
for that Word according to Hesychius's Explication, signifies πό-
σιν, ἢ ἐπιχεῖτο μύρον a Potion mix'd with Odours. Different from
this were the Murrhina of the Romans, as also the ἐσμυνησιμῶδες οἶ-
νος, Wine mingled with Myrrh, mention'd in St. Mark's Gospel,
wherewith Malefactors were commonly intoxicated before they Suf-
fer'd. Several other Ingredients were mix'd with Wine; sometimes
ἀλφίτα, Meal, whence οἶνος ἀπληροίτωρμος, Wine thicken'd with
Meal, which was very much us'd by the Persians (e). They had
also many sorts of made Wines; as οἶνος κελδίνος, cerevisia, Wine
made of Barley; and οἶνος ἐλκνός, Palm-wine, sometimes term'd
ὄξος ἐλκνόν, for ὄξος was a general Name for all made Wines.

C A A P. XIX.

Of the Customs before Entertainments.

THE Person by whom the Entertainment was provided,
was commonly Nam'd ὁ ἐσιδων, ἐσιῶν, ξενίζων, τῆς
συμπόσιας ἡγεμῶν, συμπόσιον ἀρχων, συμποσίαρχος, by
the Tragedians οἰκονόμων, &c.

The Persons entertain'd by him, were term'd δασυμόνες, δαι-
ταλῆς, συμπύται, συνδαιπνοί, &c. also very often κληροί, σύγ-
κληροί, ἐπικληροί in which Names is express'd the immediate Cause
of their meeting, which was κλήσις, in Latin, Vocatio, an Invitati-
on, or Calling by the Entertainer.

The Persons employ'd to invite the Guests, were by the Romans
term'd Vocatores, and by the Greeks, κλήτορες, or δειπνοκλήτορες.
The same Men were also, tho' not so frequently, call'd ἐλεαλεγοί,

(a) Chameleon Heracleota lib. de Temulentia apud Athenaeum lib. X. cap. VII.
(b) Athenaeus lib. X. sub. finem cap. IX. (c) Pollux lib. VI. cap. III. (d) Var.
Hist. lib. XII. cap. XXXI. (e) Athenaeus lib. X. initio cap. IX.

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and ἐλευατερί, from ἐλεός, which is the Name of the Table, on which the Provision was plac'd in the Kitchen. Thus ἐλευατερί, according to Pampbilus in *Athenaeus* (a), are οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν καλῦντες τετραπέζαν, they who invite to the King's Table. Sometimes to invite was term'd καταγράφειν, to write down, from the Custom of inscribing the Names of the Persons to be invited upon a Tablet. The Hour was signify'd at the Invitation, and because they then number'd the Hours by the motion of the Sun, there is frequent mention of σκιά, the Shade of the Sun, and φοιχέειν, the Letter of the Dial on these Occasions. Thus in the following Passage of *Aristophanes* (b).

ὅτι δὲ μελήσει,
Ὅταν ἢ δεκάπεν φοιχέειν λιπαρῶς χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δειπνον.

Relations often went without Invitation, as hath been observ'd by *Athenaeus* (c), and *Eustatius* from that Verse of *Homer*, where he describes an Entertainment at *Agamemnon's* Tent (d):

Αὐτόματος δὲ οἱ ἦλθε κοὖν ἀγαθὸς Μενέλαος.

Valiant Menelaus came to him αὐτόματος, that is ἀνευ τῆς κληθῆναι, without being invited, as the Scholiast explains that Word. Such as without Invitation, ἐπὶ τῇ κεκληρωμένῃ ἐπὶ δειπνον ἀγόμενοι, were brought to the Entertainment by some of those who had been invited (e), were term'd σκιάι, Shades, from their following the principal Guests, as Shades do Bodies. The same Persons were by the *Romans* call'd umbrae. Thus in *Horace* (f).

quos Mæcenæ adduxerat umbras.

And in another place (g),

locus est & pluribus umbris.

They, who forc'd themselves into other Men's Entertainments, were in Greek call'd μῦραι, in Latin, *Musce*, *Flies*; which was a general Name of Reproach for such as insinuated themselves into any Company, where they were not welcome. Thus the Parasite is describ'd by *Antiphanes*,

Θύρας μοχλευέειν, σεις μὲν εἰσπιδᾶν ἀκείῃς
Δειπνεῖν ἀκλητος, μῦρα μὴ ἐξελεῖν, φρέας.

In *Plautus* (h) an Entertainment free from unwelcome Guests, is

(a) Lib. IV. cap. XXI. (b) *Concionatricibus* pag. 744. Con. ibi Scholiastes, item *Stridas* v. δεκάπεντα & *Hesychius* v. δεκάπεν φοιχέειν. (c) Lib. IV. cap. XXVI. (d) *Iliad*. C. v. 408. (e) *Plutarchus* *Sympos.* lib. VII. *Quæst.* VI. (f) Lib. II. sat. VIII. v. 22. (g) Lib. I. epist. v. 28. (h) *Pagnul. Act.* III. Sc. III. v. 76.

call'd *hospitium sine muscis*, an Entertainment without Flies: And in another Place of the same Author (a), an inquisitive and busy Man, who pries and insinuates himself into the Secrets of others, is term'd *Musca*. We are likewise inform'd by *Horus Apollo* (b), that in *Ægypt* a Fly was the Hieroglyphick of an impudent Man, because that Insect being beaten away, still returns again. On which account it is by *Homer* made an Emblem of Courage (c),

Καὶ οἱ μῆς θάρσος ἐνὶ σήδῳ ἐνῆκεν,
 Ἡ τε καὶ εἰσγούρη μάλα περ χερσὶ ἀνδρῶν οἴοιο,
 Ἰγανὰ δακτεῖν, λαθὲν τὲ οἱ αἶμα' ἀνδρῶν.

The same Persons, whom they term'd *musca* at Entertainments, were also call'd *Μυκόνιοι*, *Myconians*, from the Poverty of that Nation; which put them upon frequenting other Men's Tables oftener than was consistent with good Manners. Whence *Pericles* was reflected upon by *Archilochus*, ὡς ἀκλῆτον ἐπεισπαίοντα εἰς τὰ συμπόσια Μυκονίων δίκην. As one who intruded into other Men's Entertainments, after the manner of the *Myconians* (d). But the most common Appellation of such Men, was that of *Παρασιῖται*, *Parasites*. Which Word, as *Lucian* hath observ'd, in its primitive Sense, signify'd only the Companions of Princes and Men of Quality; such were *Patroclus* to *Achilles*, and *Memnon* to *Idomeneus* or those who had their Diet at the Tables of the Gods, of whom mention has been made in another place (e); but afterwards came to be a Name of Reproach for those, who by Flattery and other mean Arts, us'd to insinuate themselves to the Tables of other Men. In which Sense it was first us'd by *Epicharmus*, and afterwards by *Alexis* (f). Nevertheless it was common for Friends and Men of Credit, to visit one another's Houses at the Times of Entertainment, without expecting a formal Invitation, as appears from that Saying cited by *Eustathius* (g),

Ἀκλῆτοι κωμάζουσιν εἰς φίλους φίλοι.

And that other in *Plato* (h).

εἰς δεξ καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν
 αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοί.

Which is sometimes thus cited in one hexameter Verse,

αὐτόματοι δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαίτας ἴασιν.

The number of Guests was unlimited, some chose to invite Three, or Four, or Five at the most. Thus *Archestratus* in *Athenæus* (i);

(a) *Mercat. Act. II. Sc. III. v. 26.* (b) *Hieroglyphicis.* (c) *Iliad. g. v. 570.* (d) *Conf. Athenæus lib. I. cap. VII.* (e) *Lib. II. cap. de Sacerdotibus.* (f) *Cont. Athenæus lib. VI. cap. VII. Pollux lib. VI. cap. VII.* (g) *Commentario in Iliad. 6.* (h) *Symp. sig.* (i) *Lib. I. sub finem cap. IV.*

Πρὸς δὲ μὴδ' ἅπλως δειπνεῖν ἀεὶ ἐδάδι τε καὶ ζῆν
 ἔσταν δ' ἢ τρεῖς, ἢ τέσσαρες οἱ ξυδάπαντες,
 ἢ τῶν πέντε γε μὴ πλείους ἦδ' ἢ γὰρ ἂν εἴη
 Μισθοφόρων ἀρπαξιβίων σκηνὴν ἐξελισσάντων.

And *Athenaus* in another place (a) reports, that among the Ancients μὴ συδαιπνεῖν τῶν πέντε γε πλείους, ὅτι δὲ γε ἡμεῖς λαμ-
μακρόσιοι ἐσμεν δὴλον. It was not usual for more than five to sup together, but that in his Time the numbers were plainly infinite. *Eustathius* hath observ'd out of *Famblichus*, that in the *συσιτία*, common Meals, not above Ten were admitted; which in his Opinion was the ordinary number of Guests at Entertainments in the primitive Times: And hence he thinks it is, that when *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b) speaks of distributing the *Grecian* Army at an Entertainment, he mentions only *δεκάδες*, Tens.

Ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς δεκάδας διακοσμηδόμεθα Ἀχαιοί,
 Τρώων δ' ἄνδρα ἕκασον ἐλοίμεθα οἶνοχοεῦεν,
 Πολλὰ καὶ κεν δεκάδες δευσιέτο οἶνοχοοί.

But this must only be understood of the Entertainments of private Men, Princes often invited greater Numbers: *Agamemnon* in *Homer* entertains all the *Grecian* Princes together; and *Alexander the Macedonian* is reported before his Expedition against *Persia*, σκηνὴν κατασκευάσασθαι ἑκατοσιδακτύνον πρὸς εὐωχίαν. To have furnish'd a Tent with a hundred Beds for an Entertainment (c). And the same Vanity by degrees crept in amongst private Men, inso-much that in *Athenaus's* Time, as hath been before observ'd, λαμ-
μακρόσιοι, infinite numbers, were invited. Hence it came to pass, that partly to prevent Tumult and Sedition, and partly to restrain the Expensiveness and Prodigality of their Citizens, some Law-givers thought it necessary to limit the number of Guests: In particular, no Person at *Athens* was allow'd to entertain above Thirty at once. In order to put this Statute in Execution, certain Magistrates, call'd *Γυμαικονόμοι*, were oblig'd to go to Entertainments, and to expel thence such as exceeded that number; and the Cooks who were commonly employ'd to dress the Victuals at Entertainments, were oblig'd to give in their Names every time they were hir'd (d).

This must farther be observ'd concerning the Guests, that Men and Women were never invited together, as we are inform'd by *Cicero* (e). Wherein the *Greeks* differ'd from the *Romans*, amongst whom the Women were allow'd more freedom. "For which of the "*Romans* (to use the Words of *Cornelius Nepos*) was ever ashamed "to bring his Wife to an Entertainment? And what Mistress of

(a) Lib. XV. cap. III. (b) *Iliad*, C. vers. 126. Conf. *Eustathius* pag. 144. edit. Basi. (c) *Diodorus Siculus* pag. 530. (d) Conf. *Athenaus* lib. VI. cap. XI. (e) *Orat.* III. in *Verrem*.

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" a Family can be shewn, who does not inhabit the chief and most frequented part of the House? Whereas in Greece, she never appears at any Entertainments beside those to which none but Relations are invited; and constantly lives in the innermost part of the House, which is call'd *γυναικωνίτις*, the Women's Apartment, into which no Man, except near Relations, has admision (a).

Before they went to an Entertainment, they Wash'd and Anointed themselves, ἀπρέπες γὰρ ἦν ἥκειν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον σιωῇ ἰδρωσὶ πολλῷ καὶ κονιορτῷ. For it was thought very indecent to go thither desud with Sweat and Dust; as Asbenæus (b) hath observ'd from Aristotle. They who came off of a Journey, were Wash'd and Cloath'd with Apparel suitable to the occasion in the House of the Entertainer, before they were admitted to the Feast. Thus we find in Homer, where he describes the Reception of Telemachus and Pisistratus by Menelaus (c),

Ες ῥ' ἀσπαίνοντες πάντες εὐχέσους λίσσαντο.
Τὸς δ' ἐπεὶ ἔν δμῳαὶ λῦσαν, καὶ χεῖσαν ἐλαίῳ,
Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαίνας ἕλας βάλλον, ἥδ' ἐ χιτῶνας,
Ες ῥὰ θρόνους ἕζοντο παρ' Ἀτρείδην Μενέλαον.

The same Persons also wash'd their Hands before they sat down to Meat; as appears from the Verses which follow in the same Author (d),

Χέρνισα δ' ἀμφοτέροισι προχῶν ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
Καλῇ, χρυσῇ, ὑπὲρ ἀργυρέοιο λείκης,
Νίψασθαι ὅρα δ' ἐξέην ἐτάνασε τράπεζαν.
Σίτον δ' αἰδοῖν ταμὴν παρὶδ' ἔθηκε φέρουσα.

And, to mention the times of washing all together, it was also customary to wash between every Course, and after Supper. Thus Homer introduces his Heroes, δεκνύντας, ἐμμελύντας, ἔτα τὰ δαυνίψα- μβους ποιεῖ πάλιν δεκνύντας. Supping, Conversing, then Washing, and after that again Supping. And Aristophanes (e) speaks of bringing ὕδωρ κατὰ χεῖρας μετὰ τράπεζαις. Water to wash the Hands after the Courses. By them, who spoke accurately, to wash the Hands before Supper, was term'd νίψασθαι to wash after Supper, δαυνίψασθαι. Hither are to be referr'd the Words ἀπομαρξάσθαι, ἐταπομαρξάσθαι, ἀπολῦσαι, and the like, which signify to wipe the Hands. The Towel was term'd ἐκμαγέον, χιτῶν μαγέον, &c. instead whereof the ancient Greeks us'd ἀπομαγδαλία, which were τὸ ἐν τῷ ἄρτῳ μαλακὸν καὶ σαυτῶδες, the soft and fine part of the Bread, which afterwards they cast τοῖς κυσὶ, to the Dogs; ὅθεν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κυνάδα τιλὴ ἀπομαγδαλίαν καλεῖσιν. whence ἀπομαγδαλία is by the Lacedæmonians call'd κυνάς. And, as the same Author there adds, this Custom is mention'd by Homer in the following Verses,

(a) Cornèlus Nepos præfat. in vitas Imperatorum. (b) Lib. IV. cap. XXVII. (c) Odys. d. ver. 48. (d) Odys. d. (e) Vissus.

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Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀμφὶ ἀνακτα κυνέας δαΐηδεν ἰόντα
 Σαίνωσ', αἰὲ γὰρ τε φέροι μελίσματα θυμῷ.

It is farther to be observ'd, that in the washing after Supper, they us'd some sort of σμῦγμα, σμυύ-της χεῖρ. Stuff to scour the Hands (a). For which use Nitre and Myrrour are mention'd in the Holy scriptures. Lastly, after washing, the Hands were perfum'd with Odours, which custom is express'd in the following Verses of Antiphanes or Epigenes, in Athenians (b),

Καὶ τότ' ἐπειταλίσσεις, καπορί-φει καλὰ τέκνον,
 τὰς χεῖρας, εὐώδη λαβὼν τῷ γυνὶ δ' ἄμα.

It may not be improper in this place, to add something farther by way of digression, concerning the Custom of Washing and Anointing, which in Greece and other hot Countries was so frequent. To wash, is in the words of Eustathius, σποδαίνω, μὲν ῥυτί, ἀναψυχῆς δέ τις αἰτίον, a means both to cleanse the Body from Filth, and to refresh it: Therefore, whenever they ceas'd from Sorrow and Mourning, it was usual to Bath and Anoint themselves. Whence Eurynome in Homer advises Penelope to leave off Lamenting (c),

Χεῖρ' σπονδαίῳ, καὶ ἐμχειράσθαι παρθεῖ.

Washing her Body and anointing her Face. And, as we are inform'd by Artemidorus (d), the ancient Greeks commonly bath'd ἢ πόλεμος καλᾶσσε-δάμοιοι, ἢ μεγάλην πανσάμοιοι πόνον after the finishing of a War, or any other great Fatigue. Thus in Homer, Telemachus and Pisistratus are Bath'd and Anointed at Menelaus's Palace after a long Journey; Diomedes and Ulysses after their return from discovering the manner of their Enemies encampment,

λοεταμόνῃ καὶ ἀλα-δαμόνῃ λίπ' ἑλαιοῦ
 Δάπνῃ ἐριζανέτην.

Having Bath'd and Anointed, sat down to Supper. In the Heroical Ages, Men and Women without distinction bath'd themselves in Rivers. This we find done by Nausicaæ the Daughter of Alcinoüs, King of Pheacia (e), and Europa in Moschus (f).

παυδ' αὖτις χεῖρα περὶ χροῖσιν Ἀναῦρος
 Cleanse her Body in the Mouth of Anaurus. Helena also and her Fellows wash in the River Eurotas, according to Theocritus (g),

(a) Athenæus lib. X. c. p. ult. (b) Loco citato. (c) Odyss. δ. vers. 170. (d) Lib. I. cap. LXVI. (e) Odyss. VI. (f) Idyll. 6. vers. 31. (g) Idyll. 7. vers. 31.

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Αἴμας γὰρ πᾶσαι συνομαλικίαι, ἢ δέσμος αὐτῶν
Χειραῦται ἀνδρῶν παρ' Εὐρώπῳ λῶσις,
Τετρεῖς ἐξήκοντα κόραι, δῖλος νεολαία.

Tho' the Expressions in these Verses are manifestly accommodated to the Institutions of *Lycæus*, whereby the Virgins were oblig'd to Bath and accustom themselves to such Exercises, as in that Age were only practis'd by the Men: Whence the Poet observes that it was done *ἀνδρῶν*, after the manner of Men; which would have been a very improper Expression in the heroical Times, when it was customary for both Sexes to use this Diversion alike. But if the Sea was within a convenient distance, they commonly Bath'd in it rather than in the Rivers; the Salt-water being thought, to use the Words of *Asclepius* (a), *παλιν τοῖς νῦν πεισσοῦσι*, conducive to strengthen the Nerves, by drying up superfluous Humours. Thus, to forbear the mention of other Instances, *Diomedes* and *Ulysses* in *Homer* after a very great Fatigue,

— ἰδρῶ πολλὸν ἀπενίζοντο θαλάρῳ
Εὐδάντες —

Went into the Sea to cleanse themselves from Sweat. And they who liv'd at a greater distance from the Sea, sometimes remov'd thither for their Health's sake. An Example whereof we find in *Minutius Felix*, by one of the Persons in whose Dialogue it is resolv'd, *Ostiam petere, ananissimam civitatem, quod esset corpori meo siccandis humoribus de marinis lavacris blanda & expedita curatio*: To go to the most pleasant City *Ostia*, in order to enjoy the benefit of bathing in the Sea, which is an easie and expeditious Method of drying up the superfluous Humours of the Body. Hot-baths were also very ancient. *Heghλεια λῶτες*, the Hot-baths shew'd by *Vulcan*, or, as others say, by *Mi-nerva* to *Hercules*, at a time when he had underwent a very great Fatigue, are celebrated by the Poets. *Pindar* (b) speaks of *δεσμὰ Νυμφῶν λῶτες*, the hot Baths of the Nymphs. *Homer* commends one of the Fountains of *Scamander* for its hot Water in the Twenty second *Iliad*. In the same *Iliad* *Andromache* provides a hot Bath for *Hector* against his return from the Battle. *Nestor* in the eleventh *Iliad* orders *Hecamede* to make ready *δεσμὰ λῶτες*, an hot Bath. And, to mention but on^e Instance more, the *Phæacians* are said in *Homer's* *Odysses* to place their chief delight in

Εἴμας τ' ἐξημισθὰ, λῶτες τε δεσμὰ, καὶ εὐναί.

Changes of Apparel, hot Baths and Beds. Yet hot Baths do not seem to have been then so much us'd as in later Ages, and those Words of *Artemidorus* (c), that *πάσαι εἰκὸς εἶναι πορνεῖν τὰ θαλαεῖα*,

(a) Lib. 4. cap. XIX. (b) *Olymp.* XII. (c) Lib. 1. cap. LXVI.

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Baths seem to have been thought hurtful by the Ancients, are probably meant of hot Baths only; and then the following Words, which have been already cited, that Baths were anciently never us'd but after some very great Fatigue, must be understood in the same Sense. However that be, it is plain from that Author, that ancient Greeks *καλανεῖα* ἐκ ἡδύσαν, had no Balneos like those of later Times; but ἐν ταῖς ἀσάμινδοις ἐλάοντο, wash'd in certain Vessels call'd ἀσάμινδοι. Which Word as explain'd by Phavorinus (a) signifies πύελον, or λεχάνην, a large Basin, or Vessel to wash in, being deriv'd ἀπὸ τὴν ἄσσην μινύδην from taking away the Filth of the Body. Whence ἀσάμιδος is mention'd by Pollux amongst the Vessels which belong to Balneos. And the ancient Romans had a Vessel in their own Houses, wherein they wash'd, call'd *lavatrina* or *latrina*, which was afterwards term'd *balneum*, and when two Baths came to be us'd, one hot and another cold, in the plural *balnea* (b). Publick Balneos were unknown till later times; Athenæus tells us that in his Age *πεσούτως τὰ βαλανεῖα παῖνται, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔδεν ἑνὸν ὃ πάλαις ἑόντων αὐτά.* They were but lately come into use, and that formerly no such Places were allow'd to be within the City (c). The Balneos commonly contain'd the following Rooms.

1. *Ἀποδυτήριον*, wherein ἀπεδύοντο τὰ ἱμάσια, They put off their Cloaths.
2. *Πόκαυστον* or *πυειατήριον*, *sudatorium*, a Room most commonly round, and provided with πῦρ ἀκαπνον, Fire so contriv'd that it should not smoke, for the Benefit of those who desir'd to Sweat. It was also term'd *Laconicum*, from the frequent use of this way of Sweating in *Laconia*.
3. *Βαψιστήριον*, a hot Bath.
4. *Λεχάνων*, a cold Bath.
5. *Ἀλειψήριον*, the Room wherein they were Anointed.

After Bathing they always anointed, either ἐμφορτήριος τὰς σωματικὰς πόρους to close the Pores of the Body, which was especially necessary after the use of hot Baths: Or *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ξηρανθῆναι τὴν ὕδατος ἀποκαθαρσὺν δίνειται τὰ σώματα.* Lest the Skin should become rough after the Water was dry'd off it (d): If we may believe Pliny (e), they had no better Ointment in the Time of the Trojan War, than Oyl perfum'd with odoriferous Herbs, especially Roses: Whence *ροδοῦν ἐλαῖον*, Oyl mix'd with Roses, is mention'd in Homer's Twenty third *Iliad* (f), where Venus anoints Hector's Body.

— ροδοῦν δὲ χρῆν ἐλαίῳ
ἀμύροισιν

(a) v. ἀσάμιδος. Conf. idem. v. *κολανίον*. (b) Varro de L. L. Nonius Marcellus. (c) Eib. I. sub finem cap. XLV. (d) Conf. Eustathius in *Iliad*. v. (e) Nat. Hist. lib. XIII. cap. I. (f) 186.

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To the same Oymnt he elsewhere gives the Epithets of ἀμύρσιον ἰδαυόν, and τεθυμωμόν (a), speaking of *ῥυνο*.

Ἀμύρσιον μὲν πρῶτον ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἱμερέντος
 Λύματα πάντα καθήρειν ἀλείφατο δὲ λίπ' ἐλαίῳ
 Ἀμύρσιον, ἰδαυόν, τό ῥα οἱ τεθυμωμόν ἦεν.

But *Athenaeus* is of opinion, that *Homer* οἶδε τὴν χερσὶν τῶν μύρων, ἐλαία δ' αὐτὰ καλεῖ μετ' ὀπιθέτω. was acquainted with the use of more precious Oymnts, but calls them Oyl with the addition of an Epithet, to distinguish them from common Oyl (b). The same Observation is made by the Commentators upon that Poet, when they explain those Words, αὐῶδες ἐλαίον, perfum'd Oyl. And 'tis well known, that the Jews call'd all sorts of Oymnts by the name of Oyl. The reason seems to have been, that Oyl was the first Oymnt. However, the ancient Heroes never us'd μύρα, costly Oymnts. *Athenaeus* himself acknowledges, that *Homer* never introduces ἀλειφομένους τὸς Ἥρωας, any of his Heroes anointed with any Oymnt beside Oyl, except *Paris*, a soft and effeminate Person. In more delicate Ages, when very much of the primitive Plainness was lay'd aside, it was still by many thought Indecent for Men to Anoint themselves with precious Oymnts. *Chrysippus* would have the name of μύρον deriv'd ἀπὸ τῆ μετὰ πολλῷ μύρου, καὶ πόνου ματαίῳ γίνεσθαι from the vain and unprofitable Labour of compounding it. And *Socrates* was of Opinion, That the Smell as well as the Garments of Men and Women ought to be different. That for Women, it was decent enough to smell of perfum'd Oymnts, but that Men should rather smell of Oyl, which was us'd in the Schools of Exercise. *Solon* prohibited Men from selling Oymnts, and the Laws of *Sparta* entirely forbid any Person to sell them; as we are inform'd at large by *Athenaeus* (c). Nevertheless Women and some effeminate Men, were so curious in their choice of Oymnts, that they could tell very critically, ποῖόν τι ἐκάστω τῶν μελῶν ἐστὶν ὀπιθέειον. what sort suited best with each Member of the Body. An example whereof we find in the following Verses of *Antiphanes*, which are cited by *Athenaeus*.

Ἐκ χειροκολλήτης δὲ κάλπιδος μύρον
 Αἰγυπλίῳ μὲν τὸς πόδας καὶ τὰ σκέλη,
 Φοινικίνῳ δὲ τὸς γνάθους καὶ τὰ τσιθία,
 Σισυμβείνῳ δὲ τὸν ἦτορον βραχίονα,
 Ἀμαρρακίνῳ δὲ τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν κόμην,
 Εὐπυλλίνῳ δὲ τὸ γόνα καὶ τὸν αὐχένα.

Lastly, it must not be omitted, that the Feet being most expos'd to Dust and Filth, were oftener wash'd and anointed than other

(a) *Iliad*, ζ'. vers. 170. (b) *Lib. XV. cap. XI.* (c) *Lib. XV. cap. X.*

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Parts of the Body : On which account they are by some thought to be call'd *χιτασθὶ πόδες* in *Homer*. Women were generally employ'd to wash and anoint the Feet, both in the herōical and later Ages. It was customary for them to kiss the Feet of those, to whom they thought a more than common Respect was due. Thus the Woman in the Gospel kisseth the Feet of our Blessed Saviour, whilst she anointed them. The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Philo-leon* by his Daughter, as himself relates in *Aristophanes* (a) :

ἡ πρῶτα μὲρ θυγάτηρ με
Ἀπορίζῃ καὶ τῷ πόδι ἀλέσθῃ καὶ προσκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

Let us from this digression return to the Entertainment, and the first Ceremony after the Guests arriv'd at the House of Entertainment, was the *Salutation* perform'd by the Master of the House, or one appointed in his place. To do this was term'd by the general Name of *ασπάζεσθαι* tho' this Word *κλείως ἐστὶ τὸ περι-πλεῖσθαι τινα* in its strict Sense signifies to embrace one with Arms around; being deriv'd ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγᾶν ἀσπᾶσαι εἰς ἑαυτὴν τὸν ἑτερον, from forcibly drawing another to one's Self: As we are inform'd by the old Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b). But the most common Salutation was by the conjunction of their right Hands; the right Hand being accounted a Pledge of Fidelity and Friendship. Whence *Pythagoras* advis'd *μὴ παντὶ ἐμβάλλειν τὴν δεξιάν* that the right Hand should not be given to every Man; meaning that all Persons were not fit to be made our Friends. This Ceremony was very ancient, and is mention'd in *Homer* (c) :

Οἱ δ' ὡς ἔβην ἔειπες ἴδον ἀδελφοὶ ἥλθον ἄπαντες,
Χερσὶν τ' ἡσπάζοντο, καὶ ἰδεῖσθαι ἀνῶγον.

Hence *δεξιῦσθαι* is sometimes join'd with *ασπάζεσθαι*, and is almost synonymous to it. Thus in *Aristophanes* (d),

αὐτὸν ἡσπάζοντο καὶ
δεξιῦνδ' ἄπαντες ὑπὸ τ' ἡδονῆς.

Sometimes it is us'd figuratively for any sort of Entertainment or Reception. Thus we find *δεξιῦσθαι δαυτὶ*, *δεξιῦσθαι τετραπέζῃ*, *δεξιῦσθαι δέεσις*, *δεξιῦσθαι χερσὶς λόγοις*, καὶ ἔργοις, &c.

Sometimes they kiss'd the Lips, Hands, Knees, or Feet in Salutations, as the Person deserv'd more or less Respect. There was a particular sort of Kiss, which is call'd by *Suidas* *χύτερον*, by *Pollux* *χύτερα*, the *Pot* : ὅποταν τὰ παιδία φιλοῖν τῶν αὐτῶν λαμβανόμενα when they took the Person, like a *Pot*, by both his ears; which was chiefly practis'd by, or towards *Children*. We find it mention'd by *Eunicius* (e),

(a) *Vespis* pag. 473. (b) In *Plutium* pag. 77. (c) *Odysf.* γ'. vers. 35. (d) *Pluto.* (e) In *Antia*, apud *Jalium Pollucem*.

Λαῖσα τῶν ὄτων φιλεῖσα τὴν χύλην.

And by Tibullus (a),

natusq; parenti
Oscula compressis auribus eripies.

As also by Theocritus, from whom it appears to have been sometimes us'd by Men and Women (b),

Οὐκ ἔραμ' Ἀλκίππας, ὅτι με πρὶν ἐκ εἰλίλασε
τῶν ὄτων καθελοῖσ', ὅτε οἱ γῆν φάσαν ἔδωκα.

The Guests being admitted, did not immediately sit down at the Table, which was accounted ill breeding, but spent some time in viewing and commending the Room and Furniture. Thus the Son in Aristophanes (c) instructs his Father to do,

Ἐπειτ' ἐπαίνισόν τι τῶν χαλκαυμάτων,
Θερρὴν θῆσαι, κρεαδῆν' αὐλῆς δαίμασον.

Which Observation, with others of the same Nature, are taken notice of by Athenæus (d).

CHAP. XX.

Of the Ceremonies at Entertainments.

THE ancient Grecians sat at Meat: There are three sorts of Seats mention'd by Homer.

1. Δίσκες, which contain'd two Persons, as the name seems to import; and was commonly plac'd for those of the meanest Quality.
2. Θρόνος, on which they sat upright, having under their Feet a Footstool, term'd Θρῦνος.
3. Κλίσμας, on which they sat leaning a little backwards, as the Word signifies. Of these a more full and exact Account may be seen in Athenæus (e).

Neither was it the custom in Greece only, but in most other Countries to sit at Entertainments. It was practis'd by the primitive Ro-

(a) Lib. II. (b) Idyll. s. v. 132. (c) Vespis. (d) Lib. IV. cap. XXVII.
(e) Lib. V. cap. IV.

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mans, as we are inform'd by *Isidorus* (a) and *Servius* (b). And *Philo* hath observ'd that *Joseph* order'd his Brethren κατά τὰς ἡλικίας καθέζεσθαι, μήπω τῶν ἀνδρῶπων ἐν ταῖς συμπραξιαῖς συνουσίαις καθάλλισται χρωδῶν to sit according to their Ages, the Custom of lying at Entertainments not having then obtain'd (c). But afterwards ἐπεὶ τρυφᾶν ᾤξαντο, καθέρρυσαν δὲ τῶν δίφρων ἐπὶ τὰς κλῖνας ὡς ἀνδρῶως πίνειν when Men began to be soft and effeminate, they exchang'd their Seats for Beds, in order to drink with more ease. Yet then οἱ ἥρωες οἱ καθήμενοι οἰνοπόταζον, the Heroes who drank sitting, were still thought Praise-worthy: And some, who accusom'd themselves to a primitive and severe way of Living, retain'd the ancient Posture. This was done by the Cynick Philosophers, as we find in *Plautus* (d):

— potius in subsellio
Cynice accipiemur, quam in lectis.

In *Macedonia* no Man was allow'd to sit at Meals, till he had kill'd a Boar without the help of Nets, as we are inform'd by *Hegeſander* in *Athenæus* (e). And *Alexander the Great* sometimes kept to the ancient way, and once τετρακοσίους ἡγεμόνας ἐστῶν, ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ ἄσπερων ἀργυρῶν καὶ κλιντήρων, ἀλυστοῖς περικεῖσθαι ἱματίοις entertaining Four Hundred Commanders, he plac'd them upon Silver Seats, cover'd with Purple-cloth, as we learn from *Duris* in the same Author. And in the most luxurious and effeminate Ages, Children were sometimes not permitted to lye down, but had Seats at the end of their Father's Beds. It was the Custom for the Children of Princes, and the rest of the Nobility of that Age, to sit at their Meals in the sight of their Relations, in the Time of *Tacitus* (f). Whence *Suetonius* describing the Behaviour of *Augustus* towards his Grand-children, says that, neque canavit una, nisi in imo lecto adfiderent; they always sat at the end of the Bed when they Supp'd with him (g). And the same Author reports, that the Emperor *Claudius* always Supp'd with his Children and some of the noble Boys and Maids, who according to ancient Custom sat at the bottom of the Beds (h). The same Place was commonly assign'd to Men of meaner Condition, when they were Entertain'd with others of better Quality. Whence in *Plutarch* (i) the rest of the Guests lye down, only *Æsop* is plac'd upon a Seat next to *Solon*. And *Donatus* (k) reports, that *Terence* being order'd to repeat some part of his Comedies to *Cacilius*, went to him at the time of Supper, and being in mean Apparel, was plac'd upon a Seat near the Bed: But after he had recited a few Verses, was invited to lye down to Supper.

The manner of lying at Meat was thus: The Table was plac'd in the middle, round which stood the Beds cover'd with Cloth or Ta-

(a) Lib. XX. cap. II. (b) In *Æneid*. VIII. (c) Libro de *Joseph* pag. 555. edit. *Francf.* (d) *Strab* Act. V. Sc. IV. vers. 22 (e) Lib. I. cap. XIV. (f) *Annal.* lib. XIII. (g) *Augusti*. cap. LXIV. (h) *Claudii* cap. XXXII. (i) *Symposium Sapientum* (k) *Terentii* vita.

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Table: which is the meaning of the Word ἀγχι, uppermost, in the foremention'd Passage of Eustatius. Thus in the ninth *Iliad* (a), where Achilles entertains Agamemnon's Ambassadors, he places himself uppermost in one Rank, and Ulysses, as the principal Ambassador in the other,

ἀτὰρ καὶ αὖτις Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Αὐτὸς δ' ἀγχιόεν Οδυσσεύς ἑταῖρα,
 τοῖχ' αὖ ἐτίθει.

Neptune, tho' coming last to an Entertainment of the Gods, yet

Ἐξ ἑτ' αὖ ἐν μέσσοις.

Sate in the middle, that place being reserv'd, as a Right belonging to him. Jupiter was at the head of one Rank, next to him on the same side sate Minerva, his Daughter, who on a certain time gave place to Thetis, probably as being a Stranger (b).

Ἡ δ' ἄρα τὰς αὖ τὰτ' ἐκαθέζετο, ἥ δ' Ἀθήνη.

Juno lead the opposite Rank, and being Wife and Sister to Jupiter, neither gave place to Thetis, nor any other (c). The most honourable Places in Beds at Entertainments, were not the same in all Nations. In Persia the middle place was the chief, and always assign'd to the King, or the chief Guest. In Greece the first or nearest to the Table: And amongst the *Heracleota*, and the *Greeks*, who liv'd about the *Euxine Sea*, the first place of the middle Bed was the most Honourable. On the contrary, at *Rome* the last, or uppermost place of the middle, was preferr'd before any other (d). But they who affected a more free and easie way of Living, were not sollicitous about Places. An Example hereof we have in *Timon* (e), who having invited Men of all Qualities, Citizens, Strangers, Friends, and Relations to a splendid Entertainment, desir'd every Man to lye down in that place which pleas'd him best. Nevertheless, Men of proud Tempers, even on such Occasions, like the *Jews* on that account reprov'd by our Blessed Saviour, affected to have the chief Places. So it happen'd at *Timon's* Entertainment, where many of the Guests having taken their Places, one in very fine Apparel, and attended with a numerous Retinue, came to the Door of the Room, view'd all the Company, then presently retir'd; and being follow'd by several of those who were present, and desir'd to return, reply'd, *There was no fit Place left for him*. Some dispos'd their Guests in such an order, as they thought most apt to promote good Fellowship, placing Men of the same Years, of the same Profession,

(a) Vers. 217. (b) *Iliad*. a. v. 100. (c) Conf. *Plutarchus Sympos. lib. I. quest. II.* (d) *Coat. Plutarchus lib. cit. quest. III.* (e) *Idem ejusdem libri quest. II.*

or Temper, next one another; Or tempering the variety of Humours, by placing Men of angry Dispositions nearest the Meek and Gentle; those of silent Tempers nearest the Talkative. But in Things of this nature, there was no certain Rule, every Man follow'd his own Phansie, and 'tis propounded as a Problem in *Plutarch* (a), whether was best, to assign every Man his Place, or to leave the Guests to take the Places which happen'd to them? I shall only add under this Head, that it is said to have been a very ancient Custom at Lacedæmon, for the eldest Person present, to go before the rest to the Beds at the common-Hall, unless the King gave the Precedence to another, by calling him first. Thus *Eustatius* (b).

Let us in the next place proceed to the Tables. Now the Table was accounted ἱερὸν χεῖμα, δι' ἧς ὁ θεὸς τιμᾶται φίλιός τε καὶ ξένιος, a very sacred Thing, by means of which, Honour was paid to the God of Friendship and Hospitality (c). This God was *Jupiter*, who from the Protection of Guests and Friends, receiv'd the Titles of ξένιος and φίλιος. *Hercules* also had some Care of this Affair, whence he is call'd τετραέζιος, and ἐμτετραέζιος: neither were the rest of the Gods thought to be wholly unconcern'd. It was customary to place the Statues of the Gods upon the Table: Whence *Arnobius* (d) derides the Gentiles, quod sacras faciant mensas sulinorum appositu, & simulacris Deorum: For consecrating their Tables, by placing on them Salts, and Images of their Gods. They also, as will farther appear hereafter, offer'd Libations to the Gods upon their Tables: Whence *Cleodemus* in *Plutarch* calls it φίλιων θεῶν ἑωμὸν καὶ ξένιων: the Altar of the Gods of Friendship and Hospitality. And according to the Saying of *Thales*, As the Destruction of the Earth would occasion Disorder and Confusion in all Parts of the Universe: So the Table being taken away, the whole House would presently be dissolv'd. The holy Fire and Hearth, and Entertainments, which are the chief Endearments of Life, or rather Life it self, would all be destroy'd. Thus *Plutarch* (e). Hence we may learn, why so much Veneration was paid to the Tables, that to Dishonour them by any dishonest or indecent Behaviour, was thought a very great Crime: Hence that Saying of *Juvenal* (f):

Hic verbis nullus pudor, aut reverentia mensæ.

And complaints against such as perfidiously violated the regard due to the Hospital-Tables, are very frequent in the Poets. Thus *Cassandra* in *Lycophron* (g) complains of *Paris*, who stole away *Helena* the Wife of *Menelaus*, by whom he had been Courteously Entertain'd:

ΕΤΛΗΣ θεῶν ἀλαστός ἐκείνου δίκην,
ἀδῆαί τετραέζαν, κἀνακνύσας δέμην.

(a) Libro citato. (b) *Eustatius* in *Iliad.* C. pag. 186. (c) *Synesius* ep. LVII. (d) L. b. II. contra gentes. (e) *Convivio* i. ep. cm sapientum, (f) *Sat.* II. v. 110. (g) *Veri.* 136.

In the heroical Ages the Tables were made of Wood, Polish'd after the best manner of those Times, and the Feet were sometimes Painted with variety of Colours. Hence the following Epithets of Tables in *Homer*, ξισή, εὔξωε, κυανόπιζα, &c. The Form was round, if we may believe *Myrleanus* in *Athenæus* (a), who reports, that the ancient *Greeks* made their Tables and several other Things Spherical, in imitation of the World, which they believ'd to be of that Figure. But *Eustatius*, who is rather to be follow'd, observes from several Passages in *Homer*, μήπω κυκλοτερεῖς εἶναι τὰς τραπέζας, ἀλλὰ τετραγυμῶνας εἰς μήκωσιν that the Tables were not then round, but extended in length; which Figure is more agreeable to what hath been before observ'd, concerning the manner of their sitting in long Ranks. The Tables in those Days were not cover'd with Linnen, but only carefully cleans'd with wet Spunges. Of this Custom there are several Examples in *Homer*, as that in the first Book of his *Odyssea* (b).

Οἱ δ' αὖτε ἀπόγγοισι πολυσερήτοισι τραπέζας
 Νίζον· καὶ περτίθεντο, ἰδὲ κρέα πολλὰ δατεύοντο.

The same thing is done in the twentieth Book of the same Poem (c), to forbear the mention of other Instances. And later Authors speak of the like practice. Thus *Arrian* (d), ἀφεν τὰς τραπέζας, ἀπόγγοισιν take away the Tables, cleanse them with Spunges. And *Marzial*,

Hec tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis.

In later Ages the Tables of Men of inferiour Quality, were commonly supported by three Feet, and made of plain and ordinary Wood: But those which belong'd to Men of better condition, were compos'd of more costly Materials: The most curious sorts of Wood were sought, and many times fetch'd from foreign Countries for this use. They were also adorn'd with Plates of Silver, or other Metals; and supported by one, or more Feet curiously wrought, and call'd after the Name of some of the ancient Heroes, *Atlantes*, *Telamones*, &c. The most common support of these Tables, was an Ivory-Foot cast in the form of a Lyon, a Leopard, or some other Animal. Some have thought that in *Homer* every Guest had a distinct Table by himself: Whence *Athenæus* (e) reports, τὸ μονοφαγεῖν ἐν χερσὶ τῶν παλαιῶν εἶναι that the Ancients us'd to eat by themselves. But as that is not sufficiently prov'd by the Instances which are produc'd for that end; so in the following Ages, it was certainly accounted more Unsociable and Inhuman to eat in that manner; as we are inform'd by the same Author (f): Which was

(a) L. b. XI. cap. XII. (b) Vers. 112. (c) Vers. 150. (d) L. b. VII. cap. XXVI. (e) Lib. I. cap. VIII. (f) Lib. I. cap. VIII. and X.

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nevertheless practis'd by some of the barbarous Nations, and in particular, as *Tacitus* reports, by the *Germans*.

Τετραπεία in *Greek*, and *mensa* in *Latin* are ambiguous Words, and signify not only the Tables, but also τὰ σιτία τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τιδέσθαι the Meat plac'd upon them, to use the Words of *Julius Polux* (a). Hence by *πρῶται, δεύτεραι, τρίται τετραπείαι* and in *Latin* by *prima, secunda, tertiamensa*, are understood the first, second, and third Courses of Meat. Which ambiguity of Signification, is by some thought to have been occasion'd by the Custom then in use, of bringing in and taking away the Tables and the Meat upon them together. Which Opinion is confirm'd by the following Passage of *Alexis* in *Athenaeus* (b),

ὅς δὲ τὴν τετραπείαν ἀνδρώπυς δύο
φίροντας ἔσθω, τοικίλον παροφίδω
κόσμον βρύσσαι —

There were therefore three distinct parts of the Supper, which was their chief Meal,

1. Δείπνυ προσίμιον, *antecanium, cana prafatio*, sometimes term'd *πρόπομα*; which, as the names import, was rather a preparation to, than any part of the Supper, and consisted of Herbs of the sharpest Taste; in particular at *Athens*, of Colewort, Eggs, Oysters, οἰνόμαλι, a mixture of Honey, and as its probable of the sharpest Wines; and other Things which were thought to create an Appetite.

2. Δείπνον, *cana*, the Supper, which was sometimes call'd κεφαλὴ δέπνυ, in *Latin*, *caput cana*. In this Sense the following Passage of *Martial* is by some understood,

— nullus tibi quatuor emptus
Librarium cana pompa, caputque fuit.

This Course was always more plentifully furnish'd out than the former. Whence was that saying of *Dromeas* the Parasite, who being ask'd, whether the Suppers at *Chalcis*, or those at *Athens* were more splendid? reply'd, That the Preface of the Supper at *Chalcis*, was to be preferr'd before the whole Entertainment at *Athens*: Meaning by the Preface of the Supper, the several sorts of Shell-fish and other Provision, which was consum'd before the Supper, as we are inform'd by *Athenaeus* (c).

3. Δευτέρη τετραπεία, the second Course, which consisted of Sweet-meats of all kinds, which they call'd τραγήματα, τραγηματισμόν, μαρτίνας, τραγάλια, ἐπιδερπίσμα, ἐπιδερπίσματα, ἐπιπορήματα, ἐπιδείπνα, μεταδερπία, &c. Also by the *Darians*, who call'd Entertainments αἰκλα, and σωμαίαια, they were term'd ἐπαίκλεια (d). This Course was furnish'd with the utmost Splen-

(a) Lib. VI. cap. XII. (b) Lib. IX. principio cap. II. (c) Lib. IV. cap. IV.
(d) Conf. *Athenaeus* lib. IV. cap. VIII.

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hour, especially in Ages addicted to Luxury: Whence it was sometimes by way of eminence, call'd *τῆς πρώτης*, the *Course*, as we are inform'd by *Athenæus* (a), who has left Descriptions of several of these Courses. But in this sort of Provision the *Grecians* were very much excell'd by the *Persians*, who us'd to say, *τὰς ἑλλήνας σπερμαίνοντας πένοντας πένειναι, ὅτι σπρίν ἐπὶ δείπνῳ ὑπαγορεύεται ἔδεν λόγῳ ἀξίον, εἰ δὲ τι ὑπαρέργοιτο, ἐδιόρτες ἢ πένονται*: that the *Grecians* leave off Eating whilst they were Hungry, because nothing of any value is ever set before after Supper, and yet if anything is produc'd, they still Eat on (b).

Sometimes the three foremention'd Provisions, were call'd *πρώτη, δεύτερα, τρίτη τῆς πρώτης*, the first, second, third *Course*; the *περὶ μίον δείπνῳ*, being reckon'd a part of the Supper, and making the first *Course*. And where there was a great variety of Dishes, that every one of the Guests might be able to chuse what pleas'd him best, ἕδος ἦν τῷ ἐσιάτορι κατακλιθέντι ὑποδιδόσθαι γυμνασίδιον τι περιέχον ἀναγραφὴν τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, ἐφ' ᾧ εἰδύμενος, τι μέλλοι εἶναι φέρειν ὁ μὲν γενοίτο: a Paper was deliver'd to the Master of the Feast, containing a Catalogue of all the Dishes which the Cook had provided: And this was communicated by him to the Guests as occasion requir'd. But it must not be imagin'd that the *Grecian* Suppers always consisted of such a variety of Dishes or Courses: Whatever might be the Custom at the Tables of Princes, and others of the first Quality, the rest were content with meaner Provision for their ordinary Diet; only upon the Festivals of the Gods, or on other special Occasions, they allow'd themselves more freedom (c): And the heroical Ages rarely had more than one *Course*.

The Ancients had so great a Sense of the Divine Providence, that they thought it unlawful to eat till they had first offer'd a part of their Provision, as a sort of First-fruits to the Gods. Which Custom was so Religiously observ'd in the heroical Ages, that *Achilles*, tho' disturb'd by *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors at Midnight, would not Eat till an Oblation was offer'd:

— Θεοῖσι δὲ θυῶσαι ἀνάγκη.
Πατέρων δ' ἐταίρων, ὃ δ' ἐν πυρὶ ἑλάττε θυηλάς.

And *Ulysses* in another place of *Homer*, reports, that in *Polyphemus's* Den, himself and his fellow-soldiers were not unmindful of this Duty.

Ἐδάδε πῦρ καίοντες ἐθύσαμεν, ἥδε δ' αὖτε
Τυρῶν αἰνύμεν φάγομεν.

In the Entertainments of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, we find Oblations made: And, to forbear the mention of more Examples, the neglect of this Duty was accounted a very great Impiety, which none,

(a) Lib. XIV. cap. XL. (b) *Herodotus* lib. I. cap. CXXXIII. *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. X. (c) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XIV. initio cap. X.

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but *Epicurus* and others who worship'd no Gods at all, would be guilty of. These with several other Observations on the same Subject, we find in *Athenæus* (a). The first of these Oblations was always made to *Vesta*, the chief of the Household Gods; afterwards they worship'd some of the other Gods, and last of all, offer'd a Libation to *Vesta*, as we are inform'd by *Homer* (b).

ὃ γὰρ ἀπὲρ σε
Εἰλαπῖναι θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' ἔ πρῶτῃ πυμᾶλῃτε
Εἰς ἄρχόμηνος σπένδει μελινδ' ἑα οἶνον.

The reason why this Goddess had this Honour paid to her; was either, because she being Protectress of the House, was, in *Cicero's* Language (c), *rerum custos intimarum*, Keeper of Things most conceal'd from common View. Or, according to *Phurnutius*, because she being the same with the *Earth* in the Esteem of the People, was the common Principle, out of which all Bodies are produc'd, and into which they are again resolv'd. Or, lastly, according to the account of *Aristocritus* in the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (d), this Privilege was conferr'd by *Jupiter*, for the Service done by *Vesta* in his War against the Giants. Hence came the Proverb, us'd by *Plato* (e), and others, *ἀπ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι*, to begin with *Vesta*: whereby was intimated, that our domestick Concernments ought to be our first and chief Care.

During the Entertainment all the Guests were Apparell'd in White, or some other cheerful Colour. And to use *Cicero's* Words (f), *quis unquam cenavit atratus?* What Person ever was found to Sup in Black. That Colour was left to Times of Mourning. It was also customary to deck themselves with Flowers, or Garlands compos'd of Flowers, which were provided by the Master of the Feast, and brought in before the second Course, or, as some are of Opinion, at the beginning of the Entertainment (g). They not only adorn'd their Heads, Necks, and Breasts, but often bestrew'd the Beds whereon they lay, and all parts of the Room. But the Head was chiefly regarded, as appears from the following Verses of *Ovid* (h), wherein he celebrates this Custom.

*Ebrius innexis philyra conviva capillis
Saltat, & imprudens nititur arte mexi.*

*Ebrius ad durum formosæ limen amica
Cantat, habent unctæ mollia ferra coma.*

*Nulla coronata peraguntur seria fronte,
Nec liquida juncō flore bibuntur aquæ.*

*Donec eras mistus nullis, Acheloe, racemis,
Gratia fumenda non erat ulla rosa.*

(a) Lib. IV. cap. XXVII. (b) Hymn. in *Vestam* & *Mercurium*. (c) Lib. II. de natura Deorum. (d) *Vespis* pag. 490. (e) *Euthyphrone*. (f) To *Vatinius*. (g) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XV. cap. X. (h) *Falorum* lib. V.

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Bacchus amat flores, Baccho placuisse coronam
 Ex Ariadneο sidere nosse potes.

Garlands are by some thought to have been an Invention of *Prometheus*, who first prescrib'd the use of them, that Men should by that Emblem of his Bonds, commemorate the Punishment which he had suffer'd for his Kindness to them. To this Opinion the following Verses of *Æschylus*, which are cited by *Athenæus* (a), seem to allude.

Τῷ δὲ ξένῳ γὰρ στέφανον ἀρχαῖον τέρας
 Δασμῶν αἰετος ἐν Περσυνθίῳ λόγῳ.

In another place (b), the same Author relates out of *Draco* the *Corycean*, That *Janus* invented Garlands, Ships, Boats, and the Art of Coining Money: And thence it was customary in several Cities of Greece, and also of Italy, and Sicily, for the Coin to bear on one side the Image of two-fac'd *Janus*, and on the reverse a Boat, a Ship, or a Garland. *Pliny* will have the first Garlands to have been us'd by *Bacchus*, and compos'd of Ivy (c). And in later Ages they commonly made use of Ivy and *Amethystus*, as preservatives against Drunkenness, whence the later of them has its Name from the primitive Particle α and μέθη (d). *Festus* affirms, *Antiquissimum genus fuisse coronarum laneum*: That the most ancient Garlands were made of Wool. With one of this sort, the Enchantress in *Theocritus* (e) adorns her Cup:

Στέφανον τὰν κελίκαν φοινικέῳ οἶδς δώτω.

Whether Garlands were commonly us'd at the time of the *Trojan War*, is not certain. *Athenæus* hath observ'd, that they are us'd by none of *Homer's* Heroes, yet that the Poet himself has several Allusions to them, some of which are the following.

Νῦν σον, ἦν δὲ πόντος ἀπειρετος ἱεφανώσας.

And,

—— πᾶν γὰρ στέφανος πολέμοιο δέδνη.

Whence he concludes, that Garlands were unknown in the heroic Ages, but came into use before *Homer's* time (f).

The Flowers and Greens whereof Garlands were compos'd, were various. In the primitive Times, they made no Entertainments but upon the Festivals of the Gods; and then the Garlands, Hymns, and Songs were such as the Gods were thought to delight in, as we learn from

(a) Lib. XV. cap. V. (b) Eiusdem libri cap. XIII. (c) Lib. XVI. cap. I. (d) *Plutarchus* Sympos. lib. III. quæst. I. (e) *Idyll.* II. vers. 2. (f) *Athenæus* l. b. I. cap. XV.

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Athenæus (a). And in later Ages, upon the publick Festival of any God, they seem to have us'd the particular Herb, or Flower, which was sacred to him: But at other times all sorts were made use of, as the season would allow, or they were thought most conducive to Pleasure Refreshment (b), or Health. Some were very curious in the choice of their Garlands, thinking them to have a very great Influence upon Men's Bodies: Whence *Mnestheus* and *Callimachus*, two Greek Physicians, wrote Books concerning Garlands, as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (c). I shall add nothing farther upon this head, only that the *Rose*, being dedicated by *Cupid* to *Harpocrates*, the God of Silence, to engage him to conceal the lewd Actions of *Venus*, was an Emblem of Silence: Whence to present or hold it up to any Person in Discourse, serv'd instead of an Admonition, that it was time for him to hold his Peace: And in entertaining Rooms it was customary to place a *Rose* above the Table, to signifie that what was there Spoken should be kept private. This practice is describ'd in the following Epigram.

*Est rosa flos Veneris, cujus quo facta laterent,
Harpocrati, Matris dona, dicavit Amor.
Inde rosam mensis hospes suspendit amicis;
Conviva ut sub ea dicta, vacanda sciat.*

From the Garlands let us proceed to the Oyntments and Perfumes. The ancient Greeks, as *Athenæus* hath observ'd (d), anointed their Heads with some common and ordinary sort of Oyntment, thinking by that means to keep themselves Cool and Temperate, and to prevent Fevers, and other mischievous Consequences of the too plentiful use of Wine. But afterwards, as it is usual for Men to improve the Things which are us'd out of mere Necessity by the addition of others, which serve for Pleasure and Luxury, they came to use precious Oyntments and Perfumes. These, as also the distribution of Garlands, and second Courses at Entertainments, with all the Arts of Luxury and Effeminaey, were first introduc'd into Greece by the Ionians, who by conversing with the Asiatics, were taught to lay aside the primitive plainness of their Manners, sooner than any of the Greeks: Whence *Ionicus risus* and *Ionicus motus*, became proverbial Expressions for profuse Laughter and unseemly Motions (e). The chief part, to which Oyntments were apply'd, was the Head. But other parts of the Body had sometimes their share both of Oyntments and Garlands, and particularly the Breast was adorn'd with Garlands and anointed, as being the Seat of the Heart, which they thought was refresh'd by these Applications as well as the Brain (f). And the Room wherein the Entertainment was made, was sometimes Perfum'd by burning Myrrh or Frankincense, or with other Odours. These Customs are

(a) Lib. V. cap. IV. (b) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. III. cap. XXI. lib. XV. cap. V. (c) Lib. XXI. cap. III. (d) Lib. XV. cap. XIII. ex *Myronida* libro de coronis & unguentis. (e) *Valerius Maximus* lib. II. initio cap. VI. (f) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. XV. cap. V.

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 briefly describ'd in the following Verses of Archestratus in Athens.
 us (a).

Αἰεὶ δὲ σεβάνοιςι κἀρεσσι δασι πυκάζε
 Παντοδαποῖς, οἷς ἂν γαίης πίδαρον ὀλβιον ἀνδρῶν
 Καὶ σαχλοῖσι μύρεσι ἀγαθοῖς χαῖνον δεσφένει·
 Καὶ σμύρναν, λιβάνον τε πυρεθρὶ μαλακὸν ἐπὶ τέρρεον
 Βάλλει πανημίειος, Συείης εὐωδία καρπῶν.

The Officers and Attendants at *Entertainments* were these which follow.

In the first place, *συμποσίαρχος*, sometimes call'd *συμπόσις ἐπιμελητής*, *τραπέζοκόμος*, *τραπέζοποιός*, ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, *ἀρχιτεχνίτης*, and also *ἐλῖατρος*, &c. was chief Manager of the Entertainment. This Office was sometimes perform'd by the Person at whose charge the Entertainment was provided, sometimes by another nam'd by him: Sometimes, especially in Entertainments provided at the common Expence, he was elected by Lots, or by the Suffrages of the Guests.

Next, and sometimes the same with the former, was the *Βασιλεύς*, otherwise term'd *σεβήτης*, *ἱερίαρχος*, &c. and in Latin *Rex*, *Modimperator*, &c. the King, whose Business it was to determine the Laws of good Fellowship, and to observe whether every Man drank his proportion, whence he was also call'd *ὀφθαλμὸς*, *Oculus*, the Eye. He was commonly appointed by Lots. To which custom there are several Allusions in *Horace*.

—quem Venus arbitrum
 Dices bibendi (b)?

And again (c).

Et domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul meatis,
 Nec regna vini sortiēre talis,
 Nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere.

The Guests were oblig'd to be in all things conformable to the Commands of the *Βασιλεύς*. Whence *Cicero* upbraids a certain Person, that *qui nunquam populi Romani legibus parvisset, ijs legibus quæ in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat*: He, who had never submitted to the Laws of the Roman People, should yield Obedience, to the Laws of Drinking (d). And *Arrian* (e) reports, that the King being created by Lots, commands in this manner: *Do you Drink, do you fill the Glass, do you Go, do you Come*. The chief Magistrates were not exempted from yielding Obedience, if the Lots gave another the Preeminence. Whence *Agésilas*, King of *Lacedæmon*,

(a) Lib. III. cap. XXII. (b) Lib. II. Od. VII. v. 25. (c) Orat. in Verrem. (d) In Epictetum, (e) Apophthegmat.

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being present at an Entertainment, was not declar'd *Rex*, till the Lots had favour'd him, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch* (a), who reports in the same place, that being ask'd by the Cup-bearer how much Wine every Guest should drink, he made this reply: *If there is plenty of Wine, let every Man have what he calls for: If not, let every Man have an equal Share.*

Δαίτης, *derisor*, was so term'd *ὡς τῷ δαΐσθαι*, from dividing and distributing to every Guest his Portion: Whence Entertainments were also call'd *δαΐτες*. In the primitive Times, the Master of the Feast carv'd for all his Guests. Thus in *Homer* (b), when *Agamemnon's* Ambassadors are entertain'd at *Achilles's* Table.

— αἶψα κεία νῆμεν Ἀχιλλεύς.

Which Verse is repeated in the last *Iliad* (c). More examples would be needless, it being the practice of those Ages for Men of the highest Quality to descend to very mean Employments. And in later times the same Office was executed by some of the chief Men at *Sparta*, as appears from the example of *Lysander*, who was deputed to it by *Agésilas* (d). This Custom of distributing to every Guest his Portion, was by some deriv'd from the Ages wherein the Greeks left off their ancient way of living upon Acorns, and learn'd the use of Corn: Which being at the first very scarce, gave occasion to continual Quarrels, whence *ἀτασθαλία*, which originally signify'd τὰς ἀτάς ἐν ταῖς δαΐαις, the Disorders committed at Feasts, came to be a general Name for all sorts of injurious and wicked Behaviour. To prevent these Disorders, it was agreed, that a Person should be nam'd to distribute to every Man his Portion: Whence, as some are of Opinion, the Phrase of *δαΐς ἴσον*, equal Entertainment, so frequently occurs in *Homer* (e), Such to whom a particular Respect was due, were help'd to the best parts, and very often to a larger Share than the rest of the Guests. Thus *Eumæus* in *Homer's Odyssey*, gives the *πῶτος*, *Chine* which they esteem'd the chief Part, to *Ulysses*. The same is given by *Agamemnon* to *Ajax*, as a Reward for his Service in the War (f). *Sarpedon*, one of the *Lycian* Kings, in the same Poet is Honour'd

Ἐδρη τέ, κρείσσειε, ἰδὲ πλείους δειπάσειν (c).

With the first Seat, the best share of Meat, and full Cups. In another place *Diomedes* κρείσσει καὶ πλείους δειπάσει δεξιῶτα is entertain'd with the best share of Meat, and full Cups. It appears from *Herodotus*, that the Kings of *Sparta* had *διπλάσια πένοντα*, a double portion of every Dish. And in the sacred Writings the Mess of *Benjamin*, the belov'd Brother of *Joseph*, was twice as large as any of

(a) *Iliad* b. vers. 217. (b) Vers. 626. (c) Conf. *Plutarchus Sympol.* lib. II. Quest. ult. (d) *Athenæus* lib. I. cap. X. (e) *Iliad* v. (f) *Ibid.* μ. vers. 311.

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the other Meſſes (a). They who receiv'd this Honour, ἐδωρύντο τὰ τῶν αὐτῶν μοίρα· οἷς ἐβόλοντο ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς νῶτε σπονδῶν, & αὐτῷ παρέδωκε, τῷ Δημοδόκῳ (b), had the Privilege of gratifying whomsoever they pleas'd with a part of their Portion: As was done by Ulyſſes, who carv'd a part of the Chine, which was ſet before him, to Demodocus. Afterwards when Greece learn'd the Arts of Luxury, the primitive way of dividing to every Man his Portion, was laid aſide ὡς ἀκοινῶντος καὶ ἀνελεύσειος, as Covetous and Illiberal; and the Gueſts were allow'd to carve for themſelves in the manner which pleas'd them beſt. Nevertheless, the ancient Cuſtom was retain'd a long time at the Entertainments after Sacrifices, and by ſome who preferr'd the primitive Temperance and Frugality, before the modern profulſe way of Living. And it is obſerv'd, that whilſt every Man had his Portion allotted, the Entertainments were manag'd with greater Decency, and fewer Diſorders were committed; as we are inform'd by Plutarch, where he diſcourſes on this Queſtion, Whether the ancient Greeks who allotted every Man his Portion, or the modern, who ſet their Proviſion in common before all the Gueſts, were more to be commended (c).

From the diſtribution of Meat, let us proceed to the Perſons employ'd to diſtribute Drink. Theſe were commonly term'd, οἰνοχοοί, and about the Hellespont ἐπερχύται (d). In the heroical Entertainments, the κήρυκες, *Heralds*, commonly perform'd this Office. Thus in *Homer* (e),

Κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν δάμ' ἐπώχετο οἰνοχοεύων.

In *Athenæus* (f) *Mercury* the Herald of the Gods is ſaid to be introduc'd by *Alcaeus* and *Sappho*, filling the Goblets at the celeſtial Entertainments. And, to mention no more Examples, it is very well known, and hath been elſewhere obſerv'd, that the κήρυκες were deputed πάσαις ὑπηρεσίαις ἐπιτελεῖν πρῆξεις, to all ſort of Miniſtrations. It was cuſtomary for Boys or young Men to fill the Cups. Thus we find in *Homer* (g):

Κῆρυξ δὲ κρητῆρας ἐπετίλαντο ποσσὶς.

And, to uſe the Words of *Euſtathius* (h), φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ παρ-
είων εἶναι ἔργον τὸ οἰνοχοεῖν ancient Authors affirm, that the Wine us'd to be fill'd about by Virgins. Which is agreeable to the manners of thoſe Times, wherein the Gueſts were attended by Virgins without any ſuſpicion of Luſt or Immodesty: Whence the Daughter of *Cocalus*, King of *Sicily*, is ſaid to have waſh'd *Minos*, King of *Crete*, and the ſame is done by other Virgins and Women, in ſeveral Parts of *Homer*, as hath been obſerv'd by *Athenæus* (i). And ſo common

(a) Conf. *Athenæus* lib. I. cap. XI. *Euſtathius* comment. in *Homerum* p. 557. Edit. Baſil. (b) *Athenæus* loco cit. (c) *Sympos.* lib. II. Quæſt. ult. (d) *Athenæus* lib. X cap. VII. (e) *Odyſſ.* α'. ver. 142. (f) *Eoco citato.* (g) *Odyſſ.* α. ver. 149. (h) In *Iliad.* γ'. pag. 333. (i) Lib. I. cap. VIII.

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it was in the primitive Times for young Persons of both Sexes, to be employ'd in the foremention'd and all other Ministrations, that, as *Hesychius* (a) and *Eustatbius* (b) informs us, δούλοι, *Servants*, came to be term'd by the Names of παῖδες ἢ παιδίσκαι, *Boys and Girls*, διὰ τὸ τὴν παιδικὴν ηλικίαν ὑπηρεσιῶν, because Persons of that Age were commonly employ'd to serve. Neither was this done only by Children of mean Fortune or Birth, but ὀνοχόων οὖσα τοῖς ἀρχαίοις οἱ εὐγενέστεροι παῖδες, αἵ οὖν τῷ Μενελάῳ ἦδες, but in the primitive Times those of the biggest Quality fill'd out Wine, as we find done by Menelaus's Son in the following Verse of *Homer*,

Ὀνοχόει δ' ἦδες Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο (c)

The same Custom was in later and more refin'd Ages still retain'd at the Entertainments in the Temples, where many of the ancient ways of Behaviour were kept up a long time after they had been laid aside in other Places: Especially at the publick Sacrifices of the *Aolians* it was observ'd, that οἱ εὐγενέστεροι παῖδες, the Boys of the chiefest Quality, should perform this Office, which was also the practice at *Rome*, where they us'd πάντα τὰς Αἰολαῖς μιμεῖσθαι, ὡς ἢ κατὰ τὰς τόνους τὴν φωνήν: in all things to imitate the *Aolians*, even to the very Tone of their Voice, as we learn from *Athenaus* (d): Whence it may be, that Author came to be of Opinion, that the Custom of employing young Persons of liberal Birth and Education to fill the Wine, was deriv'd from the Sacrifices of the Gods, at which δούλος ἢ δακνόντων, no Slave was permitted to minister (e). But it is rather to be ascrib'd to the Plainness and Simplicity of the ancient *Greeks* and other Nations: Whence it came, that the Sons and Daughters of Kings, and others of the first Quality, were employ'd in keeping Flocks and almost all other Services, as hath been elsewhere observ'd. Another reason why young Persons serv'd at Entertainments rather than those in Years, was, because by their Beauty and Sprightliness, they were thought more apt to exhilarate the Guests, whose Eyes were to be entertain'd as well as their other Senses. On this Account the most comely Persons were deputed to this Ministrations even in the primitive Times. Amongst the Gods

πρόνυα ΗἸβη
Νεκταρ ἐνοχόει

Fair Hebe, the Goddess of Youth and Daughter of *Juno*, fill'd about *Nectar* (f). And *Ganymedes* the most beautiful of mortal Race, was translated by the Gods into Heaven, to serve at *Jupiter's* Table.

(a) V. παῖδες. (b) Loco citato. (c) *Athenaus* lib. X. cap. VII. (d) Loco citato. (e) Lib. V. cap. IV. (f) *Iliad* d. vers. 2.

— ἀντίθεος Γανυμήδης,

ὅς δ' ἡ κάλλιστος γένετο θνητῶν ἀνδράπων·

τὸν καὶ ἀνέρεσαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἶνοχοῦεν,

Κάλλιος ἔνεκα οἶο, ἢ δ' ἀθανάτοισι μετέμ (a).

Whence we may learn that in the most remote Times, which were thought the Age of the Gods, as those which follow'd were the Age of Heroes, this practice was observ'd. And hence by the Names of places, which are said to be in use amongst the Gods, are to be understood the first and most ancient Names; as we learn from the *Scholiast* upon *Homer*, in whom there are several Examples to this purpose, but I shall mention only that which follows (b); where the Poet tells us that a certain Place in *Troas* was by the Gods, that is most anciently call'd *Myrina's Tomb*; but by *Men*, that is in later times, *Basia*.

τὴν ἧλοι ἄνδρες Βατίαν κικλήσκουσιν·

ἀθανάτοι δ' ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα πολυσκέρμοιο Μυρίνης.

That at the time of the *Trojan War*, it was customary for young Persons of beautiful Countenances, and well Dress'd to serve at Entertainments, is plain from the Answer of *Eumais* to *Ulysses*, who then appearing in the Habit and Form of an old Beggar, intended to serve the young Gentlemen who made their Addresses to *Penelope* (c).

οὐ τοὶ τοιοῖ δ' ὄντιν ὑποδυσσῆρες ἔκταναν,

ἀλλὰ νῆοι χλαίνας εὖ ἐμφοῖσι καὶ χιτῶνας,

αἰεὶ δὲ λιπαροὶ κεφαλᾷ καὶ καλὰ πέδιλα,

οἱ σφιν ὑποδράωσιν.

And in modern Ages, when the Arts of Luxury had more esteem, it was usual to give vast Prices for beautiful Youths. Which Custom is found fault with in the following Passage of *Juvenal*, where he speaks to an indigent Client, who is entertain'd at his Patron's Table (d).

— in *Gastulum* *Ganymedem*

Respice, cum sities: nescis tot millibus entus

Pauperibus servire puer; sed forma, sed atas

Digna supercilio; quando ad te pervenit ille?

Quando vocatus adest, calida gelidaque minister?

Quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,

But the customs, which concern this part of the Entertainment, are most elegantly and fully describ'd by *Philo the Jew* (e), who

(a) *Iliad*. 6. vers. 232 (b) *Iliad*. 6. vers. 813. (c) *Odysseus*. 6. vers. 327. (d) *Satur.* V. vers. 60. (e) *Libro de vita contemplativa.*

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tells us, that it was usual to procure most beautiful Slaves to attend at Entertainments, not so much for any Service they were to do, as to gratify the Eyes of the Beholders. Of these the younger Boys (οἰνοχῶται) fill the Wine, those of riper Age (ὕδροφοῦνται) serve up the Water, being Wash'd, Trimm'd and Painted, with their Hair curl'd in various Forms: With several other very remarkable Observations relating to this Custom.

The Cups and drinking Vessels come next to be consider'd: And in Homer every one of the Guests seems to have a distinct Cup, out of which he drank when he pleas'd. Hence the following Words of Agamemnon to Idomeneus (a).

— σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἶε
ἔσχη' ὥσπερ ἑμὸς, πίνειν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνάγῃ.

On which account the heroical Cups were very capacious, as Ateneus hath prov'd by several Examples, and particular that of Nestor's Cup, which was so weighty, that a young Man had scarce Strength to carry it (b). Nevertheless the same Author there observes, that tho' Men of great Estates and Quality in his time us'd large Cups, yet that was not anciently the practice of Greece, but lately learn'd from the barbarous Nations, who being ignorant of Arts and Humanity, indulge themselves in the immoderate use of Drink, and all sorts of Dainties: Whereas it does not appear (says he) from the Testimony of any of those who liv'd before our Times, that a Cup of a very large Size was ever made in any part of Greece, except those which belong'd to the Heroes. However the Cups, which they us'd after Supper, were larger than those they drank in at Supper. This appears from the following Passage of Virgil (c).

Postquam prima quies epulis, mensaque remota,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.

In the Houses of wealthy Men, there was commonly a large κυλικεῖον, Cupboard furnish'd with Cups of all Sorts and Sizes, rather for ostentation than use. The Cups us'd by the ancient Greeks, were very plain and agreeable to the rest of their Furniture, being usually compos'd of Wood or Earth. Afterwards, when they began to imitate the Pride and Vanity of the Asiatics, their Cups were made of Silver, Gold and other costly Materials, curiously wrought, inlaid with precious Stones, and other ways adorn'd. But the primitive Cups seem to have been compos'd of the Horns of Animals, which Persons of Quality tipp'd with Gold or Silver. These are mention'd by Pindar, Æschylus, Xenophon, and several other Authors. They were also us'd by some in later Ages, and particularly by Philip the Macedonian. Hence, as some are of Opinion, Bacchus had the

(a) *Iliad*. 4. vers. 262. (b) *Lib*. XI. cap. 11. (c) *Æneid*. I, vers. 727.

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Surname of *Taurus*, as worship'd by the *Cyprianians* in the shape of a Bull, and painted with Horns in several other Countries. And some think, that the Words *κηρήνες* Cups, and *μαγεσσαι*, to mix Wine with Water, are deriv'd from *κέρα*, Horns. These and many other Observations concerning this Argument, may be found in *Athenæus* (a) and *Eustathius* (b).

The Cups were compass'd about with Garlands, and fill'd up to the brim. Both these Customs are mention'd in the following passage of *Virgil* (c).

*Tum pater Anchises magnum cratera corona
Induit.* —————

And the later in this Verse of *Homer*, which occurs in the first *Iliad* (d), and is repeated in other Places.

Κῆρυ δὲ κηρήνες ἐπέσειφαντο ποσειο.

For *ἐπέσαντο*, according to the old *Scholiast*, signifies *ἐπλήρωσαν ἔχει σφόδρως*, ὃ ἐστὶ τέλος they fill'd up to the brim; and *εἶπεν*, commonly *πλήρωσιν τινα σημαίνει*, signifies to sort of fulness: Whence they always did *εἶπεν κηρήνες*, when Libations were offer'd to the Gods. *ὅτι ἂν κολοῦν περισφύρω πρὸς τὰς θεάς, ἀλλὰ τέλεια καὶ ὅλα τὸ δὲ πλήρες, τέλειόν ἐστι* because we offer nothing imperfect to the Gods, but only Things whole and entire: And that which is full, is entire, saith *Athenæus* (e) from *Aristotle*. And, as we are inform'd by the same Author (f), The Cups (*ἀπισέφοισι*) are crown'd with Drink, that is they are fill'd above the brim, so as the Drink riseth in the manner of a Crown, for good Luck's sake.

In the heroical Times, as hath been observ'd concerning the unequal portions of Meat, so οἱ κῆρυ διακονέμεναι, τοῖς μὲν ἐντιμωτέροις δὲ πλήρες παρείχον τὸ πρῶτον, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐξ ἴσου διένειμον the young Men, who ministr'd, always presented full Cups to Men of great Quality, and distributed Wine to the rest by equal Proportions, as we are inform'd by *Athenæus* (g). Thus *Agamemnon* entertains *Idomeneus* King of *Crete* (h).

*Εἴπερ γὰρ τ' ἄλλοι καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ
Δαστεῶν πίνωσιν, σὸν δὲ πλεῖον δέπας αἶδ
Εἴηχ ὥσπερ ἐμοί, πῖεν ὅτε θυμὸς ἀνύγει.*

Hector in another place approacheth *Diomedes*, when he fled from him with the enjoyment of this Honour (i).

Τυδείδην, σὺ δὲ μὲν σε λίγον Δαναοὶ ταχύπυλοι

(a) Lib. XI. cap. VII. (b) Comment. to *Iliad*. v. p. 883. *Iliad*. γ. p. 319. *Iliad*. δ. p. 591. edit. *Lafit*. (c) *Æneid*. III. vers. 525. (d) Vers. 470. (e) Lib. XV. cap. V. (f) Lib. I. cap. XI. (g) Lib. V. cap. IV. (h) *Iliad*. δ. v. 261. (i) *Iliad*. δ. v. 161.

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Εἶπον τε, κρείσσιντε, ἰδὲ πλείοις δειπάσαι,
Νῦν δὲ σ' ἀλιμήσουσι.

This Respect is also said to be paid by the *Lycians*, to *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus* Kings of *Lydia*, in the same Words (a). Another Respect was paid to the most honourable Guests by drinking first to them; for it was customary for the Master of the Feast to drink to his Guests in order, according to their Quality, as we learn from *Plutarch* (b). The manner of doing this, was by drinking part of the Cup, and sending the remainder to the Person whom they nam'd, which they term'd *περπίνεν*. But this was only the modern way, for anciently they drank *μεσὸν τὸν σκύφον*, the whole Cup, and not a part of it, as was usual in *Athenaus's* time, to do which, as that Author thinks, ought rather to be term'd *περικπιῖν*, than by the old Name *περπίνεν* (c). The form of Salutation was various, Sometimes they who drank to another, us'd to say *χαῖρε*, as in that Example *χαῖρε Ἀχιλεῦ*, I send you this Honey mingled with Milk; as we learn from the Scholiast upon *Pindar* (d). Sometimes the Person, who sent the Cup, saluted his Friend in this form, *περπίνω σοι παλῶς*. The other reply'd, *λαμβάνα δὲ σὺ ἐδέως*. And this being a Testimony of Friendship to drink in this manner to another, was sometimes term'd *περπίνεν φιλοφροσίναν*. Thus *Ælian* explains *φιλοφροσίναν* to be *δεξιῶσις διὰ τὴν φιλίαν*, a Salutation on the account of Friendship: And *φιλοφροσίναν περπίνεν*, to be *ἡνίκα τις ἐν αἰσῶι δῶν τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῷ φιλίαν πινὼν μέγας*, τὸ λοιπὸν ᾧδαν φίλῳ, ἢ τὴν φιλίαν ᾧδαν ὁμοῦς when any Person at Dinner drinks part of a Cup, and gives the rest to his Friend. The Person who receiv'd the Cup was said *ἀντιπερπίνεν*, or *ἀντιπερπίνεν ὁμοῖα*: It being requir'd by the Rules of good Fellowship to drink off whatever remain'd in the Cup, or if the Cup was drank off, to take another of the same bigness. An Example whereof we find in *Athenaus* (e), where *Alexander* having begun a very large Vessel to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, he drank it off, and presented his Service to *Alexander* in another of the same dimensions.

This Propination was carry'd about towards the right hand, where the superior Quality of some of the Guests, did not oblige them to alter that method. Hence it was term'd *δεξιῶσις*, whence *δεξιόμαθαι* in *Homer* is interpreted *περπίνων δεξιῶσαι*. Thus in the first *Iliad* at an Assembly of the Gods,

Χρυσείῳσι δειπάσαι
Δειδέχεται ἄλλήλους

That is, according to *Athenaus*, *ἑδεξιῶντο περπίνοντες ἑαυτοῖς τῶς δεξιῶσις*. The same Explication is given by him upon that Verse of the ninth *Iliad*, where *Ulysses* drinks to *Achilles*.

(a) *Iliad*. μ'. (b) *Sympos.* lib. I. Quæst. II. (c) *Lib. V. cap. IV.* (d) *Nemæus.* (e) *Lib. X. cap. IX.*

Πλησάμενος δ' οἶνον δίδει' Ἀχιλλῆα.

That is, saith he, ἐδέξατο, ὃ ἐστὶ περιπίνειν αὐτῷ, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ δεῖ τὸ ποθέειν: be drank to Achilles, delivering the Cup with his right Hand. The same is observ'd by Eustathius (a), who is beholding to Athenaëus for almost all the Observation which he has made on this Argument. But there is express mention of drinking toward the right Hand, in the following Passage of Homer (b), where Vulcan fills Wine to the Gods:

— θεοῖς ἐνδεξία πᾶσιν
 Πινοχόει —

That is, he fill'd, as the old Scholiast explains it, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν μερῶν: beginning from the right Hand. An other example of this Custom is produc'd from Critias's Epigram upon Anacreon.

Πᾶς διαπομπεύσθ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ποθέειν εἰς δεξιὴν ἄμυν.

And a third, to mention no more, is cited by Athenaëus (c) out of the Ἀγχινοὶ of Anaxandrides. The doing this therefore was commonly term'd ἐνδεξία πίνειν (d): But it was sometimes call'd ἐκ κύκλου πίνειν, and the action ἐγκυκλοποσία, because the Cup was convey'd round about the Table, beginning from the uppermost Seat. To which Custom we find the following Allusion in Plautus (e).

— age, puer,
 A summo septenis cyathis committe hos ludos.

Yet the method of Drinking was not the same in all Places. The Chians and Thasians drank out of large Cups toward the right, the Athenians out of small Cups to the right: The Thessalian drinks large Cups to whom he pleases, without observing any certain method. As Lacedæmon every Man has a distinct Cup, which a Servant fills up as soon as any Person has drunk: as we are inform'd by Athenaëus (f).

It was also customary to drink to Persons absent. First the Gods were remember'd, then their Friends, and at every Name one or more Cups of Wine, unmix'd with Water, was drunk off. This is term'd by Cicero, *Græco more bibere* (g), to drink after the Greek manner: Which some interpret of Drinking *grandibus poculis* & *meraeis portionibus*, Draughts of unmix'd Wine out of large Cups, as Asconius Pedianus (h) observes: Whereas it was the *Græcus mos*, ut *Græci dicunt*, *συμπιεῖν ἀναδισκομένους*, *cum merum cyathis libant*, *salutantes primo Deos, deinde amicos nominatim*, Grecian method to

(a) *Iliad.* v. pag. 557. (b) *Iliad.* v. 597. (c) *Lib.* XI. cap. III. (d) *Conf. Pollux lib.* II. cap. IV. (e) *Persa Act.* V. Sc. I. (f) *Lib.* XI. cap. III. (g) *Orat.* III. in *Verrum*. (h) *Comment.* in locum *Ciceronis*.

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drink Wine out of small Cups, saluting first the Gods, and then their Friends by Name. *Nam toties merum bibebant, quoties Deos, & caros suos nominant,* for it was their Custom to drink unmix'd Wine as often as they nam'd the Gods or their Friends. They did also ἐμχεῖν τῷ γῆ, pour forth some of the Wine upon the Earth, as often as they mention'd any Person's Name, as hath been observ'd by the Scholiast upon the following Verses of Theocritus (a):

Ἦδ' ἂν πρὸ φίλων, ἵδοε' ἐμχεῖσθαι ἀνεγόντων
Ὀνόμας ἡδεῖα ἱκασός, ἵδ' αὖ μόνον ὄλῖνος εἰπὲν.

Which being the manner of offering Libations, as hath been elsewhere observ'd, it seems to have been a form of Adoration when any of the Gods were Nam'd, and of Prayer for their Friends, when they mention'd them. Amongst their Friends they most commonly nam'd their Mistresses. Examples of this Custom are very common. Thus in Tibullus:

*Sed bene Messalam sua quisque ad pocula dicat,
Nomen & absentis singula verba sonent.*

And in Horace (b):

— dicat Opuntiz
Frater Megillæ, quò beatus
Vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.

Sometimes the number of Cups equall'd that of the Letters in their Mistresses Name. Thus we find in Martial (c):

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.

There were also several other ways of numbering the Cups, to be drank off at once. Thus three were taken off, because the *Graces* were of that number, and nine according to the number of the *Muses*. The former of these Customs is mention'd by *Petronius*, who relates that a certain Person *excusare cepit moram, quod amica se non dimisisset, tribus nisi portionibus e lege exsiccatis*: Made this Excuse for his delay, that his Mistress would not dismiss him till he had drank three Cups, as the Law requires. Both of them are contain'd in the following Riddle of *Anonius* (d).

*Ter bibe, vel toties ternos; sic mystica lex est,
Vel tria potanti, vel ter tria multiplicanti,
Imparibus novies ternis contexere cubum.*

(a) *Idyll. XIV. vers. 18.* (b) *Lib. I. Od. XXVII.* (c) *Lib. I. Epigram. LXXII.* (d) *Græpho ternarij numeri 7. 1.*

And

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And more clearly in this passage of *Horace* (a),

*Da Lunæ propere nova,
Da Noctis media, da, puer, auguris*
Murenz. Tribus, aut novem
Miscentur cyathis pocula commodia.
Qui Musas amat impares,
Ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet.
Vates. Tres prohibet supra
Rixarum metuens tangere Gratia,
Nudis juncta sororibus.

The Greeks thus expens'd this Custom, *Ἡ τεῖς, ἢ τεῖς τεῖα*. Either three, or three times three. There was another saying, which forbade the drinking of four Cups, that being no lawful number. *Ἡ τεῖα πῖνα, ἢ μὴ τῖς λαγ*. Yet they did not always observe the number three, as appears from the following Epigram, which commands to fill ten Cups to *Dionodice's* Health, as well as nine to *Euphrante's* (b),

Εὐχεται Διονοδίκης κυάδους δέκα, τὶ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇ
Εὐφράντης ἑνα μοι ἥτο δίδου κυάδον,

Sometimes they contended, who should drink most. *Alexander the Macedonian*, is reported to have drank a Cup containing two Congii, which contain'd more than our Pottle, tho' less than our Gallon, to *Proteas*, who commending the King's Ability pledg'd him, then call'd for another Cup of the same Dimensions, and drank it off to him. The King, as the Laws of good Fellowship requir'd, pledg'd *Proteas* in the same Cup, but being immediately overcome, fell back upon his Pillow, letting the Cup fall out of his Hands, and by that means was brought into the Disease, whereof he shortly after dy'd: As we are inform'd by *Athenæus* (c). There is also mention in ancient Authors of Prizes awarded to the Conquerours. Which Custom was ingeniously inverted by *Anacharsis the Scythian Philosopher*, who being entertain'd by *Periander*, one of the seven Sages, and King of *Corinth*, demanded the Prize for being first Drunk, that, as he said, being the end, which all aim at in Drinking, as Racers press forward toward the Goal. 'Tis reported by *Timæus*, that *Dionysius the Sicilian*, at an Entertainment, promis'd a Crown of Gold to the Person, who should first drink a Cup of Congius, and that *Xenocrates*, the Philosopher, obtain'd the Prize. And at the Funeral of *Calanus*, the Indian Philosopher, there were not only Exercises, and musical Contentions, but also drinking Matches, wherein the Prize which *Alexander* promis'd to the first Conquerour, was a Talent; that to the second, thirty *μναί*; that to the third, ten *μναί*. One *Promachus* obtain'd the first Prize,

(a) Lib. III. Od. XIX. (b) Antholog. lib. VII. (c) Lib. X. cap. IX.

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having drank four Congij of unmix'd Wine. Thirty of the Combatants dy'd on the Place, and in a short time after, six more expir'd in their Tents: As Athenæus (a) and Ælian (b) have inform'd us in the very same Words. When any Person drank off a large Cup ἀμυσί, that is, ἀπνευσί, ἀνευ τῆ ἀναπαύεσθαι, without intermission, or taking his Breath, the Company us'd to applaud him in this form, Ζήσεται Long may you live (c). At Athens there were three publick Officers who attended at Entertainments, καὶ ἐπεσθῆναι εἰ κατ' ἴσον πίνουσιν οἱ σωμαῖνες, and observ'd whether every Person drank his portion. They were call'd from their Business εἰσὶν ὄπται, and sometimes by a metaphorical name Ὀφθαλμοί, Eyes, as hath been elsewhere observ'd (d). They who refus'd to drink, were in most Places oblig'd to depart by that celebrated Law of good Fellowship: ἢ πίνε, ἢ ἀπίνε. Drink, or be gone. To which Cicero has this Allusion (e). To me (saith he) it seems but reasonable in the Affairs of Life, to observe the same Law, which the Greeks keep at their Entertainments: Either let them Drink, say they, or depart: Very right, for one should either partake of the Pleasure of Drinking, and being Merry, or leave the Company.

Hence it appears, how much the Greeks were addicted to Drinking. Neither were the Romans more free from that Vice. Seneca himself thought it allowable to Drink, even to Drunkenness, to ease the Mind of any great and tormenting Cares. We are told by Plutarch and others, that Cato of Utica, sometimes spent whole Nights in Drink. And concerning the elder Cato, as also Corvinus the Stoical Philosopher, to mention no more Examples, we have the following Testimony of Horace (f):

Descende, Corvino jubente,
Promere languidiora vina
Non velle, quamquam Socraticis mader
Sermonibus te negliget horridus,
Narratur & prius Catonis
Sape mero saluisse virtus

Yet others found fault with the immoderate use of Wine. Some Law-givers enacted Laws against it, and others prohibited all Compotations, where more Wine was us'd than what was necessary for Health. Some of the Grecian Sages allow'd no more than three Cups, one for Health, a second for Cheerfulness, and a third for Sleep. Thus in the following Verses of Eubulus, which are cited by Athenæus (g):

Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνος κρατῆρας ἐχχεραίνω
Τοῖς εὖ φρονόσι: τὴν μὲν ὑγείας ἵνα,
Ὁν πρῶτον ἐκπίνωσι τὴν δὲ δούλεον

(a) Lib. X. cap. X. (b) Var. Hist. Lib. II. cap. XLf. (c) Suidas voc. Ἀμυσί
(d) & v. Ζήσεται. (e) Conf. Athenæus. lib. IX. cap. VI. & VII. (f)
Tusc. Quest. lib. V. (g) Lib. III. Od. XXI. (g) Initio lib. II.

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Ερως, ἠδ' οὐκ τὸν τεύχον δ' ὕμνῳ
 Οὐκ εἰσιόντες οἱ σοφοὶ κακῶς
 Οἶκαδ' ἐβαδίζουσ'· ὁ δὲ τέλειος ἄνθρωπος
 Ημίτερος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὕβρειος, &c.

Panyasis allow'd no more than the second Cup: The first to the *Graes*, *Hours*, and *Bacchus*; the second to *Venus* and *Bacchus*. They who proceeded to the third Cup according to that Author, dedicated it to *Lust* and *Strife*. *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* Lawgiver prohibited τὰς ἐκ ἀναγκαίας πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνῶμας, ἢ ἐφ' ἧκεν ὅπως διψῶν ἕκαστος πίνειν unnecessary Drinking, which debilitates both the Body and Mind; and order'd that no Man should Drink for any other purpose than to satisfy his Thirst, as we learn from *Xenophon* (a). And to lay on the *Spartans* a necessity of keeping themselves within the bounds of Sobriety, the same Law-giver enacted farther, that all Men should return from Entertainments without a Torch, to shew them the way. Whence the Propinations, and methods of Drinking, which other Nations observ'd, were unheard of at *Sparta*. Hence the following Passage of *Cicero* (b), wherein he commends the temperate way of Living in that City.

Καὶ τὸ δ' ἔθος Σπάρτῃ, μελέηματα καὶ μὲν ἐστὶ
 Πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνοπόρον κύλικα·
 Μὴδ' ἐκδιδραμεῖν περὶ πόσει θυμῶσι λίγυσι,
 Μὴδ' ἐπὶ δεξιτέρῃ χεὶρ κακῶν διδόναι,
 Καὶ περὶ πόσει ὀρέγειν ὀπίσθια, ἢ προκαλεῖσθαι
 Ἐξομομαχίην ὃν περτιεῖν ἰδίῃ.

At *Athens* an *Archon* convicted of being Drunk, was put to Death by the Laws of *Solon* (c), as hath been elsewhere remark'd. And others addicted to Compotations, and Lovers of Company, were punish'd by the Senate of *Arcopagus* for consuming the time in Idleness and Profuseness, which they ought rather to have employ'd in making themselves useful to the Common-wealth, as we are told by *Phanodemus* and *Philochorus* in *Atheniensis*. Lastly, to mention only one Example more, the Island of *Mitylene* abounding with Wine in order to restrain the Inhabitants from the immoderate use of it, *Pittacus* their Lawgiver, one of the seven Sages, νόμος ἔθηκεν, τῷ μεθύοντι, ἵνα αἰμῶς ἢ διπλῶν εἶναι ἴαν ζημίαν enacted, That whoever committed a Crime being drunk, should suffer double Punishment (d).

There are some particular and solemn Cups mention'd in ancient Authors, which are next to be describ'd. Such were

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμονος κούρη, the Cup of good Genius, by whom was understood *Bacchus* the Inventor of Wine, in memory of which Benefit, a Cup full of unmix'd Wine was carry'd round the Table, which all the Guests tasted, at the same time raising an Ejaculation to the

(a) Libro de Repub. Lacedæm. (b) In elegij. (c) Laertius Solone. (d) Laertius Pittaco.

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God, that he would preserve them from committing any Indecency, thro' the immoderate use of that Liquor. Hence *ὀλιγοποτῖνες* Persons who drink very little, are in *Hesychius* term'd *Ἀγαδοδαίμωνες*. Whether this Cup was brought in before the Table on which they Supp'd was taken away, or afterwards, is not agreed. That it was sometimes brought in before the taking away of the Table, seems probable from what is related of *Dionysius the Sicilian*, who being entertain'd in the Temple of *Æsculapius* in *Syracuse* at a Table of Gold, as soon as he had tasted the Cup of good Genius, commanded the Table to be carry'd off.

Κεσίη Διὸς σωτήρ, the Cup of Jupiter the Saviour, which was mix'd with Water, and dedicated to Jupiter, President of the Air, which is the most humid Element, in memory of the Invention of tempering Wine with Water,

Κεσίη Τυγίης, the Cup of Health, is by some added, which as also that of Jupiter, is term'd *μειλιτιάς*, or *μειλιτιέον*, as being drank after the washing of their Hands, the Entertainment being ended. And the same Names are for the same reason by some given to the Cup of good Genius (a).

Κεσίη Ερμῦ, the Cup of Mercury, to whom a Libation was offer'd before they went to Bed, when they gave over Drinking; as will be related afterwards (b).

Others report the order of the solemn Cups in a different manner. *Suidas* has number'd them thus (c): *Τρεῖς κεσίηες ἱσάσαν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ δ. Ερμῦ. ε'. χαρισίῳ. γ'. Διὶ σωτήρ*. Three Cups were brought in at Supper: The first dedicated to Mercury. The second to *Charilius*, which is a surname given to Jupiter, from *χάρις*, Favour and Grace; he being the God by whose Influence Men obtain the Favour and Affection of one another. Wherein it is probable Respect was had to the Invention of tempering Wine with Water, as hath been before observ'd. The third to Jupiter the Saviour.

Others mention one Cup of Wine mix'd with Water, dedicated to Olympian Jupiter; a second to the Heroes; a third and last to Jupiter the Saviour, so call'd on this occasion, to intimate that the third Cup might safely be taken without any disorder of Mind or Body. This Cup was call'd *τέλειος*, either because it was the last, which is one Sense of that Word; or from the perfection of the number Three, which having a beginning, middle and end, was reputed the first complete Number: Whence it was commonly apply'd to Divine Things, and particularly to human Souls, which according to the *Platonick* Philosophy, consisted of this number. Neither must it be omitted, that the first and last Cups were sacred to Jupiter, who is the supreme Deity, the beginning and the end of all Things. The middle Cup to the Heroes, who were thought to be of a middle nature between Gods and Men. These Customs are alluded to by *Pindar* in fourteen Verses together, and more largely describ'd by

(a) *Cōf. Athenæus* l. b. II. cap. II. lib. XI. cap. XI. lib. XV. cap. V. & XIV. *Pollux*, *Suidas*, &c. (b) *Vid. Pollux*. (c) *Voce κεσίη*.

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The Greek Scholiast upon that passage (a). This may be farther observ'd, that most Authors, however variously describing them in other Respects, do agree in fixing the sacred Cups to the number Three. Hence that saying in the *Mystis* of *Antiphanes* cited by *Atheneus* (b).

Μέλει γὰρ τῶν παρὶ τιμῶν τῶν Θεῶν.

The Entertainment being ended, before they went to other Diversions us'd at such times, a Libation of Wine with a Prayer was offer'd, and an Hymn sung to the Gods. Thus we are told by *Xenophon*, that at the Entertainment by him describ'd (c), the Tables were taken away, and they had offer'd a Libation, and sung an Hymn to the Gods, a certain Man of Syracuse brought in a skilful Minstrel, &c. *Virgil* describes the Libation in such a manner, as it should seem to have been pour'd out of the Cup of good Genius, which is another argument that this Cup was not fill'd till the Tables were taken away, which indeed seems to have been the time of drinking all the three solemn Cups. The Poet's Words contain a very particular account of this whole Ceremony (d):

*Postquam prima quies epulis, mensaque remota,
Crateras magnos statuunt, & vina coronant.
Fit strepitus testis, vocemque per ampla volutant
Atria: dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
Incensi, & noctem flammis funalia vincunt.
Hic Regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus, & omnes
A Belo soliti. Tum facta silentia testis:
"Juppiter (hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur)
"Hunc latum Tyriusque diem, Trojaque profectis
"Esse velis, nostrosque hujus meminisse minores;
"Adsit letitiae Bacchus dator, & bona Juno.
"Et vos, o Tyrij, cætum celebrate faucentes.
Dixit: & in mensa laticum libavit honorem:
Primaque, libato, summo tenus attingit ore,
Tum Bitiae dedit increpitans, ille impiger hausit,
Post alii proceres.*

This Ceremony being ended, the Company was entertain'd with other Diversions: With Discourses upon various Arguments; with reading Authors suitable to the Tempers and Inclinations of those who were present, which was also very often done in time of Supper; with Musick of all sorts, with Jugglers, as we find in the description of *Socrates's* Entertainment by *Plato* and *Xenophon*; with Mimicks, Buffoons, or whatever beside could be thought of for the exciting of Mirth and Cheerfulness.

(a) *Isthmionic. principio. Od. v. l.* (b) *Lib. X. cap. XI.* (c) *Convivio pag. 874. edit. Francfurt.* (d) *Sub finem Aeneid. l.*

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From the most ancient times, Musick and Dancing were the Diversions at Entertainments. Thus *Homer* (a),

Μολπή τ' ὀρχησὺς τε, τὰ γὰρ τ' ἀναθήματα δαυτός.

Phemius and *Demodocus*, two celebrated Singers, are introduc'd at Entertainments by the same Poet. And at an Entertainment of the Gods, *Apollo* is introduc'd playing upon the Harp, whilst the *Muses* Sing alternately (b). Dancing was also in use among the Gods. Hence *Apollo* has the Title of ὀρχηστής, the *Dancer*, in *Pindar*. The same God in *Homer's* Hymn plays upon his Harp, and at the same time Dances,

Καλὰ κ' ὑπὲρ βίβδος. —

And, to mention only one Instance more, *Jupiter* himself is said to Dance in the following Verse, which some ascribe to *Eumelus*, others to *Arctinus* the *Corinthian*,

Μίωροισιν δ' ὡρχαίῳ παλιν ἀνδρῶν τε, Θεῶν τε.

Hence *Arbenæus* concludes, that in those Ages they accounted ὀρχήσιν ἔνδοξον κ' σφόδρ' Dancing a Thing becoming Persons of Honour and Wisdom (c). At *Rome* the Custom was quite otherwise, for there to use the Words of *Cicero* (d), *nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; neque in solitudine, neque in convivio honesto. Intempestivi convivii, æmæni loci, multarum deliciarum comes est extrema, saltatio.* No Man Dances unless he is either Drunk or Mad, either in private, or at a modest and decent Entertainment. Dancing is the very last effect of Luxury and Wantonness. And *Cornelius Nepos* (e), having related that *Epaminondas* well understood the art of Dancing, of Playing upon the Harp and the Flute, with other liberal Sciences, adds, *Tho' in the Opinion of the Romans these were trivial Things, and not worthy to be mention'd: Yet in Greece they were thought very commendable.* The same Observation is also made by that Author, in his Preface to the Lives of the illustrious Commanders. And these Arts had so great credit among the *Grecians*, that, to use some of *Cicero's* Words (f), *They thought the Arts of Singing and Playing upon musical Instruments, a most considerable part of Learning.* Whence 'tis told of *Epaminondas*, who in my Judgment was the chief of all the *Greeks*, that he play'd very well upon the Flute. And some time before, *Themistocles*, upon refusing the Harp at an Entertainment, pass'd for one Unlearn'd and Ill-bred. Hence *Greece* came to flourish with skilfull Musicians, all Persons learnt the Art of Musick, and they who were Ignorant of it, were thought unaccomplish'd with Learning. Nevertheless wanton and effeminate Dances were thought to be indecent in Men of Wisdom and Character. Whence *Hippocrides*, the *Athenian*,

(a) *Odys.* l. v. 152. (b) *Iliad.* l. vers. 603. (c) *Lib. I cap. XIX.* (d) *Orat. pro Muræna.* (e) *Epaminonda.* (f) *Tusc. Quæst. lib. I.*

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having been design'd by *Clisibenes*, King of *Argos*, for his Daughter's Husband, and prefer'd before all the young Noblemen of *Greece*, was reject'd for his light and unbecoming Dances and Gestures, as we are inform'd by *Herodotus* (a). The *Ionians* delighted in wanton Dances and Songs, more than the rest of the *Greeks*, their Manners being more corrupted than those of any other Nation in *Greece*. Their way of Singing was very different from the ancient, and their Harmony more loose and wanton, as we are told by *Theophrastus* (b). And wanton Gestures were proverbially term'd *Ionici motus*, *Ionian Motions*. Thus *Horace* reprov- ing the Manners of his own Age (c):

*Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
Matura virgo*—

In the primitive Ages, the Entertainments were seldom made but on the Festivals of the Gods, as hath elsewhere been observ'd, and the Songs were commonly Hymns in praise of the Gods, the singing of which was accounted a part of Divine Worship. Soft and wanton Songs were then unknown. Hence *Athenaeus* was of opinion, that *Musick* was not brought into use at Entertainments, for the sake of any mean and vulgar Pleasure, but to compose the Passions of the Soul, and to better Idens Manners. (d). And from the descriptions of Entertainments, which we find in *Homer*, it appears that the Songs us'd about the time of the *Trojan War*, consisted chiefly of Hymns, wherein the Actions of the Gods and Heros were celebrated. But in later Ages, it was so uncommon to sing sacred Hymns at Entertainments, that *Aristotle* was accus'd by *Demophilus* for singing a *Paean* every Day at his Meals, as an Act of very great Impiety (e).

The most remarkable Songs at Entertainments were those term'd *σκόλια*, with the Accent upon the first Syllable, whereby it is distinguish'd from the adjective *σκολια*, which is Accented upon the last Syllable, as we are inform'd by *Eustathius* (f). Whence in the present Editions of *Athenaeus*, which often call these Songs *σκολια*, they who will acquiesce in the Judgment of that Critick, must read *σκόλια*. The *Scolia* consisted for the most part of short Verses, whence *σκόλιον* is interpreted μέλος τι ὀλιγόστιχον, a certain Sonnet consisting of short Verses; and deriv'd from *σκολιδν*, crooked, difficult, and obscure; which will be ῥάδιον, κατ' ἀντίθεσιν easie, by the figure *Antiphrasis*, as we are told by the Scholiast on *Aristophanes* (g). Others observe, that *Scolia* cannot be deriv'd from *σκολιδς*, signifying difficult, or obscure: Because these Songs were commonly light and cheerful. But there being three sorts of Songs at Entertainments, of which the first was Sung by the whole Company joyning in a Choir, the second

(a) Lib. VI. cap. CXXVIII. (b) Conf. *Athenaeus* lib. XIV. cap. V. (c) Lib. III. Od. VI. (d) Conf. *Athenaeus* lib. XIV. cap. VI. (e) *Athenaeus* lib. XV. initio cap. XVI. (f) In *Odysf.* v. pag. 276. (g) In *Ranas* pag. 273. Item in *Vespas*, pag. 519.

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by all the Company in their turns, the third by some few who were best skill'd in Musick; this last was term'd σκόλιον from the adjective σκολιδν, signifying crooked; as being Sung out of course, and not by every Man in his own place, like the two former (a). The Custom was thus: After the Company had all Sung in a Chorus, or one after another, a musical Instrument, most commonly a Harp or Lute, was carry'd round to every Person, that such as understood Musick might entertain the Company. They who would not, or could not Play upon the Instrument, were presented with a Branch of Lawrel or Myrtle, to which, held in their Hands, they Sung. This was term'd πρὸς δάφνην, or πρὸς μυρρίνην ᾄδειν to Sing towards the Lawrel, or the Myrtle. This account is given by Hefychius in the following Words: Μυρρίνης, κλάδος ἢ δάφνης ᾧ τὸ πτότον μυρρίνης ἢ σιώνιδες, δίδοναι τοῖς κατακειμένοις ἐκ διαδοχῆς ὑπὲρ τῷ ᾄσαι ἀντὶ τῷ βαρβίτε. Which Passage ought rather to be read thus, Μυρρίνης κλάδος· μυρρίνης κλάδον ἢ δάφνης ᾧ τὸ πτότον ἢ σιώνιδες δίδοναι, &c. This Branch was also term'd αἰσακος, or ᾄσακος, ᾧ τὸ ᾄσαι τὸν δεξιόμηνον, because the Person who receiv'd it, was oblig'd to Sing, as we are inform'd by Plutarch (b), who more agreeably to the former account, and perhaps to the Truth, observes that the σκόλια were not Sung by all who could not Play upon the musical Instrument, which is Hefychius's Notion of these Songs, but only by those who were Masters of Musick: Whence he derives the Name from σκολιδς, difficult, to Sing one of these Songs, being what could not be done by any but good Proficients in the Art of Musick. He farther adds, that some were of Opinion, that the Branch of Myrtle was not deliver'd to the Company in a direct Order, but carry'd from Bed to Bed, so as when the first Person in the uppermost Bed had done Singing, he deliver'd it to the first in the second Bed, from whom it was transmitted to the first of the third Bed: That the seconds in each Bed deliver'd to one another in the same manner, and so forward till it had past thro' the whole Company: And that on this account the Songs were term'd σκόλια, from σκολιδς, as it signifies crooked, by reason of the several windings in carrying about the Branch of Myrtle. These Scolia were chiefly us'd by the Athenians, neither were they unknown in other Parts of Greece, where we find several celebrated Writers of Scolia to have liv'd; such were Anacreon of Teos, Alceus of Lesbos, Praxilla of Sicyon, and others (c). Their Arguments were of various kinds: Some of them, to use the Words of Eustatius (d), were σκωπτικὰ, τὰ δὲ ἐρωτικὰ, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ αἶαν Ludicrous and Satyrical, others Amorous, and many of them Serious: Those upon serious Arguments sometimes contain'd παραίνεσιν τινα καὶ γνώμην χερσίσμην εἰς τὸν εἶον a practical Exhortation or Sentence as we learn from Athenæus (e): Sometimes they consisted of the Praises and illustrious Actions of great Men. This later sort commonly bore the Per-

(a) Artemon Cassandreu's lib. II. de usu carminum convivalium apud Athenæum lib. XV. cap. XIV. Dicæarchus lib. de musicis certaminibus apud Aristophanis Scholiasten in Vespas pag. 519. (b) Sympof. lib. I. quæst. II. (c) Conf. Athenæus lib. XV. cap. XIV. (d) In Odysf. n. pag. 277. (e) Læo citato.

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son's Names, whom they celebrated. Thus Ἀρμόδιου μέλος, the Song of Harmodius, according to Hesychius, was τὸ ἐπὶ Ἀρμόδιου ποιηθὲν σκόλιον ὑπὸ Καλλιστρατοῦ the Scolium compos'd by Callistratus upon Harmodius, the fam'd Patriot, who deliver'd Athens from the Tyranny of Hipparchus the Son of Pisistratus, whom he kill'd. The first Verse of this Scolium is preserv'd in Aristophanes (a):

Αἰδῶ δὲ πρῶτος Ἀρμόδιον, δέξει δὲ σύ·
Οὐδείς πάποτ' ἀνὴρ ἐγένετ' Ἀθηναῖος.

Ἀδμήτη λόγος was a Scolium upon Admetus King of Thessaly. It is mention'd by the same Author.

Ἀδμήτη λόγον ὦ ταῖρε μαθάν, Τὲς ἀγαθὲς φίλει,
Τέτρω τι λῆξεις σκόλιον. —

There are many Examples of the ancient Scolia preserv'd in the Greek Authors, of which I shall only set down that one, which was compos'd by Aristotle upon Hermias Tyrant of Atarneæ; which, tho' Demophilus suborn'd by one Eurymedon affirm'd to be a sacred Pæan, in order to prove the Philosopher, who daily us'd this Song, guilty of Impiety, as hath been before related, yet it is from the very Phrase and Diction, plainly demonstrat'd to be nothing more than an ordinary Scolium, by Democritus in Athenæus (b):

Ἀρεῖά πολύμοχθε
Γένει βεβλήω,
Θήραμα κάλλιστον βίῳ·
Σᾶς περὶ παρθένας, μορφαῖς
Καὶ θανεῖν ζῆλωτος Ἑλλάδι πόλμος,
Καὶ πόνας τλήναι μαλερές τοῖον
Ἐπὶ φρένα βάλλεις
Καρπὸν τ' ἀθάνατον,
Χρυσὴν κρείσσω καὶ γονέων,
Μαλακωγέτοιο δ' ὕπνου.
Σεῦ δ' ὁ Διὸς Ἡρακλῆς,
Λήδας τε κῆρυ πολλὰ ἀνέτλασαν,
Ἔργοις σὺν ἀγρεύοντες δυνάμιν.
Σοῖς δὲ πόθοις Ἀχιλλεύς,
Αἴας τ' Αἰδάο δόμος ἦλθον.
Σᾶς δ' ἔνεκα φίλιν μορφαῖς
Καὶ Ἀλαργέως ἐνίστορος
Ἡελίη χήρωσεν αὐγὰς·
Τοιγὰρ αἰοίδιμος ἔργοις
Ἀθανάτῃν τε μιν αὐξήσουσι Μῦσαι,
Μνημοσύνης θυγατέρες,
Διὸς ξενίη σέβας ἀδύσσαι,
Φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίης.

(a) *Vespis.* (b) *Lib. XV. pag. 695.*

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From the Songs, let us pass to the Sports and Pastimes, which follow'd Entertainments. This was the ancient Method, as we learn from *Homer's* description of an Entertainment made by *Alcinous*, King of *Phæacia*, wherein the Entertainment being taken away, and the Musick ended, the Guests are invited to Wrestle, Leap, run Races, and to other bodily Exercises (a):

Κέκλυτε Φαίηκων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες,
 Ἡδὴ μὲν δαίτῃς κεκορήμεθα θυμὸν εἴσης,
 Φόρμιγγός δ' ἢ δαΐδι σωνιορὴς ἐστὶ θαλεήν
 Νῦν δ' ἐξέλθαμεν, καὶ ἀέθλων παρηδῶμεν
 Πάντων, &c.

Whence *Eustathius* observes, ὅτι ἐκ εἶδος τοῖς ἡρώσιν ἀναπαύεσθαι μετὰ τῇ δαίτῃ καὶ τῇ ὑστερῇ ἐπὶ σίσιον πέλει (b): Thus the Heroes did not rest after Meals for the better Concoction of their Meat, as became customary in later Ages. On which pretence the later Greeks, laying aside the violent Exercises, which were anciently us'd, diverted themselves with such Sports and Recreations, as requir'd less Toil and Labour. The several sorts of Sports and Games which were practis'd by the Greeks, have been accurately describ'd by the learn'd *Meursius*, and from him again by *Bulengerus*. They are too numerous to be recounted in this Place: However the κότταβος, which was more peculiar to Entertainments, and is on that account describ'd by *Poëux*, and takes up several Pages in *Aitheneus*, must not be omitted. This Pastime was first invented in *Sicily*, whence it was communicated to most other Parts of *Greece*, especially to *Athens*, where it obtain'd very great repute. The form was thus: A piece of Wood being erected, another was plac'd upon the Top of it, with two Dishes hanging down from each Extremity in the manner of Scales. Beneath each Dish was plac'd a Vessel full of Water, wherein stood a Statue compos'd for the most part of Brass, and call'd μάμμος. They who did κοτταβίζειν, play at the Cottabus, stood at some distance holding a Cup of Water or Wine, which they endeavour'd to throw into one of the Dishes, that the Dishes by that weight might be knock'd against the Head of the Statue under it. The Person who threw in such a manner, as to spill least of his Water, and to knock the Dish with the greatest force upon the Statue, was Conqueror, and thought to reign in his Mistress's Affections; which was the thing to be learnt by this Pastime. The Sound made by the projection, was by an *Onomatopœia*, term'd λάταξ: the Wine projected λατάγη, and sometimes λάταξ. The Action, as also the Cup out of which the Wine was projected, was call'd ἀγκύλη, because ἦν δεξιᾶν χεῖρα ἡγκύλην, κυκλῶντες αὐτὴν ὡς ἐνὶ περὶ πωδίσαια, σεμνωρόμενοι ὡς ἐφ' ἐνὶ τῶν καλῶν they turn'd round their right Hand with a sort of Dexterity, or Art, upon which they very much valu'd themselves. Hence we find mention of κότταβοι ἀγκυλητοί

(a) Odys. v. 27. (b) Pag. 225.

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in *Æschylus*. The Vessels were nam'd *κότλαβοι*, or *κοτλαβίδες* the Prizes, *κοτλαβία*, *κοτλαβία*, and also *κότλαβοι*, which were Sweetmeats, Kisses, or what else the Company agreed upon. The Play it self, to distinguish it from others of the same Name, was term'd *κότλαβος κατακτός*. And so much addicted they were to this Pastime, that they had not only Vessels made for it with the utmost Art and Care, but round Houses built in such a manner, that the *Cottabus* being plac'd exactly in the middle, the Gamesters might stand at equal distances on all sides.

There was another sort of *cottabus*, wherein a Vessel was plac'd full of Water with empty Vials swimming upon it. Into this they projected Wine out of Cups, and he that had the Fortune to drown the greatest number of the Vials obtain'd the Prize.

There was also another sort of *cottabus*, wherein they projected Dice.

Lastly, another sort of *cottabus* is mention'd, which was a Contention who should sit up awake the longest. The Prize was commonly a Cake made of Honey and Sesame, or Wheat (as we learn from *Pollux* and the *Greek Scholiast* (a) upon *Aristophanes*;) and thence term'd *σησαμῦς*, or *πυραμῦς*: the latter seems to have been most common, whence it is mention'd alone by *Artemidorus*, ἢν δὲ ὁ πυραμῦς ὡς τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐπινίκιος, the *πυραμῦς* was anciently the Prize (b). Whence that Word became a general Name for any other Prize. Thus its us'd by *Aristophanes* (c):

Τῷ γὰρ τεχνάζειν ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῦς.

And in another Place (d):

Ὡν δ' ἀναιδεία παρέλθης, ἡμέτερος ὁ πυραμῦς.

And these are the most usual Forms of this Pastime (e).

It was also held necessary to entertain the Guests with suitable Discourses, as well as with Sports and Pastimes. In the Opinion of the ancient *Greeks*, to use the Words of *Athenæus* (f), It was more requisite, and becoming to gratify the Company by agreeable Conversation, than with Variety of Dishes. And in the Heroical Ages it was customary to consult about Affairs of the greatest Moment at Entertainments, as hath been observ'd by *Plutarch* (g). Hence *Nestor* in *Homer* (h) persuades *Agamemnon* to invite the *Grecian* Commanders to an Entertainment, in order to deliberate concerning the Management of the War:

Δαῖτυ δαῖτα γέρονσι, εἶκεται, ἄτοι ἀεικές.

* * * *

(a) *Equitibus*. (b) *Lib. I. cap. LXXIV.* (c) *Theophrastus. pag. 770.* (d) *Equitibus p. 303.* (e) *Conf. Athenæus lib. X. XI. & præcipue XV. haud procal ab initio. Pollux lib. VI. cap. XIX. Aristophanis Schol. in Pacem. Eustathius in Iliad. C. Johannes Tzetzes in Iliad. VI. hist. LXXXV. & Lexicographi Græci.* (f) *Lib. X. cap. V.* (g) *Sympos. lib. VII. c. IX.* (h) *Iliad. IX. vers. 70.*

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Πολλῶν δ' ἀγερομένων, τῷ πείσει δὲ κεν αἰέσῃν
Βελὴν βελεύσῃ.

It was believ'd, that at such Times Men's Invention was more quick and fruitful, according to the Saying in *Aristophanes* (a);

Οἶνε γὰρ εὐρεῖς ἂν τι πρακτικώτερον;

Where the *Greek Scholiast* discourseth very largely on this Argument. It was also the Custom in Persia to consult at Entertainments, as we find done at that of *Agamemnon*; as we learn from *Athenæus* (b) And, to use the Words of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (c), the Persians us'd to deliberate inter epulas de apparatu bellico & seriis rebus apud eosdem, Grajorum more veterum, concerning warlike Preparations, and other serious Affairs at Banquets, after the manner of the ancient Greeks. Nay, if *Strabo* may be believ'd (d), They us'd to consult about Affairs of the higbest Importance over their Wine, and what was there determin'd was held more firm and inviolable than their sober Resolutions. But *Herodotus's* Account is more particular, That those Things which they resolv'd on (νήφοντες) when they were sober, were canvass'd over again when they had drank freely: And the Things which they determin'd (μεθύσασκόμενοι) in their Drink, were examin'd again in their sober Hours (e). Not unlike this is what *Tacitus* (f) reports of the Germans, that their Consultations about the Reconciliation of Enemies, the contracting Affinities, Appointment of Princes, and all other Affairs, whether Military or Civil, were for the most part held at Entertainments. The Way of the *Syssitia* in *Crete* was thus, according to *Dosiadas* (g): Supper being ended, they first deliberate about Civil Affairs. Then the Discourse is turn'd to War, at which Time they repeat the Praises of illustrious Persons, περὶ τρεπόμενοι τῷ νέε εἰς ἀνδραγαδίαν, thereby to excite the young Men to Courage and Bravery. The *Lacedæmonian* Youth frequented the *Syssitia*, ὡς διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης, as the Schools of Temperance and Prudence, where they heard Discourses of publick Affairs, and convers'd with the most liberal and best accomplish'd Masters, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch* (h). The same Author hath elsewhere observ'd (i), that the *Cretan* ἀνδρεία, and the *Spartan* φειδίτια, that is, their publick places of Entertainment, βελήτριον ἀπορρήτων καὶ σωφροσύνης ἀεισκητικῶν τάξιν εἶχεν were instead of Councils, where the chief Men of the Common-wealth met to consult about the most secret Affairs: And he adds, ὥσπερ οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ ἐνθάδε πρυτανεῖον καὶ δεσμοθέσιον, that the Prytaneum and Thesmothesium, or publick Halls, in this City, that is in *Cheronea*, which was *Plutarch's* native Town, seem to have been put to the same use. The same Custom seems to have obtain'd in several other Cities, and particularly at *Athens*, where

(a) *Equitibus* pag. 293. (b) *Lib. V. cap. IV.* (c) *Lib. XVIII. cap. V.* (d) *Geograph. lib. XV. pag. 734.* Conf. *Plutarchus Sympos. lib. VII. quæst. IX.* *Eustathius in Iliad. i pag. 631.* &c. (e) *Lib. I. cap. CXXXIII.* (f) *De moribus Germanorum.* (g) *Rerum Creticarum lib. IV.* (h) *Lycargo.* (i) *Sympos. lib. VII. quæst. IX.*

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the supreme Council supp'd every Day together in the *Prytaneum*, as hath been elsewhere related. And, to use the Words of *Eustathius* (a), The chief Magistrates at Rhodos were oblig'd by an express Law every Day to entertain the principal Men of that City at a publick Table, in order to deliberate what should be done the Day following. Hence, as *Plutarch* was of Opinion (b), *Bacchus* had the Surname of *Εὐβουλός*, prudent Counsellor; and the Night was call'd *εὐφροσύνη*, as being the Time of wise and prudent Counsels. And, as the same Author observes, Not unlike these is that Assembly of most wise and excellent Persons in *Plato*, where Things of the greatest Concern are discuss'd. As they who were concern'd in publick Business, us'd to discourse of publick Affairs; so the Conversation of Philosophers was commonly upon some Argument of Philosophy: Grammarians disputed upon critical Subjects, and others convers'd in their several Ways; insomuch that every Art and Science was cultivated and improv'd on these Occasions. Whence *Eustathius* had good reason for his Remark, That the Greeks did not drink to excess at their publick Entertainments, but only to keep up their Conversation about serious Affairs. Examples of the Discourse at Entertainments may be found in *Plato* and *Xenophon*; also (had they been yet extant) in *Aristotle*, *Speusippus*, *Epicurus*, *Hieronymus*, *Dio* the Academick, who wrote *λόγους ἐπὶ τῷ τέρει* Books of Table Discourses, as we are inform'd by *Plutarch* (c), who imitates the fore-mention'd Authors in his Treatise upon the same Argument.

Nevertheless it was also customary by Turns to unbend their Minds, and divert them from serious Affairs by Discourses upon ludicrous Arguments. Whence *συμπόσιον*, the Greek Name of an Entertainment, is defin'd by *Plutarch* (d); *κοινωνία σπουδῆς καὶ παιδιᾶς, λόγων καὶ πρᾶξεων* a Mixture of Seriousness and Mirth, of Discourses and Actions. At the fore-mention'd *Sysitia* of the *Lacedæmonians*, where the most grave and important Subjects were treated on, they also *παίξουσιν ἑδίζουσιν, καὶ σκώπτουσιν ἀνευ βωμολοχίας, καὶ σκωπτομένοι μὴ δυσχεραίνειν* us'd to sport, and to jest, tho' without any of that Scurrility and Reflection, which is apt to give Offence (e). And from the Table Discourses of *Plutarch*, and others, it appears to have been the ancient Custom, to contrive their Discourses in such a manner, as would both entertain and instruct the Company. Nevertheless in the time of *Plutarch*, they rarely discours'd upon any serious Argument at publick Entertainments, whence a Discourse being begun at *Nicostratus's* House, concerning a Subject, which was to be discuss'd in the popular Assembly at Athens, some of the Company, who had never heard of the ancient Greek Custom, affirm'd, that it was an Imitation of the Persians (f). And this Question is propounded in the same Author (g), whether it were allowable to discourse Philosophy over their Cups? Some delighted to tell Stories, and to

(a) In *Iliad*. i. pag. 631. (b) Loco citato. (c) *Sympos.* principio. (d) *Sympos.* lib. VII. quæst. VI. (e) Conf. *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*, & *Sympos.* lib. II. quæst. I. (f) *Plutarchus* *Sympos.* lib. VII. quæst. IX. (g) *Symposiac* principio.

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repeat ancient Fables on these Occasions: Others chose to read some diverting Discourse, *ῥῆσιν ἐπιῖν*, or to hear a Poem repeated, which was very common amongst Men of Letters. But no Diversion was more usual, than that of propounding and answering difficult Questions. Such of these, as were wholly design'd for Amusement, were term'd *αἰνίγματα* but those which farther contain'd something Serious and Instructive, were call'd *γέλοι* which Word, as we are inform'd by Pollux (a), in its primary Acceptation signifies a Fishing-net. Hence, to use the Words of Clearchus (b), The Griphi contain'd philosophical Disquisitions, wherein the Ancients us'd to give a Specimen of their Learning. Insomuch that this Pastime *μῦθμα γινέσθαι* & *ἐκδοῦ πρὸς πᾶσι δόξαν εἰκαστικῆς* became a Proof of every Person's Proficiency in Learning. The Person, who solv'd the Question propounded, was honour'd with a Reward. He who was not so fortunate, underwent a certain Punishment. The Rewards were *στέφαν* & *ἐνθουσία*, a Garland and the applause of the Company, as we learn from the same Author. The Punishment was to drink without taking Breath a Cup of Wine mixt with Salt, as Athenaeus (c) has prov'd out of the Ganymedes of Antiphanes. The Reward, according to Pollux (d), was a Dish of Meat: The Penalty, a salt Cup. Others report, that a Cup of Wine was the Prize, which was adjudg'd to the Person, who solv'd the Riddle: Or in case no Man could solve it, to the Person by whom it was propounded (e). The Account of Hesychius differs somewhat from all, which have been hitherto mention'd: He tells us, that *γέλοι* is *συμποτικὴ ζήτησις αἰνιγματώδης* & *πρόξιμον τὸ μὴ λύσαντι τὸν γέλον, ἐκπιεῖν τὸ συγκέμενον, ἥτοι ἀκρατον, ἢ ὕδωρ* an Enigmatical Question at Compositions, which whoever fails of solving, is oblig'd to drink that which is set before him, whether it be unmixt Wine, or Water. And there is no doubt, but the Rewards and Penalties were vary'd according to the Disposition of the Company. The common Name for these, and all other Questions us'd on the like Occasions, was *κλίμεια ζητήματα*. Theodectes the Sophist term'd them *μνημόνια ζητήματα*, because he had got a Set of them by Heart, which was usually done, by such as frequented publick Entertainments (f). That the Custom of propounding Riddles was very ancient, and deriv'd from the Eastern Nations into Greece, appears from the Story of Sampson in the Book of Judges, who propounded a Riddle to the Philistines at his nuptial Feast. Neither were these Questions confin'd to Entertainments, but in the primitive Times were propos'd on other Occasions, by those who desir'd to make Proof of one another's Wisdom and Learning. Hence there is mention of the Queen of Sheba's Question to King Solomon, of those which pass'd between Hiram and Solomon, and several others, which are too long to be recounted in this Place (g).

(a) Lib. VI. cap. XIX. (b) Libro primo de parcemiis apud Athenaeum lib. X. cap. ult. (c) Loco citato. (d) Onomast. lib. VI. cap. XIX. (e) Etymologicæ Auctor, & Phavorinus v. γέλοι. Eustathius Iliad. X. pag. 785. (f) Conf. Pollux. (g) Conf. Reg. lib. III. cap. X. Josephus adv. Apionem lib. I. Herodotus, Scrip- tor Convivii septem sapientum inter opera Plutarchi, Auctor vitæ Æsopi, &c. Some

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Sometimes the Entertainer made Presents to all his Guests. *Lysimachus* of *Babylon* having entertain'd *Himerus*, the Tyrant of the *Babylonians* and *Seleucians*, with three hundred other Guests, gave every Man a silver Cup of four pounds Weight (a). When *Alexander* made his Marriage-Feast at *Susa* in *Persia*, he pay'd the Debts of all his Soldiers out of his own Exchequer, and presented every one of his Guests, who were not fewer than nine thousand, with golden Cups (b). From these Instances it appears, that Cups were commonly presented on these Occasions. This was done, because it was customary for the Company before they parted to pour forth Wine as a Libation to *Mercury*, who was accounted the President of the Night, and believ'd to send Sleep and pleasing Dreams: Whence he is call'd by *Homer* (c) *νυκτὸς ὀπωπῆτης*, and *ἡγύτων ὀνείρων*. To the same God they also sacrific'd the Tongues of the Animals, which had been kill'd for the Entertainment. The reason of which Rite was by some thought to be, that *Mercury*, being the President of Eloquence, was chiefly delighted with that Member. Others rather think, that by this Sacrifice he was invok'd as a Witness of the Discourse which had pass'd. Some are of Opinion, that by burning the Tongues at the Conclusion of the Meeting, was intimated, that whatever had been there discours'd, should be kept secret. Several other Conjectures concerning the Original of this Custom, which are too long to enumerate, have been made by learned Men (d). It was chiefly observ'd by the *Athenians*, *Ionians*, and *Megarensians*: And some will have it to have been begun by one of the Kings of *Megara*, who having the Tongue of a Lyon, which had wasted his Country, brought to him by *Pelops*, sacrific'd it at the end of an Entertainment. It was certainly very ancient; Whence *Apollonius* makes it to be observ'd by the *Argonauts* (e):

Οὐδ' ἐπιδὴν μετέπειτα κεραιάμφοι δὴ λισσάς,
 Ἡ δέ μιν ἐστὶ, τέως ὅτ' ἡ γλώσσῃσι χέοντο
 Αἰδομένης· ὕπνῳ δὲ διὰ κνήφας ἐμνῶντα.

And it is practis'd by the Heroes in *Homer*:

Γλώσσας δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον, ἀνισάμφοι δ' ἐπέλεγον.

As the ancient Greeks offer'd Libations chiefly to *Mercury*, so the Greeks of later Times made theirs to *Jupiter*, surnam'd *Τέλεος*, *Perseus* (f). Yet several other Gods often shar'd in these Offerings: Particularly at Entertainments, which follow'd any solemn Sacrifice, it was customary to remember the God to whom they had before sacrific'd. Hence at a Sacrifice offer'd to *Neptune* in *Homer* (g), *Minerva*, who was present under the assum'd Form of *Mentor*, ad-

(a) *Athenæus* lib. XI. cap. III. (b) *Plutarchus Alexandro* pag. 703. (c) *Hymno in Mercurium*. (d) *Apollonii Scholiastes in Argon.* I. vers. 516. *Eustatbius in Odys.* γ'. pag. 131. (e) *Argon.* lib. I. vers. 516. (f) *Athenæus* lib. I. principio cap. XIV. (g) *Odys.* γ'.

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viseth the Company to sacrifice the Tongues, and to pour forth Libations of Wine to *Neptune* and the rest of the Gods, before they departed :

Αλλ' ἄγε, τέρμετε μὴ γλώσσας, κερύσασθε δὲ οἶνον,
Ὀφρα Ποσειδάωνι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
Ἐπέσαντες, καί τοις μεδόμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ἔρη.

It was held unlawful to stay too long at the Entertainments, which follow'd Sacrifices, as *Athenæus* hath observ'd from the following Words of *Minerva* in the same Poet (a):

Ἡ δὲ γὰρ φάτο· οἴχεθ' ὑπὸ ζοφόν, ἐδὲ ἔοικε
Δηδᾶ θεῶν ἐν δαυτὶ διασέμνῃ, ἀλλὰ νέεσθαι.

The same Author reports, that till his Time the Company was oblig'd at some sacrificial Entertainments to depart before Sun-set (b). But at the common Entertainments, where more Liberty was allow'd, the Company very often stay'd till the Morning approach'd. This we find done by *Socrates* and his Friends in *Plato's* Entertainments: and before that in the Heroical Times, by *Penelope's* Suitors, and by the *Phæacians* in *Homer*, as also by *Dido* and *Aeneas* in *Virgil*. It was also customary to contend, who should keep awake longest; and the Prize assign'd to the Victor was most commonly a sort of Cakes call'd *πυραμῖς* (c), which Word came hence to be a general Name for the Prize of any Victory, as hath been already observ'd.

C H A P. XXI.

Of the Manner of Entertaining Strangers.

THE keeping of publick Inns for the Reception of Strangers, was assign'd by *Plato* (d) to Foreigners, or the meanest sort of Citizens, as an illiberal and mean Employment. The ancient *Greeks* had no publick Inns, which were an Invention of later Ages. In the primitive Times, Men liv'd at Home, neither caring to cultivate Friendship with Foreigners, nor to improve themselves and their Estates by Commerce with them. Neither was it safe to travel without a very strong Guard, the Sea and Land being both exceedingly infested with Robbers, who not only spoil'd all, whom they caught, of their valuable Goods, but treated their Persons with the utmost Cruelty, as appears from the Stories of

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Athenæus* lib. V. cap. IV. (c) *Artemidorus* lib. I. cap. LXXIV. *Aristophanis Scholiastes* ad *Equites*. (d) *De Leg.* lib. XI.

Procrustes, *Sinnes*, *Sciron*, *Periphetes*, and many others. To live upon the Plunder of others, was then by many thought a very honourable way of subsisting, and they plac'd a sort of Glory in overcoming and spoiling their Neighbours, believing the Rules of Humanity and Justice to be observ'd by none, but such as were destitute of Power (a). Hence it seems to have come, that amongst the ancient Greeks, Strangers and Enemies were both signify'd by the Name ξένος, all Strangers being then accounted Enemies: And the Persians, who for several Ages wag'd continual Wars with Greece, are particularly signify'd by that Word (b). The Lacedemonians are said to have term'd all the barbarous Nations, whom the Greeks took for their common Enemies, by the Name ξένος (c). And amongst the primitive Latins the Name *hostis*, which was afterwards appropriated to Enemies, signify'd Strangers (d).

The Sea was freed from Pirates by *Minos* King of *Crete*, who with a strong Fleet for a long time maintain'd the Dominion of all the Seas thereabouts. The Land-robbers were destroy'd by *Hercules*, *Theseus* and other primitive Heroes: From which Times, *Xenophon* (e) reports, that till his own Age, ξένος ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀδίκῃ no Man was injurious to Strangers. And in the earliest Ages, all who were not entirely void of Humanity, are said to have entertain'd all Strangers with Respect. It was then the Custom to supply them with Victuals and other Necessaries, before they enquir'd their Names, or ask'd them any other Questions. Thus *Telemachus* and his Company are treated by *Menelaus*, who thus bespeaks them upon their Arrival at *Sparta* (f):

Σίτῃ δ' ἀπ' ἑδὼν, καὶ χαίρετον αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Δείπνῃ παλαιῇ, ἐκστρώμεν δ' οἷτινες ἔσδῃ
Ἀνδρῶν.

In the same manner *Telemachus* is entertain'd by *Nestor* (g), *Ulysses* by *Eumæus* (h), and *Minerva*, under the Form of *Mentor*, by *Telemachus* (i). *Menelaus* entertain'd *Paris* the Trojan ten Days, before he enquir'd who he was, or whence he came. And it is said to have been ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, an ancient Custom, to forbear such Enquiries till the Tenth Day, if the Stranger seem'd willing to stay till that time, as we learn from *Eustathius's* Comment on the Passage of *Homer*, where the King of *Lycia* is introduc'd demanding of *Bellerophon* his recommendatory Letter from *Proetus*, upon the Tenth Day after he had come to his House (k):

(a) *Plutarchus Theseo*, *Thucydides Historiæ principio*. (b) *Hesychius voce ξένος*. (c) *Herodotus Galliope cap. X.* *Pollux lib. I. cap. XI.* (d) *Varro principio lib. IV. de L. L. Cicero de Offic. lib. I. cap. XII. Ambrosius Offic. lib. I. cap. XXIX.* Conf. *Commentarius noster in Lycophron. Cassandra vers. 464.* (e) *Λογισμῶν lib. II.* (f) *Od. ff. δ. vers. 61.* (g) *Od. ff. γ. vers. 69.* (h) *Od. ff. ε. vers. 45.* (i) *Od. ff. α. vers. 170.* (k) *Iliad. VI. vers. 174. pag. 491. Edit. Masl.*

Εὐνήμας ξένιασε, καὶ ἐννέα βῆς ἰερόδεν.
 Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλῳ ἠώς,
 καὶ τότε μιν ἐρέεινε καὶ ἦτες σῆμα ἰδέσθαι,
 ὅττι ῥά οἱ γαμβροῖο πατρὸς Πρωτόιο φέρετο.

In later Ages the *Cretan* Hospitality was very much celebrated. In the *συνάγεια*. publick Halls, of *Crete*, there were constantly two Apartments: One was term'd *κοιμητήριον*, wherein Strangers were lodg'd: The other was *ἀνδράειον*, being the Place of Eating, where all the *Cretans* supp'd together. In the uppermost part of this Room, there was a constant Table set apart for Strangers, call'd *τράπεζα ξενία*, *ξενική*, or *Δίος ξενίε*. Others will have two Tables appointed for this Use (a). And in the Distribution of Viſuals, the Strangers were always serv'd before the King, or any of the *Cretan* Nation; and some of them were permitted to bear very considerable Offices in the State (b).

The rest of the *Greeks*, and especially the *Athenians*, were generally courteous to Strangers, except the *Lacedæmonians*, who are ill spoken of for their want of Hospitality. Hence they are describ'd by *Iſetres* (c) as most opposite to the *Athenians* in their Behaviour to Strangers:

Τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις νόμος ἦν εἰσδέχεσθαι τὰς ξένας,
 ὅθεν καὶ ὀνομάζοντο φιλόξενοι τοῖς πᾶσιν.
 Τοῖς Λάκωσι δὲ νόμος, τὰς ξένας ἀπελαύνειν.

For the same Reason they are call'd by *Aristophanes* (d) *διεργωνόξενοι*, and by others *ξηνηλάται*, from their imposing upon Strangers, and driving them away; which is the more to be wonder'd, because *Lycurgus* chiefly follow'd the Laws and Manners of *Crete* in the Regulations, which he made at *Sparta*. Nevertheless it is very certain, that very good Care was taken of Strangers at *Sparta*. It was one part of the Royal Office to make Provision for them, as we learn from *Herodotus*: And *M. Antoninus* (e) affirms, that Strangers had a convenient Place assign'd in the *Shade*, whereas the *Lacedæmonians* themselves lay down without distinction of Places. But the Opinion of their rough and uncivil usage of Strangers, seems to have prevail'd chiefly on these two Accounts:

First, Because Foreigners, when they liv'd upon the *Spartan* Diet, which was extremely coarse, thought themselves ill entertain'd. Hence a Citizen of *Sybaris*, happening to be treated after the *Spartan* Fashion, profess'd, that he no longer wonder'd how it came to pass, that the *Spartans* despis'd Dangers more than other Nations, since they were allow'd no Pleasure, for which they could desire to live (f).

(a) *Athenæus*. lib. IV. cap. IX. (b) *Heracides* de Repub. (c) *Chiliad* VII. hist. cXXX. (d) *Pæce*. (e) *Lib. XI. ad seipsum*. (f) *Athenæus* lib. IV. cap. VI.

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Secondly, because Strangers had admittance into *Sparta* only on *αἰετῶν ἡμέραι*, certain Days (a). This was a Provision against the promiscuous and frequent Concourse of other Nations, which they avoided as much as possibly they could, either as *Archidamus* in *Libanius* (b) reports, to prevent Foreigners from observing the Faults and Miscarriages of *Sparta*, from which *Pericles* in *Thucydides* (c) seems also to reproach them with : Or rather fearing that the Manners of their Citizens, would be corrupted by a too free and unlimited Conversation with other Nations ; which account of this Appointment is assign'd by *Xenophon* (d), *Plutarch* (e), and others. For the same Reason, an Edict was once put forth at *Rome*, whereby Strangers, *usu urbis prohiberi*, were forbidden the use of that City (f). And the *Lacedæmonians* were not allow'd to travel into foreign Countries, lest they should introduce foreign Customs and Vices at *Sparta* (g). That these and the like Orders were not enacted without sufficient Cause, appears from *Lyfander* and *Agefilaus*, the former of which returning Home from *Athens*, and the later from *Asia*, contributed very much to the general Corruption of Manners, which in a short time after destroy'd the ancient *Lacedæmonian* Discipline, and way of Living.

To return to the *Grecian* Hospitality. In order to excite the People to treat Strangers with Kindness and Respect, the ancient Poets and Lawgivers possess'd them with an Opinion, that all Strangers were under the peculiar Care of certain Gods, who reveng'd all the Injuries done to them. In the number of these Gods were reckon'd *Minerva*, *Apollo*, *Venus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, and chiefly *Jupiter*, who had hence the Sirname of *Ξένιος*, hospitable, which was also sometimes given to other Gods, who were believ'd to protect Strangers. Hence *Ulysses* endeavours to mitigate *Polyphemus* with this Reason, that *Jupiter* was the Patron and Avenger of Strangers (h):

Αλλ' αἰδοῖο, φίλῃ, θεὸς· ἰκέλαι δὲ τοι εἰμὲν.
 Ζεὺς δ' ὀπιμνήσῃς ἰκελῶν τε ξένων τε
 ξένιος, ὃς ξένουςιν ἀμ' αἰδοῖοισιν ὀπνέει.

And *Eumæus* is mov'd by the same reason to entertain the same Hero, as himself professeth (i) :

Ξεῖν', ἔ μοι θέμις ἐς', ἔδ' εἰ καλὸν σέθεν ἔλθοις
 ξένον ἀμύησαι περὶ γὰρ Διὸς εἶδ' ἅπαντες
 ξένοι τε, πῶχοί τε.

(a) *Aristophanis Scholiastes* in *Pace*, *Suidas*. (b) *Declam.* XXIV. (c) *Lib.* II. in *Orat. funebri*. (d) *De Repub. Lacedæm.* (e) *Ly urgo*, *Institutis Laconicis*. (f) *Cicero De Offic.* lib. III. cap. XI. (g) *Plutarchus* locis citat. & *Apophthegmat.* *Nicolaus de moribus gentium apud Stobæum*, *Vol. rlius Maximus* lib. II. cap. VI. *Harpocration* voce *ναῖετος*, &c. (h) *Homer Odys.* IX. vers. 269. (i) *Odys.* ξ. ver. 55.

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For the same end, the Gods were feign'd to Travel in the Habit of Strangers. Thus *Jupiter* speaks of himself in *Ovid* (a).

Et Deus humana lūstro sub imagine terras.

In another Passage of that Author, the same God accompany'd by *Mercury*, is said to have been deny'd reception by a thousand Houses, which for that Offence he turn'd, with the adjoining Country, into a Lake (b). *Lycaon* was said to be transform'd into a Wolf, for his injurious Treatment of *Jupiter*. And, to mention only one Example more, when *Antinous* in *Homer* (c) treats *Ulysses*, who there appears like a Stranger injuriously, he is put in Mind, that the Gods us'd to visit the Cities of Men in the Habit and Form of Strangers:

Ἀντίνο', εἰ μὴ καλ' ἔβαλες δούσην ἀλήσιν,
 Οὐλόμην, εἰ δὴ πῦρ ἐπεράνιος θεός ἐστι
 Καί γε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν εἰκότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι,
 Παντοῖοι γελέθοντες, ὅπως ᾤσιν πολλὰς,
 Ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες.

The Rites of entertaining Strangers, being the same with those of receiving Guests at Entertainments, which have been describ'd in one of the preceding Chapters, need not be farther explain'd in this place. Only this must be observ'd, that Salt was commonly set before Strangers, before they tasted the Viſuals provided for them. Whereby was intimated, that as Salt does consist of aqueous and terrene Particles mix'd and united together, or as it is a concrete of several aqueous Parts, so the Stranger and the Person by whom he was entertain'd, should from the time of their tasting Salt together, maintain a constant Union of Love and Friendship. Others tell us, that Salt being apt to preserve Flesh from Corruption, signify'd, that the Friendship, which was then begun, should be firm and lasting. And some (to mention no more different Opinions concerning this matter) think, that a regard was had to the purifying Quality of Salt, which was commonly us'd in Lustrations; and that it intimated, that Friendship ought to be free from all Design and Artifice, Jealousie and Suspicion (d). It may be, the ground of this Custom was only this, That Salt was constantly us'd at all Entertainments both of the Gods, and Men. Whence a particular Sanctity was believ'd to be lodg'd in it. It is hence call'd *θεῖος ἅλας*, *Divine Salt*, by *Homer*, and *ἱερεὶ ἅλας*, *Holy Salt*, by others. And *Salinorum appositu*, by the placing of Salt on the Tables, a sort of Holiness was thought to be deriv'd to them (e). Indeed all things which any way conduc'd to promote Love and Concord, especially in those early Times, when Men liv'd by Spoil and Rapine, were held to be

(a) *Metam.* lib. I. ver. 213. (b) *Metam.* VIII. verſ. 626. (c) *Odyſſ.* 9. verſ. 439. (d) Conf. *Eustathius* in *Iliad.* 2. pag. 100. *Lycophronis Scholiaſtes* in verſ. 135. 137. (e) *Arnobius* *Contra Gentes* lib. II.

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Sacred: Hence the *Table* was thought to be endow'd with an inherent Holiness as well as the *Salt*. Τὸ δημοσχεζεσθαι, to have eaten at the *same Table*, was esteem'd an inviolable Obligation to Friendship; and ἀλα καὶ τεσπεῖαν ὑπερβαίνειν, to transgress the *Salt and the Table*, that is to break the *Laws of Hospitality*, and to injure one by whom any Person had been Entertain'd, was accounted one of the blackest Crimes. Hence that exaggerating Interrogation of *Demosthenes* (a); πῶς δ' ἄλλες; πῶς τεσπεῖαι; ταῦτα γὰρ τεσχωθεῖ παριών. *Where is the Salt? Where the Hospital Table? For in despite of these he has been the Author of these Troubles.* And the Crime of *Paris* in stealing *Helen*, is aggravated by *Cassandra* (b) upon this consideration, that he had contemn'd the *Salt*, and overturn'd the *Hospital Table*;

— ἐδὲ τὸν ξένοισ
Σωΐδορπον Αἰγαίανος ἀγνίστην πύργον,
Ἑλῆς θεῶν ἀλοιπὸς ἐκδῆναι δίκην,
Λάζας τεσπεῖαν, κἀνακυπῶσας θέμιν.

And τὸ ὁμόσχεον, to converse under the *same Roof*, was thought to be some sort of Engagement to Love and Courtesie, as we learn from the Comment of *Eustathius* on that Passage of *Homer*, where *Ajax* endeavours to pacify *Achilles* by this motive, that they were in the *same House*, and under the *same Roof* (c):

— σὺ δ' Ἰλαὸν ἐνθεο θυμὸν,
Αἰδεῖσθαι δὲ μέλαθρον: ὑπὸ θέρφιοι δέ τοι ἐσθλόν.

The *Alliance* which was contracted by Hospitality, was term'd *πρόξενια*. It was held very sacred, and πῶς ἢ συγγενικῇ δεσμῷ κρείττω τοῖς παλαοῖς ἦν, was rather more inviolably observ'd by the *Ancients*, than the *Ties of Kindred and Consanguinity*. *Teucer* in *Homer* endeavour'd to deprive *Priamus* of his Kingdom, tho' he was the Son of *Hesione* the Sister of *Priamus*; whereas *Glaucus* and *Diomedes* laid down their Arms in the Heat of Battle, out of a pious regard to the *Hospital Alliance*, which had been enter'd into by their Progenitors *Oeneus* and *Bellerophon*; as *Eustathius* (d) observes. Hence it appears farther, that the *Alliances of Hospitality* were deriv'd by Parents to their Children. Neither were they contracted only by private and single Men, but by these with whole Families and Cities. Hence *Megillus* in *Plato* (e) affirm'd himself to be πρόξενος, ally'd by Hospitality to the City of *Athens*. *Nicias*, the *Athenian*, is by *Plutarch* call'd πρόξενος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ally'd by Hospitality to the *Lacedaemonians*. *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, by means of the same Alliance, became instrumental towards establishing a Peace between the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* (f). And, to mention only one Instance more, *Halyattes* King of *Lydia*, made a Covenant with the *Mysians*, ἐφ' ᾧ

(a) Orat. de falsa Legat. (b) Lycophron, ver. 134. (c) *Iliad*. IX. vers. 635. pag. 691. edit. Bosph. (d) In *Iliad*. VI. pag. 496. (e) Lib. I. De Legib. pag. 780. edit. Francofurt. (f) Corn. Nepos. Cimon.

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τι ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι δῖναι whereby they were oblig'd to take one another for Guests and Allies (a).

Hence it was customary for Men thus ally'd to give one another σύμβολα, certain Tokens, the producing whereof was a Recognition of the Covenant of Hospitality. Hence Jason in Euripides (b) promifeth Medea, when she departed from him, to send the Symbols of Hospitality, which should procure for her a kind Reception in foreign Countries:

Ξένους τε φίλων σύμβολ', οἱ δ' ἄσπερ σ' Ὀ.

These were mutual Presents and Gifts, call'd ξένια, or δῶρα ξενικά, which κειμήλια τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀπέσιδαντο οἰς ἀνάμνησιν παλαιῆς φιλίας τοῖς ἐπιγόνοις: were repositied by the ancient Greeks amongst their Treasures, to keep up the Memory of their Friendships to succeeding Generations, as we are inform'd by the Comment of Eusebius on that Passage of Homer (c), where Diomedes recounts to Glaucus, the Gifts which their Ancestors, Oeneus and Bellerophon, had presented to one another:

Ἡ ἴα νύ μοι ξείνος παλαιῶς ἐπὶ παλαίῳ
Οἶνός γάρ ποτε δῖος ἀμύμονα Βελλεροφόνῃ
Ξένιῳ ἐν μεγάροισιν ἑίκοσιν ἥματ' ἀρύξας.
Οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλοισι πάρεν ξενήϊα καλά,
Οἶνός μιν ζωστήρα δίδου φοίνικι φασγάνῃ,
Βελλεροφόντης δὲ χρύσειον δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Καὶ μιν ἑγὼν κατελεγον ἰδὼν ἐν δώμασ' ἑμοῖσι.

The latter Greeks us'd to break (ἀσπάζεσθαι) a Dye in two Parts, one of which the Guest carry'd away, the other remain'd with the Entertainer (d). The same Custom was us'd at Rome, where each part of the Dye was term'd tessera hospitalis. This plainly appears from the following Passage of Plautus (e):

AG. Siquidem Antidamarchi quævis adoptatum,

Ego sum ipsius, quem tu quæris. POE. Hem! quid ego audio?

AG. Antidamæ gnatum me esse. POE. Si ita est, tesseram

Conferre si vis hospitalem, eccam, attuli.

AG. Agedum hoc ostende: est par probe; nam habeo domum.

POE. O mi hospes, salve multum: nam mihi tuus pater,

Pater tuus ergo hospes Antidamas fuit;

Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

Upon these tessera their Names, or some other Character of Distinction, as also the Image of Jupiter hospitalis, were commonly en-

(a) Herodotus cition. (b) Medea vers. 613. (c) Iliad. VI. (d) Euripidis Scholiastes in Medea vers. 613. ex Helladio, & Eubuli Xutho. (e) Fennul. Act. V. Sc. II. vers. 85.

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Deum hospitalem ac tesseram mecum fero.

When they renounc'd their *hospital Alliance*, it was customary to break in pieces the *hospital tessera*. Hence *tesseram frangere* signifies to violate the Laws of Hospitality. Thus it's us'd by the same Author (b):

Abi, quere ubi tuo iusjurando satis sit subsidii:

Hic apud nos jam, Alcesimarche, confregisti tesseram

They who entertain'd private Strangers, were term'd *ἰδιωτεῖς ξενoi*. They who receiv'd Ambassadors, and other Foreigners, who came on any publick Account, were call'd *πρόξενoi*. But the same Name is often taken for Men, who entertain'd their own private Friends of other Nations. If the Person, who receiv'd the Foreigners, who came under a publick Character, did it voluntarily; he was call'd *ἑδελοπρόξενος*, in which Sense *Pitias* is call'd by *Thucydides* (c) *ἑδελοπρόξενος Ἀθηναίων*, the voluntary Entertainer of the Athenians. But more commonly the *πρόξενoi* were appointed to that Office, either by the Suffrages of the People, which was the usual way of choosing them in popular Governments; or by Designation of the King, which was the Method in Monarchical Countries. Thus at *Sparta* the Kings appointed *πρὸς ἑδελους τῶν ἀσπίων*, whomsoever of the Citizens they pleas'd, to be *Proxeni*, as we learn from *Herodotus* (d). Neither did the Office of *Proxeni* consist only in providing Lodging and Entertainment for the fore-mention'd Strangers; but it was also their Duty to conduct them to the King, or the popular Assembly, to provide for them convenient Places in the Theater, and to serve and assist them on all other Occasions. Hence *καλῶς τινος, ἢ κακῶς αὐτίος*, whoever was the *Procurer* of any Good or Evil to another Person, was term'd *πρόξενος*. The Author of another Man's Ruin and Misery was call'd *πρόξενος ἀπωλείας*, or *πρόξενος φθορᾶς*: The Author of his Safety and Felicity, *πρόξενος σωτηρίας*, or *πρόξενος ὑγιείας* (e).

The Office of *Proxeni* was by the more Modern Greeks call'd *παροχή*, which Word is us'd in that sense in one of *St. Basil's* Epistles. *Παροχαί* are by *Hesychius* interpreted *χαισμοῦντα, δωρηματά, Presentis, or Gifts*: And publick Entertainments are call'd by *Cicero* in one of his Epistles to *Anicius* (f) *parochia publicæ*; unless

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*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, restum
Præbuit; & parochi, quæ debent, ligna, saleque.*

Where under the names of *Ligna* & *Sal* Wood and Salt, all necessary Provisions are comprehended. These were supply'd in all the Roman Towns to such as came thither upon any publick Affair by the *Parochi*, who were empower'd to levy Taxes on the Inhabitants for this use (b). In another place of the same Poet, *Parochus* signifies the Master of a Feast;

*— vertere pallor
Tum parochi faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acres
Potiores.*

Whoever undertook a journey, first implor'd the Divine protection. Before their departure into any foreign Country, it was customary to salute, and as it were take leave of the Deities of their own Country, by kissing the Earth. Thus the *Trojans* in *Ovid* are said to do (c);

*— dant oscula Terræ
Troades, & patriæ fumantia testæ relinquunt.*

The same Rite of Salutation was commonly practis'd at their arrival in any Country. Thus *Ulysses* in *Phœacia* (d);

— χύσας δὲ ζείδωρον ἀγέαν.

And *Cadmus* in *Bœotia* (e);

*Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oscula terræ
Figit; & ignotos montes agrosque salutat.*

Hereby they pay'd Homage, and invok'd the assistance and Protection of *ἑμυχώριος θεοί*, the Gods who were Patrons of that Country. They worship'd the same Gods, during the time of their residence in that Place. This was done by the *Samaritans*, whom the King of *Affyria* planted in the Country *Israel*, as we learn from the sacred History; and by *Alexander the Great* whilst he

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stay'd in *Troas*, as the Writers of his Life and Actions report. Lastly, when they return'd home, they saluted the Gods of their own Country in the same manner, and gave them thanks for their safe return. This was done by *Ulysses* in *Homer* at his return to *Ithaca* (a):

Γήθησεν δ' ἄρ' ἱππῶτα πολὺτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,
Χαίρων ἢ γαῖη, κύσε δὲ ζείδωρον ἄεραν.
Αὐτίκα δὲ Νύμφης ἠρήσατο, χῆρας ἀνασχών.

The same Rite is practis'd by *Agamemnon* in *Æschylus* (b), when he returns to *Mycenæ*; and by *Hercules* in *Euripides* (c), at his Return from the *Infernal Regions*.

(a) *Odysf.* v. vers. 354. (b) *Agamemnon* vers. 819. (c) *Hercul.* Euryp. vers. 523.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 61. line 12. read Εγαμοτία. p. 132. l. 15. r. κεφαλός. p. 191. l. 34. r. δεξιῶν. p. 204. l. 7. r. εὐπρωκτοί. p. 319. l. 3. r. ἐπαρωγός. p. 364. l. 39. dele or no. p. 372. l. 11. r. δαμν-
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